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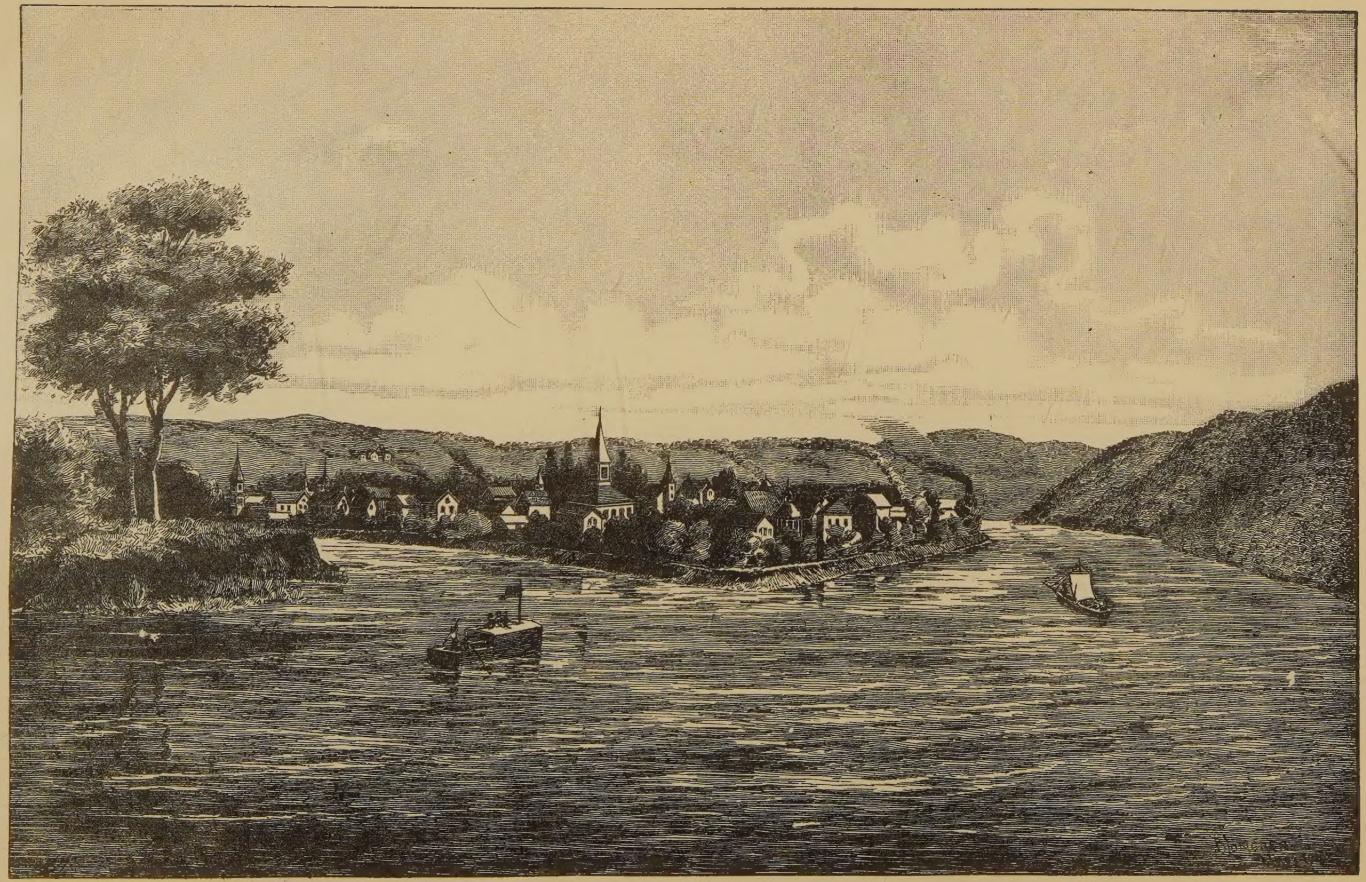

PITTSBURGH IN 1817.

PARTLY FROM SKETCH BY MRS. JAMES GIBSON OF PHILADELPHIA.

HISTORY

OF

ALLEGHENY COUNTY

PENNSYLVANIA.

INCLUDING

ITS EARLY SETTLEMENT AND PROGRESS TO THE PRESENT TIME; A DESCRIPTION OF ITS HISTORIC AND INTERESTING LOCALITIES; ITS CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES; RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL AND MILITARY HISTORY; MINING, MANUFACTURING AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS; IMPROVEMENTS, RESOURCES, STATISTICS, ETC.

ALSO

PORTRAITS OF SOME OF ITS PROMINENT MEN, AND BIOGRAPHIES OF MANY OF ITS REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS.

VOLUME I.

CHICAGO, ILL:
A. WARNER & CO., PUBLISHERS,
1889.

The reproduction of this book has been made possible through the sponsorship of the Western Pennsylvania Genealogical Society, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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PREFACE.

THE story of the struggle for empire in the Mississippi valley, stretching away from the line of the Alleghanies to the farthest summits of the Rocky mountains, which had its rallying point and termination at Fort Duquesne, has often been told in a more or less fragmentary way. In view of the local importance of this event it has been thought proper by the publishers of this work to give it here complete, making brief statements of the parts which, from frequent repetition, have become hackneyed, and giving with more fullness of detail the other portions.

The controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, inaugurated by the Ohio Company under charter of the British Parliament—the uncertain track of the southern line of the state—the long and wasting wars with the natives of the forest, luminous with deeds of savagery novel even in a barbarous age—the part taken by the county in the revolutionary war, the war of 1812, the Mexican, and the recent civil war—the material resources in soil and mineral treasures—the vast manufacturing interests—the tonnage upon river and rail—the hand which the county has shown in state and national policy—the educational and religious interests of its people—and its eleemosynary institutions, have all been treated with the care and fullness of detail which the plan of the work would allow.

The plan was settled and work begun in the spring of 1887, and has been carried to completion by the following-named corps of writers:

Dr. Thomas Cushing, of Barre Centre, N. Y., general supervisor, and writer of Chapters X, XII, XVII, XXXVII, and parts of XXXIV and XXXVI.

A. A. Lambing, LL. D., Chapters I to VIII inclusive.

Hon. Russell Errett, Chapters IX, XIII, XIV, from XIX to XXXIII inclusive, and parts of XXXIV and XXXVI.

Mr. R. H. Kelley, Sr., of Verona, Pa., Chapter XI.

Rev. W. J. Holland, Ph. D., History of the Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian and Reformed (German) Churches.

Rev. J. C. Boyd, D. D., the United Presbyterian Church.

Rev. M. Byllesby, the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Rev. C. W. Smith, D. D., the Methodist Church.

Rev. B. F. Woodburn, D. D., the Baptist Church.

Rev. W. F. Cowden, the Disciples of Christ.

Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL. D., the Catholic Church.

Prof. T. J. Vandergrift, Chapter XVIII, with diagram.

George J. Luckey, A. M., first part of Chapter XXXV.

John Morrow, M. S., last part of Chapter XXXV.

Mr. H. C. Bell, of Waynesburg, Pa., township and borough histories.

Acknowledgments are due to the Hon. John Harper, and N. B. Hogg, Esq.—to the secretary of the board of trade for courtesies extended—to Messrs. Snowden & Peterson for use of cuts—to the public press of Pittsburgh, the *Gazette*, the *Chronicle*, the *Post* and the *Dispatch*, and other of the daily and weekly issues for access to their files—to the Pittsburgh Library association for the use of its historical collections—to the officers and teachers in the various literary institutions, the officers of the benevolent and charitable institutions, and to the many intelligent citizens throughout the county for the valuable aid which they gave to the writers.

The part devoted to biography and genealogy includes representatives of nearly every important calling in the country. The large number of sketches necessitated brevity of treatment. They were submitted for correction before printing, and constitute an interesting portion of the work, which will increase in value with the lapse of time.

Trusting that it may prove satisfactory to the citizens of the county, it is submitted to their considerate judgment.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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Pittsburgh in 1817. Frontispiece.

MAP OF
ALLEGHENY CO.
PENNA.

HISTORY OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FRENCH WAR.

ABORIGINES AND PIONEERS—INDIAN VILLAGES AND TRAILS—ROYAL LAND PATENTS—ADVENTURERS—LAND COMPANIES—INDIAN TREATIES—FORTS—SETTLEMENTS.

THE growth and development of our country, especially west of the Allegheny mountains, has been something phenomenal. Where, a century ago or less, nothing was to be seen but vast primeval forests or boundless prairies, inhabited by wild animals and savages only a little less ferocious, all has been changed by the rapid march of civilization. The few villages that dared to spring up at that early day have become populous cities, the solitary cabins of the hardy adventurers have given place to thriving towns and villages, the forests and prairies have been transformed into rich agricultural districts, and in every direction lines of railroad are seen threading their courses to carry the fruits of industry to a ready market. Telegraphic lines facilitate communication, and over all religion spreads her peaceful influence, education sheds her cheering light, and a popular government secures for all equal rights. The peoples of the Old World, confined to traditional grooves, contemplate with wonder the gigantic strides of the Great Republic of the West, and speculate on what is to be the end of this onward march of national prosperity and domestic happiness.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this extraordinary growth more marked than in Southwestern Pennsylvania, nearly all of which was once included in Allegheny county, where nature has been unusually lavish of her choicest gifts. Mineral wealth in coal, oil and natural gas has given to this section of country a prominence that leaves it without a rival; while water and railroad communication unites it with every part of the world. But while the present arrests the attention of all, the past, to those who wish to inquire into its historic wealth, affords a field for investigation very pleasing to the student of history.

Few sections of the country have figured so conspicuously in American history as that around the head of the Ohio river. The struggles naturally to be expected between the aborigines and the pioneers were made doubly interesting here, owing to a variety of circumstances that form thrilling chapters in our frontier annals. The French occupation of the valley of the Allegheny and Ohio, Braddock's and Forbes' expeditions against them and their final expulsion; the conspiracy of Pontiac; the expedition of Bouquet, and the boundary dispute between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, attach an interest to Western Pennsylvania that has made it a fertile field of investigation, much of which will be found condensed in the following pages. Nor should the fact be passed over in silence that it was here that George Washington was in a great measure trained for the stupendous work for the accomplishment of which he was raised up by a beneficent Providence.

The literary world has long since been surfeited with conflicting theories regarding the various peoples that at various periods inhabited the western world; but no conclusion has been or is likely to be reached that will meet with universal acceptation. Speculation may be interesting to the curious, but it is of little value to those who are in search of historic facts; and it will not, for that reason, find a place in these pages. Certain it is that various tribes or nations inhabited different parts of North America, some simultaneously and others in succession; but who they were, whence they came, and what has become of them, are questions to which it is hopeless to expect a satisfactory reply. Whether, as M. Nadillac maintains, the moundbuilders were the immediate progenitors of the Indians found by Columbus and his fellow Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or were a different people, as others will have it, must be left to the domain of theory; though the latter appears the most probable, unless we are prepared to allow a long series of ages for the moundbuilders to degenerate. Nothing could be further from the ability or the disposition of the red men of three centuries ago than the skill to form the correct geometrical figures of the mounds, or the labor required in the construction of these indestructible remains of a forgotten race. But relegating these and similar questions to the realm of speculation, as not pertinent to the matter now under consideration, our attention shall be directed to the territory with which we are especially concerned.

The first inhabitants of the valley of the Allegheny and Ohio of which tradition affords reliable information were the Talligewi. Our knowledge of this people is vague in the extreme; but the fact of their existence and their occupation of the basin of these rivers is beyond question. But when or whence they came, how long they maintained their ascendancy, and when they disappeared in the conflict of tribes, it were all but useless to inquire. They have succeeded, however, in leaving a name as imperishable as a range of mountains or a flowing river. The Lenni Lenape, better known as the Delawares, one of the most powerful tribes, or families of tribes, in North

America, succeeded at length in gaining the mastery. But before the advent of the white man the vicissitudes of savage warfare had wrested the supremacy from them and bestowed it upon the indomitable Iroquois, or Five Nations, the "Romans of America." That powerful confederation occupied the territory south of Lake Ontario, but claimed much more; and the dread of them reached from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the headwaters of the Ottawa to the Carolinas. They laid claim to all Western Pennsylvania, and their claim was readily acknowledged by the remnants of other tribes who occupied it, especially the Delawares, their former rivals, whom they had subjected, and, in the language of the rude sons of the forest, "made women of." The Shawanese, who had been conquered by the Iroquois in 1672, were allowed to make their homes in the valley of the upper Ohio and in other parts of the state of the same name. Members of a few other tribes were also found scattered throughout the territory of Western Pennsylvania, but not in considerable numbers. Such in brief was the disposition of the aboriginal races in the territory now engaging our attention, at the opening of the historic period.

It is interesting to inquire, What was the origin of the name "Allegheny," now occupying so important a place in the world's history? and when did it come into general use as the designation of a stream and a range of mountains? It is not the intention to perplex the reader with a learned disquisition on this name; but some remarks are necessary to give him an intelligent understanding of a term to be in constant use in these pages. It appears certain that the county was named rather after the Allegheny mountains than after the river of the same name; for the mountains had no other name, while the river was for a long time known as but a part of the Ohio. The designation of both, however, is derived from the same source, the aboriginal tribe mentioned above. The Lenni Lenape in their earliest traditions speak of the Allegewi, whom they first met on the banks of the Mississippi. Schoolcraft, who is generally regarded as a standard authority on Indian history, says: "The banks of the Allegheny were, in ancient times, occupied by an important tribe, now unknown, who preceded the Delawares and Iroquois. They were called Alleghans by Colden in the London edition of his work, and the river is named Allegan by Lewis Evans in his celebrated map of 1755." The name Allegheny was never used by the French, nor is it found as the designation of the stream in any of the numerous documents relating to their occupation of its basin. The Shawanese named the river the Pelewa-sepi—the orthography of which, like that of most Indian names, is not uniform—which means Turkey river, so called either on account of the abundance of wild turkeys in the surrounding country, or from the Turkey tribe (the Unalachtgo) of the Delawares; and the Delawares themselves called it Kitt-hanne, or the principal stream, whence the name Kittanning. The Senecas, the tribe of the Five Nations occupying the

country around the headwaters of the river, named it the O-he-yu, which in their dialect signifies the Beautiful river, and which the French simply translated into La Belle Rivière. The English took the sound rather than the sense of this Indian term, and named the river Ohio, a designation which was at first applied to the entire stream, but which came, in process of time, to be applied to that part of it only which lay below its confluence with the Monongahela.

It would be impossible to form anything like an accurate estimate of the number of Indians of the several tribes living in Western Pennsylvania at the time of the first appearance of the whites, both because no reliable record was ever kept, and because their residence was not permanent; suffice it to say that, considering the extensive territory, the population was very sparse.

The character of the Indians naturally gave rise to numerous towns and villages, or what were popularly designated as such, composed sometimes of the members of one tribe, and at other times of the members of several tribes living together in harmony. These villages, usually quite small, consisting at times of only a few cabins, were situated for the most part along streams, and were frequently removed from one place to another as necessity or caprice dictated. Only a few of them will be mentioned in this place, on account of the part they played in the country's history. One of the principal of these was Kittanning, which was known to the French as Attiqué, situated where the town of the same name now stands, and which figured conspicuously in the French war prior to its destruction by Col. Armstrong, in September, 1756. Another was Shannopinstown, located on the eastern bank of the Allegheny about two miles above its confluence with the Monongahela; and Céloron, in the journal of his expedition, to be referred to later, declares it to have been the most beautiful place he saw on his journey. But it was of little or no historic importance. Eighteen miles further down on the north bank of the Ohio stood Logstown, the most important of all the Indian towns, as will be seen in the sequel. It was the principal point in the western part of the colony for trading and conferring with the whites. A mile below the mouth of the Beaver river stood Sakunk, seldom mentioned in pioneer history; and about four miles below the present New Castle was situated Kiskakunk, a name variously spelled, which, though of considerable size, was rather a place of meeting for the Indians themselves than of importance to the whites. Besides these there were other villages, but so insignificant as not to be deserving of mention.

The nomadic life of the Indians and the fact that they had certain points where they were accustomed to assemble from time to time naturally led to the formation of paths or trails, which traversed the country in various directions. While affording means of easy communication for the natives, they were scarcely less advantageous to the early traders and explorers, and were particularly useful in showing the best routes for military and national roads,

especially in the mountainous parts of the country. The most noted, and perhaps the most ancient, of these pathways was the old Catawba or Cherokee trail, leading from the Carolinas and Georgia through Virginia, Western Pennsylvania and Western New York to Canada. It was intersected by the Warrior branch, another path which, coming from Tennessee through Kentucky and Southern Ohio, entered our state and united with it somewhere in Fayette county. These two were the only important trails that traversed the country north and south. Of greater importance, however, both to the Indians and to the whites, were the numerous trails which led east and west, one of the most noted of which was Nemackolin's path, afterward adopted and improved by Gen. Braddock and Washington, and known as Braddock's road. Starting from the mouth of Will's creek, where the city of Cumberland now stands, it crossed the mountains to the Monongahela river at the mouth of the Redstone creek, at the present Brownsville; while a branch leaving it near Uniontown continued on to the forks of the Ohio. It was not, however, used by the explorers or traders to the west until after Braddock's ill-fated expedition. Dunlap's path was also a very early one. Starting from in the vicinity of Winchester, Va., it crossed the mountains to the mouth of the creek of the same name, immediately above Brownsville; and as Braddock robbed Nemackolin of the name of his path, so did Dunlap of the name of his creek, which had been previously known as Nemackolin's creek. But perhaps the most important of all the Indian trails was the Kittanning path, which, coming up the Juniata and crossing the Allegheny mountains at Kittanning Point, passed westward by a somewhat northerly route to the Allegheny at the village of the same name, and thence west to Detroit. A trail extended also from the forks of the Ohio down the northern bank of the river to Beaver, and continued on into Ohio; and another from Logstown north to Lake Erie and the country of the Iroquois. Besides these there were numerous other trails of minor importance, which we shall not pause to consider.

The better to understand the gradual development of the country from a forest wilderness to its present advanced condition it will be necessary to go back to the time when the territory first came into the possession of the white man. Naturally enough strange errors were committed in the portioning out of the New World among the powers of Europe, and by them in turn among their favorites. The ignorance of the geography of the recently discovered continent, the thirst for dominion, and the fabulous mineral wealth which was believed to lie concealed beneath the surface of the New World were elements of confusion that can hardly be appreciated at their proper value in the present advanced state of civilization. Add to this that the revival of learning was then beginning to dawn, thanks to the invention of printing, and men were not as yet fully released from the strange notions that had long prevailed regarding what lay beyond the "Gloomy Ocean." Evidences of this are found in abundance in the early accounts of the newly discovered continent, and in

the grotesque figures that adorn some of the earlier maps, which endeavored to convey some idea to kings and people of what explorers had seen, or imagined they had seen, beyond the waters. While the thoughtless may smile at this display of ignorance, the philanthropist rejoice at the amelioration of man's condition, and the philosopher mark with pleasure the development of the human mind, the student of our history will discover in it a source of both pleasure and perplexity—of pleasure that some record, however imperfect, of the past has come down to us of the ideas entertained by the early adventurers, and of perplexity to solve the historical and geographical problems upon which, unfortunately, they shed so little light. Nor is the territory now under consideration free from these. What a variety in the early maps; what conflicts in the early claims! Yet we must address ourselves to the task of unraveling them as well as circumstances and the information obtainable from every source will permit.

As early as March, 1564, Queen Elizabeth granted to her favorite, Sir Walter Raleigh, a patent for a vast tract of land extending along the Atlantic seaboard of the New World, and back from it to an indefinite distance; but whether it could be so construed as to include the territory now embraced in Allegheny county, or not, it would be difficult to determine, owing to the imperfect knowledge then had of the geography of this continent, and the consequent indefinite terms of the patent. Be that as it may, it is not a matter of importance, inasmuch as no permanent settlement was ever made under the patent, which soon lapsed, while he in whose favor it had been granted fell from the royal favor. Permanent possession dates from the charter granted May 23, 1609, by James II, to a company at the head of which appeared the name of the successful rival and inveterate enemy of Raleigh, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. That Allegheny county was embraced within the limits of this charter there can be no doubt, for the territory granted to the company extended two hundred miles north and as many south of Old Point Comfort, "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest," as the charter expressed it. Thus was the claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania established in favor of Virginia. But owing to the still indefinite knowledge of America, the rapacity of adventurers and the desire of crowned heads to please their favorites at little cost to themselves it need not be a matter of surprise that charters were granted which conflicted with each other, and that the same lands were bestowed upon two or more persons or companies. A notable instance of this is the territory around the head of the Ohio; for while it was granted to a Virginia company in 1609, it was afterward included in the charter granted to William Penn by Charles II, March 4, 1681. By this instrument he was constituted sole proprietary of certain lands which, in the terms of the charter, were to extend westward five degrees of longitude from the Delaware river, and to include all the territory from the beginning of the fortieth to the beginning of the forty-third degree of

northern latitude. Whether it was the royal will to take from Virginia part of her territory and bestow it upon Penn, or that the king was ignorant of the exact terms of the charter of that colony, it matters little; both colonies continued to claim the territory by virtue of a grant from the crown, and a long and bitter contest arose, which will form one of the most interesting chapters of this history.

Although the English adventurers did not push into the forests with the same intrepidity as the French, they were early in the country west of the "Allegheny hills," as the range of mountains was at first called. Col. Ward, who lived at the falls of the James river, sent one Mr. Needham, in 1654, on an exploring expedition, who, crossing the mountains, entered the country of the Ohio, and in ten years' time is said to have discovered several branches, not only of that river, but also of the Mississippi.

Thomas Woods and Robert Pallam were commissioned by Maj.-Gen. Woods, of Virginia, "for ye finding of the ebbing and flowing of ye waters behinde the mountains in order to ye discovery of ye South Sea." These men, with an Appomattox Indian and one servant and five horses, started from the Appomattox town in Virginia on Friday, September 1, 1671, crossed the mountains and descended to what is known as the falls of the Kanawha, where they marked some trees with marking-irons on September 17th. They returned to the Appomattox town on Sunday morning, October 1st.

In 1674 Capt. Botts made another tour through the same country. As early as 1715 Father Marmet, at Kaskaskia, wrote to the governor of Canada that "the encroaching English were building forts on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers;" and, though this is incorrect, it shows the presence of the English in the vicinity at that time. "Gov. Spottswood, of Virginia, made an effort, as early as 1711, to resist French encroachments, by attempting to establish the line of Virginia settlements far enough to the west to interrupt the contemplated chain of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. For this purpose he also caused the passes of the mountains to be examined; desired to promote settlements beyond them, and sought to concentrate within his province bands of friendly Indians. Finding other measures unavailing, he planned the incorporation of a Virginia Indian company, which, from the emoluments of the monopoly of the traffic, should sustain forts in the western country. Disappointed by the determined opposition of the people to a privileged company, he was still earnest to resist the encroachments of the French. But from Williamsburg to Kaskaskia the distance was too wide; and though, by a journey across the mountains, the right of Virginia might be sustained, yet no active resistance would be possible till the posts of the two nations should be nearer." In 1719 Gov. Keith urged upon the lords of trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie. No settlements, however, had as yet been made in the territory embraced within the limits of Allegheny county; and little precise knowledge was had of the geography of that section of country.

But a short time before the middle of the last century greater activity began to be manifested; land companies were formed, and adventurers began to look wistfully to the country immediately west of the mountains. But the mountains themselves presented a barrier to the progress of settlement. Though not elevated, the land on their summit was not so well suited for agricultural purposes as that on the hills and in the valleys beyond; yet, unless the consent of the Indians could first be obtained and forts erected for the protection of the pioneers against the inconstant and vacillating savages, it would be impossible to occupy the land, even granting that the formality of an extinction of the Indian claim had been effected, both on account of the rapacity of the whites and the reluctance with which the Indians saw their hunting-grounds come into possession of the palefaces. Companies might be formed and lands located, but no permanent settlements could be effected without protection.

The savages naturally enough tolerated the traders for the need they had of them, and they on their part were not slow in perceiving the advantages they could derive from traffic with the simple, unsophisticated natives. They were, in fact, an early and natural outgrowth of the eastern colonies, and they penetrated the pathless wilderness far in advance of the foremost settlements. Though paying little heed to the laws enacted to restrain their greed for gain, they did not wholly forget their allegiance to the nation that had fostered them; and they generally prepared the way for the hospitable reception of the more permanent class of the frontier community. The more adventurous of this class had already reached the lakes on the north and the Miami on the west, and suggested the plan by which the English could hope more successfully to contest the possession of the Ohio valley with the French.

The gradual occupation of the country east of the mountains seemed to have brought the time for the settlement of the territory west of them; and a number of land companies were formed, the most important of which was the Ohio Company, organized in 1748 by Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia assembly, Lawrence and Arthur Washington, and ten other Virginians, who, with a Mr. Hanbury of London, joined in a petition to the crown for the grant of an extensive tract of land in the Ohio valley. Their petition was favorably received, and they were granted five hundred thousand acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha, with the further privilege of locating also north of that river. The company was required to pay no quitrent for ten years, but must select two-thirds of its territory at once, and at its own cost construct and garrison a fort. Other companies also came into existence, but soon died out.

Negotiations had already been commenced with the Indians for the twofold purpose of preserving friendly relations with them and of obtaining permission to erect one or more forts on the Ohio for the protection of the traders and pioneers. These would serve also to check the threatened encroachments

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of the French till possession should be gradually taken of the country, and the Indians, seeing themselves no longer able to hold it, would sell it, as they had other large tracts east of the mountains; for the boast that Pennsylvania never took any of the lands of the Indians without paying for them is to a great extent an empty mockery. The people of the province first occupied the lands and then purchased them from the natives, who thought it better to sell for something than be driven off for nothing; the taking possession of the lands and keeping possession was a foregone conclusion, the obtaining of a title for them was a secondary consideration. The Indians were not slow to see this, and frequently protested; and their threatening attitude at times alarmed the colonies. The fears of the latter were only too well founded; for the colonies were still weak, while the power of the natives had not yet been broken. At the treaty of July 7, 1742, Canassatego introduced the claim of the Indians to the lands in Maryland, desiring to know what had been done in the matter, saying to the commissioners: "You will inform the persons whose people are seated on our lands that that country belongs to us by right of conquest—we have bought it with our blood and taken it from our enemies in a fair war; we expect such consideration as the land is worth; press him to send us a positive answer; let him say *yes* or *no;* if he says *yes*, we will treat with him; if *no*, we are able to do ourselves justice, and we will do it by going to take payment ourselves." This threat led to the convention at Lancaster, one of the most important held with the natives within the limits of our state. The preliminaries were arranged by Conrad Weiser, the Pennsylvania colonial interpreter, who met the delegates of the Six Nations at Lancaster, with the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, June 22, 1744. The conference lasted twelve days; did little credit to the commissioners, who distributed intoxicants very freely, and kept the Indians constantly more or less under their influence; and the result was that, while they gained their point, they gave occasion for bitter complaints for years to come, and have left a stain on their memory that would be a dark page in our history if it were not that such stains are so common. The good will of the Six Nations was secured for a time to the English and against the French, and a stimulus was given to settlement east of the mountains. But the occupation of the valley of the Ohio was still desired, and negotiations were carried on, by both Pennsylvania and Virginia, looking to the erection of forts and the taking possession of the lands.

The first person to meet the Indians on the Ohio as the representative of the colony of Pennsylvania was Conrad Weiser, who was commissioned by Anthony Palmer, president of the executive council, in August, 1748, to treat with the Indians at Logstown. He was at the same time made the bearer of valuable presents, which had been promised the representatives of the Indians in the previous November. Among other instructions which he received were these: "You are to use the utmost diligence in acquiring a perfect knowledge

of the number, situation, disposition and strength of all the Indians in or near those parts, whether they be friends, neutrals, or enemies, and be very particular in knowing the temper and influence of the tribes of Indians who send deputies to receive you." He was also to strive earnestly to turn the Indians against the French and attach them to the English cause, and to use the utmost diligence to ascertain the movements and designs of the French. In his investigation, which was to be thorough, the instructions remind him that: "You are not to satisfy yourself with generalities, but inform yourself truly and fully of the real disposition of the Indians, and what dependence can be had on them for the security of this province, and for the total prevention of hostilities within our limits. . . . You are to take special care not to disoblige the Indians, or in any wise diminish their heartiness for his Majesty's cause against the French. You will therefore speak to them by themselves, and give them such a quantity of goods as upon their present temper and the frankness of their submission you shall think they deserve." Having made all necessary arrangements, Weiser set out from his home in Berks county, crossed the Susquehanna, and came by Huntingdon, or Standing Stone as it was then called, to Frankstown, about three miles down the Juniata from the spot occupied by the present Hollidaysburg, of which he makes this quaint entry in his journal: "August 20th. Came to Frank's Town, but saw no houses." Crossing the mountains, he continued by a western route for a distance, and then, turning to the southwest, crossed the Kiskiminetas, a few miles above its mouth, and pursued his journey till he reached the Allegheny twenty miles above its confluence with the Monongahela. On the 27th he dined with the Seneca queen, Aliquippa, at Shannopinstown, on the east bank of the Allegheny about two miles above its mouth, and the same evening arrived at Logstown, where he immediately set about the execution of the task assigned him by the executive council. His efforts were successful in strengthening the bond of friendship between the colony and the various tribes, and winning them from their adherence to the French. The presents were next distributed, and the conference broke up. He returned September 20th, and gave in his report of the proceedings. From this time communication between the east and the Indians on the Ohio became frequent.

But the French were not in the meantime idle spectators of the action of the English. Claiming by the right of discovery all the lands drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, they fixed the limits of their possessions at the summit of the Allegheny mountains, and prepared to make good their claim by the erection of a line of fortifications that should extend from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. It is not the intention to enter in this place into a discussion of the claim made by some writers in favor of La Salle's discovery of the Allegheny and upper Ohio in the winter of 1669–70; it is highly improbable, and the best authorities reject it. The better to become acquainted with the geography of the country, drive out the English

traders, and secure the attachment of the Indians, the governor-general of Canada despatched Louis de Céloron, in the summer of 1749, with a detachment of soldiers and friendly Indians, to make an excursion down the Allegheny and Ohio. His mission, as he acknowledges in the journal of the expedition, was but partially successful; everywhere he found a strong feeling in favor of the English; and he was on more than one occasion in danger of being attacked, notwithstanding the strength of the detachment under his command. The first symptoms of the struggle that was inevitable between the French and English began to manifest themselves, but the treatment of this part of our subject will be reserved for a future chapter.

George Croghan, with the Indian interpreter, Andrew Montour, was again with the tribes at Logstown in December, 1749, where he found that the French had endeavored, but without success, to win the natives to their cause. The Indians were at that time in favor of the English erecting a fort somewhere on the headwaters of the Ohio to protect their traders against the French. Croghan was again sent with presents by the governor of Pennsylvania in the early part of the following year, and the journal which he kept of his conference with the chiefs is still extant. The half-breed, Joncaire, who was the agent of the French, was there at the same time; but his overtures were contemptuously rejected by the chiefs of the Six Nations. As usual, the Indians signified their desire to trade with the colonists, but not to part with their lands.

Measures having for their object the settling of families south of the Ohio were now inaugurated by the Ohio Company, as a preliminary to which they sent Christopher Gist, a noted adventurer, to explore the country. On the last day of October, 1750, he left the frontier of civilization, crossed the mountains by the Juniata and Kiskiminetas route, and came to Shannopinstown. Thence he proceeded to Logstown, but it is remarkable that in doing so he passed down the north side of the Allegheny, behind what is now known as Monument hill, in Allegheny City, and thus remained ignorant of the existence of the Monongahela river, which forms its junction with the Allegheny at that point. From Logstown he proceeded by way of the mouth of the Beaver to the Muskingum, where he met Croghan. Parting from him in January, 1751, he explored the country to the mouth of the Scioto, and thence across the Little Miami to the larger stream of the same name. From there he retraced his steps to the Ohio, where he checked his course and ascended the valley of the Kentucky river, where he found a pass to the Blue Stone, and returned to his principals by way of the Roanoke. In the November following he is found in another expedition, but this time in the country south of the Ohio, which he explored as far as the Great Kanawha during the winter.

In April, 1751, Croghan was again at Logstown, and obtained formal permission for the English to erect a fort at the mouth of the Monongahela.

This, from motives of economy, the Pennsylvania assembly refused to do. In fact each of the colonies sought to evade the burden of securing the valley of the Ohio, though all recognized the necessity of doing so, and the propriety of losing no time in the matter. The proprietaries and assembly of Pennsylvania tossed the subject from one to the other in fruitless disputes as to where the responsibility rested. New York would remonstrate with the governor of Canada; and Virginia, limited in resources, was equally reluctant to assume the expense involved in such an undertaking. The key to the Ohio valley was the forks of the Ohio river, and Virginia's accessibility and the extent of her charter claims at length devolved the initiative upon her.

In the meantime the French were steadily pushing their claims, and the dexterity with which they were generally able to manage the Indians, as well as the important fact that they did not want to occupy the country, but only to hold dominion over it and monopolize the Indian trade, enabled them to win the natives, and to turn them against the English, whom they never really loved, but with whom they saw they could trade with advantage. Time wore on, and the spring of 1753 saw the French actively engaged in carrying out their purpose of erecting a chain of forts through the west. Presqu' Isle and Le Bœuf, in Northwestern Pennsylvania, were built in the early part of that year.

Before entering upon the important history of the struggle between the French and English for the possession of the rich valley of the Ohio, and the key to it, the site of the present city of Pittsburgh, a hasty glance will be cast at the progress made thus far in planting settlements west of the mountains. Prior to the occupation of the forks of the Ohio by the French the territory west of the Alleghenies had become familiar to the colonists, thanks to the land-grabbers, traders, and other adventurers; and a number of frontier cabins sent their curling smoke toward the sky through the forest trees. Céloron informs us, in the journal of his expedition, that he found an English trading-house on the Allegheny some distance above the mouth of Oil creek, and that of John Fraser, the gunsmith, at the mouth of French creek. There were also several cabins in the vicinity of the forks, one standing at the present Sharpsburg, another at Emsworth, below Allegheny City, one in the vicinity of Sewickley, besides others. The most important settlement, however, was that of Christopher Gist at the spot on the Chestnut ridge known as Dunbar's Camp, which consisted of about a dozen families. Such was the condition of the territory embraced within the limits of Allegheny county at the date of the commencement of the French war, a contest of vast importance, not only to the colonies but to the world.

CHAPTER II.

CONTEST FOR THE OHIO VALLEY.

War-Clouds—French and English Claims—Defeat of the Colonial Forces—Gen. Braddock's Defeat—Gen. Forbes' Operations—Destruction of Fort Duquesne—End of French Rule in Pennsylvania.

THE rising mists of war alluded to at the close of the last chapter soon became threatening clouds, growing more dark and lowering every moment. It is not the intention to enter into a lengthy account of the complications of European politics, or the circumstances that led to a declaration of war between France and England, so disastrous for the former in the loss of her possessions on this side of the Atlantic, and scarcely less so for the latter in schooling her colonists in the art of war, removing by the destruction of French power the only check she had on their dependence, and training a leader for them whose name is as imperishable as the everlasting hills, the illustrious Washington. To every reflecting mind a struggle between the two powers over their American possessions was inevitable. Time might be required before the cloud of war should burst upon the New World, but that time was certain to come, and it could not be long delayed. The pioneers cared little what disposition might be made by the crowned heads of old Europe of the territory here. Being an agricultural people, they must in the nature of things move westward, slowly, it might be, and frequently checked and driven back by the natives; but move they would, and no power could resist them.

By the treaty of Utrecht, signed April 11, 1713, England acquired large tracts of territory from the French in America; but by far the most important of these was that lying south of Lake Ontario, upon which the Six Nations lived, and which included a recognition of that famous confederation as English subjects. This grant not only curtailed the territory of the French, but also cut off all hope of a direct line of communication with the valley of the Mississippi, and left their route by way of the lakes open to attack. Still further, this concession made the English heirs to the Iroquois conquests in the west, an advantage of the first importance, which they ultimately improved. As yet, however, they seemed utterly indifferent to the possession of the interior. The charters of the seaboard colonies granted the territory "from sea to sea," but, separate in organization, and jealous of each other, as well as of the crown, their policy was narrowed and their strength weakened. Living by agriculture

and trade, their expansion, though certain, was necessarily slow. A powerful incentive for the speedy acquisition of territory for actual settlement in the present was thus lacking during the early period of English colonial history, and for more than a century their western boundary was the mountains. The French, on the other hand, were greedy of dominion, but not for purposes of settlement. Each nation eyed the other with jealousy as it gazed on the wide expanse of country between the Alleghenies and the great river of the west. The treaty of Utrecht had effected no permanent peace between them, but only a truce which each was taking advantage of to prepare for whatever further developments time might have in store. It defined nothing; settled nothing permanently with regard to their possessions in the New World. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in October, 1748, as far as it referred to America only left the possessions of the respective powers "the same as before the war." This was but an evasion of the point at issue, which sooner or later must demand adjudication; and it left a peaceful adjustment of conflicting claims raised by the former treaty out of the question.

It is difficult to describe accurately the geographical scope of the early French and English claims in America. Generally stated, the former included the entire basin of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi and the extensive region around the great lakes; but the details of this broad claim were as ill defined in the minds of the claimants as they were in those of the English. In Western Pennsylvania the Allegheny mountains formed a natural boundary, which was fixed upon by the French as the western limits of their rival in that section. The terms of the various charters were more or less vague, as has been stated; and while the colonies were united in disputing the pretensions of the French, they had disputes, sometimes very bitter and long continued, among themselves. Indeed, might was the only recognized basis of right everywhere in the New World, and each nation was eager to anticipate the other in establishing its power within the coveted limits before trying conclusions. Many circumstances united in transferring the inevitable struggle between the rivals to the valley of the Ohio; and here it is that we shall briefly review the actions of the two great nations.

Taking up the history of this section of country at the point where it was dropped at the close of the last chapter, it will be remembered that at the beginning of the year 1754 a few colonists' cabins began to appear on the western side of the Allegheny mountains, and principally along the course of the rivers, which gave evidence of awakening activity in extending the border settlements. Negotiations were also being actively carried on with the aborigines, with the odds apparently in favor of the English; permission had been obtained for erecting a fort on the headwaters of the Ohio; and, all things considered, the prospects were as encouraging as could be expected. But the agents of the French were also on the scene; and to their acknowledged superior tact in managing the Indians they added the argument, which the conduct

of their rivals only tended to confirm, that the English were after the hunting-grounds of the Indians, and were going to force them back, little by little, as they had done east of the mountains. Add to this that the French had already built two forts in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania, with a view of connecting Lake Erie with the Allegheny river by means of Le Bœuf river, or French creek, as it has since been called; and that they were negotiating with the Indians for the site of another fort at the confluence of the two streams, thus aiming at securing communication by water from the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, as well as from the lakes, with the coveted strategic point, the forks of the Ohio, which they hoped soon to grasp. Quietly they were preparing a fleet of canoes and batteaux to carry their forces down the Beautiful river, and with a favorable stage of water, such as was naturally to be expected in the spring, they could reach the forks in less than two days, the distance being only 124 miles, and before word of their approach could be sent across the mountains. Once in possession, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge them; for before troops could be brought from the east of the mountains, over which a road must first be opened for their passage, a strong fortification could be erected at the forks, forces could be concentrated from Detroit, the Illinois country and the forts to the north; and in the meantime the enemy could be harassed on the march.

The colonies were not insensible to the dangers to which they were exposed; but apathy and a lack of harmony prevented concerted action. New York had sufficient to engage her attention in protecting her own frontier from the inroads of the French, who lay along so wide a stretch of her border; and in Pennsylvania there existed a protracted quarrel between the proprietaries and the assembly, in which the object seemed to be first to beat the governor and then fight the French. It was only the Scotch governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, who took the cause of the crown in hand. Acting upon instructions received from the mother-country, he prepared to examine into the movements and purposes of the enemy, as the territory around the headwaters of the Ohio, to which their movements were directed, lay within the charter claim of the Old Dominion. For the arduous task of investigating the actions of the French he selected a man who, though scarcely beyond the years of boyhood, was equal to the important duty assigned him, being no other than George Washington, whose training in the art of war was to be perfected mainly in the territory now engaging our attention. At that time he was one of the three commanders of the militia of Virginia. He received his instructions and credentials on the 30th of October, 1753, and was ordered to proceed with all convenient dispatch to Logstown, where he should consult with the Indians, and learn what he could of the designs of the French, and the best route by which he could reach their nearest fort. His interesting journal of the expedition is preserved, from which it is learned that he arrived at Will's creek, where the city of Cumberland, Md., now stands, November 14th, whence he proceeded to

Gist's plantation on the Chestnut ridge. Taking that fearless explorer with him, he reached Logstown on the 23d, after pausing to examine the land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and the site three miles further down on the southern bank of the Ohio where the Indians wanted the traders to erect a fort. But the site did not please Washington so well as that at the forks. It was not until the 30th that he was able, after much time spent in deliberation, to induce a small number of Indians to accompany him to the French post. The party arrived at Venango, at the mouth of French creek, December 4th, where, after wine had been drunk deeply, the French began to talk freely of their determination and ability to descend the river with the opening of spring, and take possession of the entire valley. Making careful notes of all that he saw and heard, Washington set out on his journey to Fort Le Bœuf, where he should meet the commander of the forts and deliver his message. But he encountered no little difficulty in keeping the Indians sober, and preventing them from being influenced by the wily Joncaire. He finally got under way on the 7th, and reached the terminus of his journey four days later. He remained at Le Bœuf till the 23d, occupying himself in keeping the Indians sober, preventing them from being drawn over to the cause of the enemy, making close observations and taking copious notes of what passed under his notice, and attending the councils for the transaction of the business upon which he had been sent. It was with the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in getting his party on the road to return, but he at length succeeded. Arriving at the forks on the 29th, he continued his journey, and reached Williamsburg on the 16th of January, 1754.

With the return of Washington the colonists were not only assured of the intentions of the French but also of their ability to carry them into execution unless the most prompt and energetic measures were taken to prevent it. And these the colonists were not disposed to adopt. The matter was left entirely in the hands of Virginia; and Capt. William Trent was appointed to lead out a detachment of soldiers and workmen to build a fort with all dispatch at the forks. Washington had met, on his return, the vanguard of these forces, consisting of a train of packhorses with materials for the fort; but it was doubtful whether it would arrive in time to throw up a fortification, as the movements of the enemy depended on the opening of the river, which might take place at any time. Trent arrived at the forks on the 17th of February, 1754, from which dates the permanent occupation by the whites of the spot upon which the city of Pittsburgh now stands. Work was immediately commenced on a fort at the confluence of the rivers; but the small number of men engaged on it, together with the severity of the season, retarded its progress, and the spring opened to find it only partially completed, and with no garrison to make a successful defense against such a force as that of the French.

The French had been very active on the upper waters of the Allegheny during the winter. Finding the Indians too much opposed to the building of

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a fort at the mouth of French creek, in the autumn of 1753 the greater part of the soldiers were sent back to pass the winter in Canada, leaving the two forts already erected garrisoned by a small force, while the shrewd Joncaire was left with the Indians at their village of Ganagara'hare, where the town of Franklin now stands, to spend the winter with them and endeavor to obtain their consent for building the desired fort at that place. His efforts were successful; the fortification was undertaken without opposition early in the spring, and the work was pushed forward with so much energy that it was completed before the middle of April. The object of these forts was not so much to form centers of defensive or aggressive warfare as depots for the stores landed from the lakes for transportation to the lower waters of the Allegheny, where the seat of war was soon to be located; and for that reason they were not remarkable for either strength or engineering skill. Their occupants, with the exception of a small garrison, were generally workingmen, but this was more especially true of Le Bœuf, at the head of canoe navigation on French creek, where the canoes and batteaux were prepared for the transportation of troops, provisions and munitions of war down the river. This part of the French operations was, properly speaking, only the preparation for what they had in view; the real work was to be performed at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela, a most important affair, which is now to engage our attention.

With the opening of spring the French marshaled their forces to the number of about one thousand, including French Canadians, and Indians of various tribes, with eighteen pieces of cannon, in all a flotilla of about sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, and descended the Allegheny. Arriving on the evening of the 16th of April, under the command of Capt. Contrecœur, they summoned Ensign Edward Ward, who commanded in the temporary absence of Trent, to an immediate surrender. Having only thirty-three men with him, he was reluctantly compelled to obey. The 17th has frequently been given as the date of the surrender, but this is an error, as is proven by the document itself. This summons, being an important historical document, is reproduced entire. It may also be taken as a fair sample of the fulsome style in use at that early day, and as such it will be as interesting as it is instructive.

A SUMMONS.

By Order of Monsieur Contrecœur, Captain of the Companies of the Detachment of the French Marine, Commander-in-Chief of His Most Christian Majesty's Troops, now on the Beautiful River, to the Commander of Those of the King of Great Britain, at the Mouth of the River Monongahela.

Sir—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the king, my master, which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the artillery of Canada, to know of you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the king, my

master. This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace, at Aix-la-Chapelle, between his most Christian majesty and the king of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful river belong to his most Christian majesty.

I am informed, sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade than to endeavor to keep the union and harmony which subsists between the two crowns of France and Great Britain, although it is as much the interest, sir, of your nation as ours, to preserve it.

Let it be as it will, sir, if you come out into this place, charged with orders, I summon you in the name of the king, my master, by virtue of orders which I have got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not to return, or else I shall find myself obliged to fulfill my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, sir, you may be persuaded that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

I prevent you, sir, from asking me one hour of delay, nor to wait for my consent to receive orders from your governor. He can give none within the dominions of the king, my master. Those I have received of my general are my laws, so that I can not depart from them.

On the contrary, sir, if you have not got orders, and only come to trade, I am sorry to tell you, that I can not avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies and friends, as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, sir, that we stopped two Englishmen last year, who were trading upon our lands; moreover, the king, my master, asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship which reigns between his majesty and the king of Great Britain.

The governor of Canada can give proof of his having done his utmost endeavors to maintain the perfect union which reigns between two friendly princes. As he had learned that the Iroquois and the Nipissings of the Lake of the Two Mountains had struck and destroyed an English family, toward Carolina, he has barred up the road, and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to that family, and which M. Ulerich, a merchant of Montreal, has carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid the savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English, our friends.

I could complain bitterly, sir, of the means taken all last winter to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet and strike us, while we were striving to maintain peace. I am well persuaded, sir, of the polite manner in which you will receive M. Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back with one of your officers, who will bring me a precise answer. As you have got some Indians with you, sir, I join with M. Le Mercier an interpreter, that he may inform them of my intentions upon that subject.

I am, with great regard, sir,

Your most humble and most ob't serv't,

CONTRECŒUR.

Done at our camp, April 16th, 1754.*

On the morning of the 17th the colonial soldiers were permitted to withdraw; and they went up the Monongahela to the mouth of the Redstone creek, where the Ohio Company had a trading-post.

The die was cast; the two nations were at war, although it had not been formally declared. The French followed up with alacrity the advantages they had gained. The fort was completed early in June, and named Duquesne,

*Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," pp. 23–25.

in honor of the governor-general of Canada; troops from the Illinois country were hastily brought up the Ohio to increase its garrison; spies were sent among the neighboring Indian tribes to tell them of the triumph of the French and win them back to their cause; and a close watch was kept of the movements of the colonial forces.

Washington was at Will's creek pushing forward the preparations to reinforce the frontier fort, when the news of its capture was brought him. Scouts continued to bring information of the enemy's movements, but the tedious preparations for the march were not allowed to cease. The line of march lay over a broken, mountainous country, to the north of Redstone creek, and thence down through the country to the mouth of the Monongahela. Roads had to be cut for the artillery and provision trains, and progress was made at the slow rate of from two to four miles a day. On the 27th of May the English had reached a place known as the Great Meadows, when the scouts brought word that the French forces were in the vicinity. Washington, fearing a surprise, started out on the following morning to ascertain the strength of enemy, when an engagement took place in which the French lost their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine men, the Americans losing but one. This was the first act of open hostility between the regularly arrayed forces of the two nations in the valley of the Ohio, and it was held by the French as the commencement of the war. The march of the colonial forces was continued without further incident until the latter part of June, when the report came in that the enemy was approaching in full force. A council of war was held, and it was resolved to retreat to a more defensible point. The Great Meadows was reached on the 1st of July, and here the exhausted condition of the provincials determined Washington to take a stand. Here, as he reported, with nature's assistance, he made a good entrenchment, and prepared a charming field for an encounter, to which, owing to the circumstances in which his people were placed, he gave the name of Fort Necessity. The enemy appeared on the 3d, and opened the attack. For nine hours an ineffectual resistance was made against overwhelming odds, when a capitulation was agreed upon, the colonials being permitted to retire with everything save the artillery, only one piece of which they were allowed to take with them. This action was one of the causes assigned by George II for a declaration of war. For Washington it was perhaps the most humiliating scene in his entire career. How differently he celebrated the Fourth of July forty years later! But reverses sometimes bring out better than success what is in a man.

With this victory on the part of the French the whole frontier became exposed to their inroads; the Indians who till then had faltered were won over to the French; the settlements were in the utmost alarm, and a series of murderous incursions was begun, and continued for four years, checked for a brief space by the march of Gen. Braddock, only to burst forth with rekindled fury

after his disastrous defeat. The massacred pioneers, the smoldering ruins of their frontier cabins, and the large number of prisoners taken, some to be tortured at the stake with the utmost refinement of savage cruelty, others to live in degradation worse than slavery, to be rescued years later by a Bouquet, or to die of hardship and exposure, tell the tale of the relentless fury of the natives. How far the French are to be held responsible for the blood that was shed and the barbarities inflicted it were difficult to determine; but the scenes described by such prisoners as James Smith seem to attach some blame at least to them.

The colonists were powerless to dislodge the French from their stronghold at the forks, or to keep them in check on the frontier so long as they held it; and the season was too far advanced to expect assistance from the mother-country. Besides, England and France, though both were actively preparing for war, professed to be at peace. Thus matters stood at the close of this disastrous year, only to be followed, could the future have been penetrated, by a year still more disastrous. Negotiations between the two nations continued in Europe. France proposed to restore the American boundary lines as they had been before the war of the Spanish succession, and refer all matters of dispute to the commissioners at Paris; England refused to go back to the treaty of Utrecht. France rejected this basis of discussion, and offered another compromise—that both nations should retire from the country between the Alleghenies and the Ohio. To this England agreed, stipulating, however, that the French should destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; but this the French refused to accept. Like nearly all such negotiations, it was an attempt on the part of each nation to outwit the other, and on the part of both to conceal, rather than manifest, their real intentions. The insincerity of the desire they mutually expressed to preserve peaceful relations is seen in the fact that, though the decision referred to was not reached till the latter part of March, 1755, yet in February Gen. Braddock had landed in Virginia in command of a strong force, with additional powers to compel the colonists to join him in an expedition for the reduction of all the French posts on the frontier. French fleets, too, with provisions and men, were on the ocean, crowding every sail to come to the rescue. But war was not even yet declared. Braddock had planned a threefold campaign against the enemy's posts—in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point and Niagara, by way of Fort Duquesne. He did not, indeed, meditate the conquest of Canada, but simply acted in obedience to his instructions to resist encroachments on English territory. It is not the intention to give in this place an account of these several expeditions, but to treat only of the one which was sent into Western Pennsylvania.

Gen. Braddock was everywhere beset with difficulties, which retarded his movements and ruffled his by no means placid temper. He had, besides, a contempt for everything colonial, which he made no effort to conceal. This antipathy was not without its effects on the colonial troops, who, besides

being trained to Indian warfare, knew it to be the best, and felt that a leader trained according to other methods must find himself at sea among the red-skins. This ignorance of Braddock's, coupled with his peculiar disposition, caused him to make numerous blunders, none of which escaped the attention of the self-reliant frontiersmen. Among the forces under the immediate command of the general were two regiments commanded respectively by Sir Peter Halket and Col. Thomas Dunbar, and which were attended with a suitable train of artillery. The landing in Virginia instead of Pennsylvania was the first of a series of unfortunate mistakes, as neither adequate forage, provision nor transportation could be easily procured; and it is said that, if the latter province had been selected as the point of debarkation, a saving of forty thousand pounds would have been effected, and the march shortened by six weeks. It is well known that when the army was detained at Will's creek for lack of means of transportation the general was only relieved by resources drawn from Pennsylvania. The general established his headquarters at Alexandria, and spent the time from February 20th to the middle of April in elaborating his plans and preparing his forces to move to the rendezvous at Will's creek. The army reached that point after a tedious march of four weeks, and there received such forces from New York and Virginia as raised the number in the command to two thousand men. Here it was that he encountered the most exasperating difficulties. Instead of the one hundred and fifty wagons and three hundred horses promised him, with ample supplies of forage and provisions, he found only fifteen wagons, hardly a third of the horses expected, and a scanty supply of damaged provisions. It was only by the tact and influence of Dr. Franklin that he was finally rescued from his trying position. He began to feel keenly the effect of his constant disparagement of the provincial officers and militia; but his eyes were not opened, and he made no effort to correct his mistake. Indeed it is much to the credit of the colonial officers and men that they did not utterly abandon a leader who was so little able to conceal the contempt in which he held them. He declared that he saw little courage in them, and expected only indifferent military service from them. Besides, he had orders from England that all officers of whatever rank bearing royal commissions were to take precedence of those holding commission under the provincial governments. Such arbitrary folly gave great offense to the provincials, both officers and men; and among others, even Washington, whose self-possession never forsook him, threw up his commission, but without abandoning the expedition. While no one at all acquainted with the history of Gen. Braddock has ever doubted his courage or bravery, all agree that a worse choice could hardly have been made of a leader. Another and, if possible, a greater blunder was the contempt in which Braddock held the enemy he was sent to conquer.

Space can not be given for a full account of this important expedition; but it is necessary to know the leader of it, if we want to arrive at a correct esti-

mate of the cause of his disastrous failure, by which the enemies, not only of England and the colonies, but of humanity itself, were emboldened to perpetrate deeds of cruelty which are an indelible stain upon the pages of the world's history. With what feeling do the Americans of to-day compare these words of Braddock to Franklin, who in his inimitable way attempted to give the general a timely warning: "The savages may be a formidable foe to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops it is impossible they should make any impression," with the account of his ignominious defeat and tragic death within a few miles of the enemy he so much despised?

The superiority of Washington's judgment appeared here, as on so many other occasions, and had his advice been followed the result of the expedition would doubtless have been other than it was. Accustomed to travel in the backwoods, he advised a rapid march by such trails as could be made practicable for an army with a pack-train; but the general, unable or unwilling to accommodate himself to circumstances, determined to proceed upon the plan to which he had been accustomed in his European campaigns. Five hundred men were sent forward to Little Meadows to open a wagon-road, and store provisions, following closely Nemackolin's path, of which mention has already been made. Sir Peter Halket followed with the first division of the army; but some delays intervened before the general was in motion with the second. The balance of the army, under Col. Thomas Dunbar, was left behind to follow by slower marches. Owing to the difficulty of making a road the army moved slowly, leaving the enemy time to concentrate his forces. On the 30th of June the army crossed the Youghiogheny river at Stewart's crossing, about half a mile below the present town of Connellsville, and held a council of war to determine upon future movements. It was resolved not to await the arrival of Dunbar, but to push forward with the forces composing the first detachment. The route of the army lay toward the headwaters of Turtle creek, which it struck and followed till near the mouth, when it took a southern course to avoid the steep hills, and came to the Monongahela a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny. Here the troops arrived on the morning of July 9th. The river was crossed, and the army moved down the western bank to a point opposite the mouth of Turtle creek, where the second fording was to be made. The general, not doubting that French spies were watching his movements, made this fording in such a manner as to present his forces to the best advantage, and make a deep impression of the strength of his command; and Washington, who had been detained by sickness, and but lately joined the advance, declared in after life that it was the grandest spectacle he had ever witnessed. It was about noon, and the last of the forces reached the eastern bank of the river before 1 o'clock. The soldiers were in the best of spirits, and the playing of the July sun upon their polished weapons seemed but to be a reflection of the cheerfulness and hope that animated them. Only ten miles, and victory, with rest and the spoils, was theirs.

The French had kept themselves accurately informed of the movements of the English; but what they should do under the circumstances was an inquiry to which no satisfactory answer was forthcoming. And here a question arises in regard to which there has long been great difference of opinion, namely: Who was in command of Fort Duquesne at that time? Some authorities affirm that it was Contrecœur, while others maintain that it was Beaujeu. The following entry in the register kept in the chapel of the fort places the question beyond doubt:

> In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, on the ninth of July, was killed in the battle fought with the English, and the same day as above, Mr. Léonel Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, captain of infantry, commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His remains were interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful river, and that with the customary ceremonies by us, Recollet priest, the undersigned chaplain of the king at the above-mentioned fort. In testimony whereof we have signed:
>
> Fr. Denys Baron, P. R., Chaplain.

The conflicting statements may perhaps be reconciled in one of two ways. Either Beaujeu had not yet assumed command, and then he is spoken of in the register as commander by anticipation, as one who held the commission but had not yet begun to exercise the duties of his office; or else he was actually in command, as is stated in the register, but, he being dead, Contrecœur could, without fear of contradiction, take the honor of victory to himself, and claim recognition from the home government for his eminent services. The reader need not be surprised at this statement, for it is well known that veracity was not one of the most eminent virtues of many of the first adventurers in the New World. Nor would the governor of Canada be likely to refuse to countenance the fraud, if proper influence were brought to bear upon him. The reader may choose for himself which of these two theories seems most probable; but whatever may be said of the commander at the time of the battle, it is certain that Contrecœur resumed command after that time. M. Dumas was the first subordinate officer under Beaujeu at the battle, and for his gallant conduct on the occasion he was promoted to succeed Contrecœur in the command of the fort and the army before the middle of the following September.

For the French to abandon the fort without a struggle was to abandon the valley of the Ohio without hope of again recovering it; yet the probabilities were against them. The Indians began to waver in their allegiance, and could not be relied on; while it appeared rash in the extreme to attack the trained forces of Great Britain with the small army at the fort. With difficulty Beaujeu prevailed on the Indians to join him; two days were spent in preparation; and it was not until the morning of the 9th that he, at the head of about two hundred and fifty French and Canadians and some six hundred Indians, set out to meet the enemy. The French had been so long delayed that the English

were crossing the river as they reached the ravine on the side of the hill that sloped toward the stream; and abandoning the idea of contesting the passage, Beaujeu disposed of his command in the ravines where it was entirely concealed from the English. The position selected by the French was admirably adapted to an ambuscade. Down the inclined surface which the English were ascending extended two ravines, beginning near each other at about one hundred and fifty yards from the foot of the hill, and extending in different directions till they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected, they being from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficiently large to contain at least ten thousand men.

The signal for attack was the approach of the English to the place of concealment. The first onslaught was made on the front of the advancing column; but it was repelled by so heavy a return from the British that the Indians at once showed signs of wavering. The French commander was killed at the first fire while bravely cheering on his men; but Dumas, rallying the Indians, directed them to attack the English on the flank while he maintained the resistance in the front with the white men of the force. The attack soon became general. The vanguard was thrown back upon its supports in confusion, leaving two pieces of artillery in the hands of the enemy, and throwing that portion of the British troops already engaged into a very exposed position. Braddock did not allow his men to go behind the trees and fight the Indians in their own way, but compelled them to march in a body, while the Indians spread themselves on every side behind trees and logs and whatever would afford them protection. Invisible, yet making the woods resound with their fiendish war-whoop, they fired with deadly aim at the compact body of the enemy. None of the English could say they saw a hundred of the enemy, and many of the officers who were in the heat of the engagement the whole time would not assert that they saw even one; and they could only fire at random in the direction from which they were fired upon. The combat continued for two hours with scarcely a change in the disposition of either side. The regulars, terrified by the yells of the Indians, and dispirited by a style of fighting such as they had never imagined, gathered themselves into a body, and fired at random. The officers bravely advanced, sometimes at the head of small bodies, sometimes separately, but were sacrificed by the soldiers, who refused to follow them, and who even fired upon them from the rear. Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed, among whom was Sir Peter Halket, and thirty-seven were wounded, including Gage and the field officers. Of the men one-half were killed or wounded. Braddock braved every danger. Both his English aids were disabled early in the engagement, leaving Washington alone to distribute his orders. "I expected every moment to see him fall," said one whose eye was on him. He had two horses shot under him and four bullets through his coat, yet escaped without a wound. "Death," he wrote, "was leveling my companions on every side of me; but, by the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been

W. Coglans

protected.'' Many persons predicted a great future for Washington, seeing, as they believed they did, that a special providence had him under its protection. The Virginia troops showed great valor, and of three companies scarcely thirty men were left alive. The regulars, having wasted their ammunition, broke and ran, leaving the artillery, provisions, baggage, and even the private papers of the general a prey to the enemy. All attempts to rally them were vain. After having five horses shot under him unharmed, and tempting fate by his heroic service in the face of the terrible discharge of the enemy's musketry, a ball entered his side, and Braddock was borne from the field mortally wounded. With the remnant of his command he was carried across the river, and the flight to Dunbar's camp on the Chestnut ridge was continued with all possible speed. Summing up the results of the battle, seven hundred and fourteen privates were killed or wounded, together with the army chaplain; while of the French and Indians only three officers and thirty men fell, and but as many more were wounded. On the 11th the retreating army reached the camp, which the news of the disaster had converted into a scene of confusion. On the following day the remaining artillery, stores and heavy baggage were destroyed and the retreat begun, Dunbar, who now assumed command, having determined to retire to Philadelphia for the winter. Braddock died on the 13th and was buried not far from the Great Meadows, where his grave may still be seen.

The French did not pursue the retreating army across the river; the plunder of the battle-field and the scalps proved too great an attraction for the savage allies; and with the exception of a visit to Dunbar's camp, they made no immediate effort to reap the full advantages of victory. Had they pursued the English they could have cut them utterly to pieces.

The effect of Braddock's defeat was widespread and disastrous to the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and nothing could exceed the terror with which the news filled the frontier, and reached even to Philadelphia, where some too sanguine persons were actually engaged in collecting money to celebrate the victory they felt certain would soon be gained over the French. But where victory and deliverance had been confidently expected, consternation alone appeared, and the tomahawk and scalping-knife were already seen in imagination to glitter at every cabin door. Nor did it require a violent stretch of the imagination; for from that day there was no security for human life west of the Susquehanna. All that was ferocious in the breasts of the savages was roused to new life; the Canadians, not a few of whom were little less cruel, were ready to join them in the general devastation, while even the French soldiers felt a fresh impulse added to the race and national hatred with which they had for centuries regarded the English.

Whence was relief to be expected ? All the forces of the colonies, supposing that harmony reigned between them and between their respective governors and assemblies, would not be sufficient to check the elated victors; and assist-

ance could not be expected from the mother-country before the middle of another year. In May, 1756, George II declared war against France; and both as a protection of the colonies and a means of dividing the forces of the enemy he planned an American campaign. But its management was a pitiable manifestation of military impotence. The commander-in-chief, the Earl of Loudon, did not arrive till the latter part of July. The only single ray of light shed upon the page of this year's history emanated from the action of the colonial militia.

One path of the hostile Indians led from Kittanning east across the mountains, and down the Juniata; and it was felt that no security could be had till that base of supplies was destroyed. This was Kittanning, an important Indian town, situated on the east bank of the Allegheny river, fifty-five miles above the forks, where the town of the same name now stands. Lying on the line of communication between the east and the west, it was important for the Indians, and being on the route of the French from the lake to Fort Duquesne, it was no less so for them. It was known to the latter as Attiqué, and is mentioned as a considerable town in Céloron's journal. Col. John Armstrong, who commanded the forces that garrisoned the forts in the region of the Juniata, determined to strike a blow at this rendezvous, and the more so as it was the home of the noted Delaware chief, Capt. Jacobs, one of the most ferocious of the leaders of the savages against the frontier settlements. Hopes were also entertained of rescuing a large number of prisoners held by the Indians there. All necessary preparations having been made, Col. Armstrong set out from Fort Shirley, a frontier post situated on Aughwick creek a short distance southeast of Huntingdon, on the 30th of August, 1756, with a force of three hundred men. The course of the expedition led up the Juniata, across the mountains, and west by the well-known trail to the town. A march of four days brought the troops to the close vicinity of the place, unobserved, when one night they discovered a party on their path. Turning aside, they were enabled to come without further danger of alarm to the river. We can not pause to enter into details regarding this important engagement; suffice it to say that the town was destroyed, with its vast stores of ammunition, Capt. Jacobs was killed, many prisoners were rescued, and the enemy was frustrated in the execution of a well-planned attack on the frontier forts that was to have been undertaken in a few days. Col. Armstrong received a slight wound, but was enabled to lead off his forces with the most gratifying success. Altogether it must be regarded as the most successful expedition ever led against the enemy in this part of the country, and well did the colonel deserve to have the county in which it took place named after him, that future generations might revere his memory.

In the French account of the affair, which was dispatched to Canada the next day, the credit of leading the colonial forces is attributed to "Le Général Wachington," whose name was already a tower of strength on the frontier.

The results of this well-planned and admirably executed attack were not of lasting importance, for, though it broke up the great Indian stronghold in Western Pennsylvania, it counted for little in the struggle between the two most powerful nations of Europe for the possession of the valley of the Ohio. Its results were only temporary, and could not be followed up. The blow sustained by the savages gave the frontier only a moment's repose. The English forces in America were at that time under the command of an incompetent general, and the result was that the year 1757 only added to the disasters which had attended the British arms since the opening of the war. In the western part of our state the French and Indians had it all their own way; and whatever check they met with anywhere was from the provincials when they were permitted to follow the dictates of their own knowledge and experience, untrammeled by the arbitrary authority of leaders unacquainted with the tactics necessary to be adopted with the enemy they had to contend against. The territory around the headwaters of the Ohio received comparatively little attention this year, the efforts of the commander-in-chief being directed toward the reduction of the French posts at the head of Lake Champlain. At the end of the year the cause of the enemy seemed everywhere triumphant; and had it not been that Pitt was restored to the ministry, the situation of the colonies would have been truly deplorable. But with the opening of the spring of 1758, the presence of that great statesman began to be felt in the British councils, and signs of healthy activity began to appear in America. Loudon was recalled and Abercrombie, seconded by Lord Howe, succeeded him; and while Amherst and Wolfe were sent to join the fleet in the northeast, and the commander-in-chief directed the movements against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Gen. John Forbes was placed in command of the army that was to operate in the west. With his campaign only are we concerned here; and considerable space must be given to its details, for with it ended the ascendancy of the French not only in the valley of the Ohio, but, it may be said, within the territory of the United States.

After long delays Forbes saw 1,250 Highlanders arrive from South Carolina. They were joined by 350 royal Americans. Pennsylvania, animated with an unusual military spirit, raised for the expedition 2,700 men. Their senior officer was John Armstrong. Virginia sent two regiments of about nineteen hundred men with Washington as their leader; yet vast as were the preparations Forbes would never, but for Washington, have reached the Ohio. "The Virginia chief, who at first was stationed at Fort Cumberland, clothed a part of his force in the hunting-shirt and the Indian blanket, which least impeded the progress of the soldiers through the forest, and he entreated that the army might advance promptly along Braddock's road. But the expedition was not merely a military enterprise; it was also the march of civilization toward the west, and was made memorable by the construction of a better avenue to the Ohio. This required long-continued labor. September had come before

Forbes, whose life was slowly ebbing, was borne on a litter as far as Raystown (now Bedford). But he preserved a clear head and a fine will, or, as he himself expressed it, was actuated by the spirit of William Pitt; and he decided to keep up the direct communication with Philadelphia as essential to present success and future security."*

At the same time the events of the year seemed to promise success to an embassy to the western Indians, if the proper messenger could be found. The influence of the Quakers, together with the campaign of Armstrong, had induced the Indians located in the eastern part of the province to confer with the whites at Easton in November, 1756. The contracting parties were Gov. Denny on the part of the province, and the noted Delaware chief, Tedyuscung, on the part of the aborigines. Each party was attended by a considerable retinue. When questioned as to the cause of the dissatisfaction and hostility of the Indians, the chief mentioned the overtures of the French and the ill-usage of the provincial authorities. He boldly declared that the very land on which they stood had been taken from the rightful owners by fraud, and not only had the country from Tohickon creek to Wyoming been thus taken, but several tracts in New Jersey had been similarly stolen from his people. And subsequently, when the Six Nations had given the Shawanese the country on the Juniata for a hunting-ground, with the full knowledge of the governor, the latter permitted settlers to encroach upon their lands. Again, in 1754, the governor had gone to Albany to purchase more lands of the Six Nations, describing the lands sought by points of the compass, which the Indians did not understand, and by the profusion of presents obtained grants for lands which the Iroquois did not intend to sell. When these things were known to the native occupants they declared they would no longer be friends with the English, who were trying to get all their country.

This council lasted nine days, and resulted in a treaty of peace between the two parties, and the former differences were amicably adjusted. Another council for settling certain other questions was held in July, 1757. These conferences did not, however, include the Indians on the Ohio, who were under the immediate influence of the French, but Tedyuscung promised to endeavor to bring them into friendly relations with the English. His efforts did not, however, avail, and the western tribes continued their hostilities. But in 1758, with Forbes' army on the point of marching against Fort Duquesne, the provincial authorities determined to make one more effort to alienate the Ohio Indians from their allegiance to the French. Accordingly Christian Frederic Post, a Moravian missionary, who was held in high esteem by the Indians in the east, was sent out in July. He proceeded by way of Venango to Kiskaskunk on the Beaver, a short distance below New Castle, and was accompanied by several Indians to insure him a favorable reception. He was well received, though the Indians refused to hear of Tedyuscung or the Easton

* Bancroft.

treaty. He remained about a week and made a favorable impression upon all, till a French officer arrived with an Indian delegation from Fort Duquesne, which caused the Indians to waver. An effort was also made to bring him near enough to the fort to capture him; but he escaped through the influence of his friends, and after an anxious delay, so skillfully managed his cause as to get an agreement from the chief men that, if all the nations agreed to join the English in a treaty of peace, they would also join. He set out on his return journey on the 8th of September, and reached the east some two weeks later. A severe blow was then struck at the confidence of the Indians in the ultimate success of the French, which was destined to be deeply felt by the latter.

A grand council was accordingly held at Easton in the fall of the same year for the adjustment of the whole question of Indian grievances, in which all matters were amicably settled, though not without difficulty. When the Indians dispersed it seemed advisable to send a messenger with the delegation from the west to negotiate with the wavering tribes on the upper Ohio and claim the fulfillment of their promise. No one being so well suited as Post, he was again sent out.

The army under Forbes had been making slow progress westward; and it was September before he reached Raystown, where Col. Bouquet awaited his arrival. But this very tardiness was not without its effect. It gave Post an opportunity of perfecting his negotiations with the already wavering Indians; it exhausted their patience and made many of those assembled around Fort Duquesne withdraw; and it worked the consumption of the provisions at the fort, and made it expedient to reduce the forces there; and in this way it rendered the capture of the fort more certain and less difficult. Washington joined the army with his command at Raystown, and Bouquet with a force of two thousand men was sent forward to the Loyalhanna. Every day seemed to seal more certainly the fate of the French, who were beginning to be disheartened by the success which attended the British arms on the lakes. Their distance from their base of supplies was another difficulty they had to contend against, which, with the mutual jealousies of the rulers in Canada, rendered the position of the garrison at Fort Duquesne far from enviable. Gen. Montcalm, writing at this time to his friend the Chevalier de Bourlamaque, gives this picture of the condition of affairs at the fort: "Mutiny among the Canadians, who want to go home; the officers busy with making money, and stealing like mandarins. Their commander sets the example, and will come back with three or four hundred francs; the pettiest ensign who does not gamble will have ten, twelve or fifteen hundred francs. The Indians do not like Ligneris, who is drunk every day."* Insignificant successes served in a measure to keep up the spirit of the French; but the entire policy of that nation in the New World was erroneous, and the fall of their power was only a question of time. The defeat of Maj. Grant within a mile of the fort, to which he had been

* Parkman.

sent with eight hundred men, was due rather to his imprudence than to the valor or vigilance of the enemy; while the attack of the French and Indians on Fort Ligonier produced no permanent result. The fall of Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, August 27th, by cutting off supplies, made it impossible to hold Fort Duquesne long. All hope being lost, on the 24th of November, 1758, when the English were within ten miles of the fort it was blown up and the buildings around it, to the number of about thirty, were burnt. The French, who counted about four hundred, besides a large force of Indians of several tribes, withdrew. Some of the former went down the Ohio to the Illinois country, others across the country to Presqu' Isle, and part with their commander, De Ligneris, up the Allegheny to Fort Machault, at the mouth of French creek. On Saturday, November 25, 1758, the English moved in a body, and at evening the youthful Washington could point out to officers and men the meeting of the waters. The hand of the veteran Armstrong raised the British flag over the ruins of the fort; and as the banner floated to the breeze, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was named Pittsburgh.

But all danger had not been removed by the capture of Fort Duquesne. That part of the French forces which retreated up the Allegheny halted at Fort Machault; that fortification was strengthened, and it was the intention to remain there during the winter, defend the place in case of an attack, and descend the river in the spring with a view of recapturing Fort Duquesne. Under favorable circumstances this would not have been difficult; for the British, after throwing up a little fortification not far from the captured stronghold, retired to Philadelphia, leaving a garrison of not more than two hundred men. In case of a sudden attack these could not be reinforced in time to hold the place. Having collected a force of about seven hundred French and Canadians, and a thousand Indians, with batteaux and canoes for their transportation, toward the end of June, 1759, the French were about to embark for the forks, when word was received that Fort Niagara was besieged. The importance of holding that point induced them to abandon Machault and hasten to concentrate all their available forces at Niagara. They saw their route to the Mississippi cut off by way of the Ohio, and if Niagara should fall into the hands of the enemy, all communication with the west would be broken off. The stores and munitions of war prepared for the expedition to the forks were hastily destroyed or distributed among the Indians, while the large fleet of batteaux and canoes was burnt. Forts Le Bœuf and Presqu' Isle, having served as relays during the occupation of Duquesne, lost their importance, and were evacuated, and the power of the French in Pennsylvania was extinguished forever.

The subsequent history of the French in North America is soon told. Fort Niagara was captured on the 5th of August, 1759, and with it the French were cut off from all communication with the west; Quebec fell with the death of

Montcalm, September 14th, of the same year; and with the capitulation of Montreal, September 8, 1760, all the possessions of the French east of the Mississippi fell into the hands of the English. But as the star of the French sank behind the western horizon, the sun of American Independence rose gloriously in the east.

A word on this apparent triumph of England. Long before the expulsion of the French from Canada, thoughtful minds on both sides of the Atlantic foresaw that such an event must be the prelude to the freedom of the colonies. The presence of the French there retarded their progress, trained them to war, and made them feel their dependence on the mother-country; and no one understood this better than the French themselves. "We have caught them at last," said Choiseul, on the definite surrender of New France; and at once giving up Louisiana to Spain, his eager hopes anticipated the speedy struggle of America for separate existence. So soon as the sagacious and experienced Vergennes heard of the conditions of the peace, he said: "The consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." Sixteen years later the hall in Philadelphia resounded with the Declaration of Independence; and less than seven years afterward Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the colonies she had made every effort to defend.

CHAPTER III.

ALLEGHENY FROM 1759 TO 1779.

THE FOURTH TREATY—FORT PITT—CONCENTRATION OF FORCES—CHIEF PONTIAC—THE SHAWANESE AND DELAWARES—ADVENT OF SETTLERS—LAND SALES.

EVERY obstacle to the colonization of the territory west of the mountains was not removed with the overthrow of French rule in the valley of the rivers. Two formidable barriers still remained: the presence of the aborigines, and the claim of Virginia to the soil. The Indians were more jealous of the English taking possession of their hunting-grounds than of the French; and they still entertained the hope that the latter would soon return, as the French continued to assure them. For this reason they entered only half-heartedly into terms of peace with the dominant party; and the little garrison left at the frail Fort Pitt during the winter of 1758–59 was in a very precarious condition.

Any considerable force of Indians could easily have cut off all communication with the east, and have destroyed it; while the French at Fort Machault, who doubtless kept themselves well informed of the state of affairs at the forks, could descend the river, should it break up in the winter, as it often does, and retake their former stronghold. The opening of the spring of 1759 was, therefore, looked forward to with apprehension, by the garrison and the frontier settlers, lest the French should execute their threat before assistance could reach the garrison from beyond the mountains; and had it not been for the siege of Fort Niagara, referred to at the close of the last chapter, their fears would have been only too well grounded.

At the second treaty held at Easton, in October, 1758, and known in history as the "fourth treaty," the natives were represented by the chiefs of the Six Nations and of the Delawares, and Pennsylvania and New Jersey by George Croghan, the agent of Sir William Johnson. The causes of the late war were discussed at length, the complaints of the Indians concerning the taking possession of their lands were heard, and the chiefs of the Six Nations were prevailed upon to use their influence, which was supreme, to induce the Shawanese and Twigtwees to desist from their hostilities on the Ohio. By far the most important end attained was the gaining possession of a large tract of country by the proprietaries in the southern half of the colony, extending west from the Susquehanna river and the Kittatinny mountains to the summit of the Alleghenies. Besides the territory which the colony thus gained, it was enabled, as time went on, not only to extend its settlements on it, but to trespass, as usual, on lands beyond its boundaries, till the savages, seeing they could no longer hold the occupied territory, would be disposed to part with some of it by a so-called purchase, and the fair fame of Pennsylvania would go down untarnished on the pages of history for having obtained from the natives by purchase all the territory she claimed as her own.

The English having gained a footing on the Ohio, the next step was to enter into more amicable relations with the tribes of the vicinity, both for their own security and to hinder them from aiding their enemies, the French. But in order to do this successfully it was necessary to lead the savages to believe that they had not come to take possession of their lands, but only to establish trading-posts by means of which the wants of the Indians could be more easily supplied, and a more ready market prepared for their peltries; for the Indians were always suspicious, and with good reason, as long experience had taught them that the real object of the English was permanent settlement. For this purpose a conference was held by Col. Bouquet with the chiefs of the Delaware Indians "at the Pitts-Bourgh," December 4, 1758, at which were present, besides the colonel—who appears to have been left in command by Forbes, before the arrival of Col. Hugh Mercer—Col. Armstrong and several officers, with George Croghan, deputy agent of Sir William Johnson, and Capt. Henry Montour, the interpreter. In the course of his speech Col. Bouquet said:

Francis Wenton

"Brethren, we have not come here to take possession of your hunting country in a hostile manner, as the French did when they came among you, but to open a large and extensive trade with you and all other nations of Indians to the westward who choose to live in friendship with us. You are sensible we are at war with the French and can not send traders among you, as we formerly did, to be robbed and murdered by the enemy, as our traders formerly were to your knowledge, for which reason the general has left here two hundred men in order to protect our traders, and I can assure you that as soon as goods can be brought up you will see a large trade opened for you, and all other nations in alliance with you, and you may depend on it, your brethren, the English, are not only the most powerful people on this continent, but the most wealthy and best inclined to serve you in every necessary you want, and on the cheapest terms: therefore the general expects, as you value the friendship of your brethren, the English, that you will treat those men he leaves here as your brethren, and support them, in case the enemy should come and attempt to drive them away, and as the enemy can do nothing in your country without your knowledge, he expects you will give the commanding officer notice, from time to time, of the enemy's movements, or what they are doing." They were also earnestly recommended to drive the French out of their country, as "they are a restless and mischievous people," and oblige them to destroy their forts. They were further urged to keep their promise to send back the prisoners they had taken in their repeated raids on the frontier. In their reply, which according to their wise custom was not delivered until the following day, they expressed their readiness to comply with the demands of the colonel, thanked him, and enlarged on the pleasure they felt on seeing the English come to trade with them. But they would not promise to protect the garrison till they had conferred with the tribes further to the west.

The first Fort Pitt was finished, most probably, about the 1st of January, 1759, and was placed under the command of Col. Hugh Mercer, who wrote under date of January 8th: "The garrison now consists of two hundred and eighty men, and is capable of some defense, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being very severe." He was succeeded about July of the same year by Gen. John Stanwix, who built the larger Fort Pitt, which was to figure so prominently in frontier history. It is said to have cost the British government £60,000. Writing of the measures taken by Gen. Stanwix at this time, Smollet, in his "History of England," says: "The happy consequences of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of lands they were driven from on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia." Unless a very large tract of country is embraced in this estimate of the number of inhabitants, it must be regarded as exaggerated.

Gen. Stanwix went to Philadelphia early in the year 1760, leaving Maj. Tulikens in command of the fort, the garrison of which consisted at that time of one hundred and fifty Virginians, as many Pennsylvanians, and four hundred of the first battalion of Royal Americans. Gen. Stanwix soon afterward sailed for London, where he arrived some time in July.

Gen. Monckton arrived at Fort Pitt on the 29th of June, and immediately gave orders for the march of a large detachment of the army to Presqu' Isle; and on the 7th of July four companies of the Royal Americans, under command of Col. Bouquet, marched from Pittsburgh toward that point, as did also Capt. McNeil's company of the Virginia regiment. On the Wednesday following Col. Hugh Mercer, with three companies of the Pennsylvania regiment, under Capts. Biddle, Clapham and Anderson, and two days afterward two other companies of the same regiment, under Capts. Atlee and Miles, were to follow. A letter from Philadelphia, dated July 31st, says: "From Pittsburgh we learn that Maj. Gladwin had arrived at Presqu' Isle with four hundred men from the northward, and that our troops from Pittsburgh would be at the same place by the 15th of this month." These movements were all made with a view of taking possession of Detroit and Mackinac, which had been surrendered along with Montreal on the 8th of September, 1759.

After the fall of the French power in North America, "the whole of the forces raised by the province of Pennsylvania had been discharged . . . except 150 men, a part of whom were employed in transporting provisions from Niagara, and in garrison at Presqu' Isle and Le Bœuf. These were detained until they should be relieved by a detachment of the Royal Americans, but such was the weakness of that regiment that this had hitherto been impracticable . . . The province of Pennsylvania now looked for the enjoyment of a long and undisturbed peace, since her mild and forbearing policy had conciliated the Indians, and their dangerous neighbors, the French, were removed. But the sources in which they sought for safety were fruitful of dangers. The unprotected state of the frontiers, consequent on the discharge of the forces of the middle and southern colonies, held forth irresistible temptations to the whetted appetite of the border savage for plunder. Their hostility had been rewarded rather than chastised by Pennsylvania; every treaty of peace was accompanied by rich presents, and their detention of the prisoners was overlooked upon slight apologies, though obviously done to afford opportunities for new treaties and additional gifts. The mistaken and perverted humanity of the Quakers had softened down their offenses, and its apologies gave them confidence in their allegations of injuries received from the whites. These reasons, however are insufficient to account for the wide extension of the Indian confederacy, which was probably caused by motives of profound policy. The aborigines beheld the French driven out of their whole country, themselves threatened by forts commanding the great lakes and rivers, and they felt that an immediate

and mighty effort was necessary to restrain the tide which now, unimpeded, would spread itself over the continent."*

The hopes of peace upon which some of the more sanguine relied proved delusive. The opening of Braddock's and Forbes' roads prepared the way for an easy emigration from the whole east of the mountains, and the Indians soon became conscious of the fact that the English, though professing to have driven out the French for the benefit of the natives, had in reality only done so that they themselves might the more successfully take possession of the rich hunting-grounds. Something must be done to arrest this influx of population, this threatened overrunning of their lands. The frontier settlements were as yet weak, and a well-directed effort might drive the whites beyond the mountains, if not entirely out of the country. So thought the Indian sages. All that was required was a leader equal to the emergency; and, unfortunately for the pioneers, such a leader was found in the person of Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawas. Far-seeing and diplomatic to a degree that is truly surprising in a rude son of the forest, he not only saw the danger of extermination that threatened his people, but he also saw the only remedy, if remedy at all existed; and he alone had the ability and influence to apply it. He was ably seconded by Kiashuta (a name variously spelled), a chief of the Seneca tribe of the Six Nations. Had the execution of the assault on the frontier forts and settlements been equal to the planning of it, it is hardly too much to say that they would have realized their determination of driving the palefaces into the sea. It was nothing less than inducing all the tribes to forget for the present their party strifes and animosities, and combine to strike a blow at the palefaces from which they would never be able to recover. So secretly and yet so perfectly was this plan laid that, had it not been for an accidental circumstance, to which reference will presently be made, it would have met with such a measure of success as would have necessitated a general war against the savages to subdue them, and would have retarded settlement for an indefinite period.

Messengers were sent to all the tribes of the west to interest them in the scheme of these Napoleons of the western wilderness to destroy the whites and leave their settlements a smoldering ruin. The plan was entered into with a will by the savages, and a certain day was set apart by those who arranged the plans for a general assault. All the forts were to be simultaneously attacked, as well as the settlements, and all individuals whom they could come upon; and with one bold sweep, as it were, raze to the earth everything bearing the mark of their doomed enemies. The season of harvest was chosen, that the attention of the people at the time might be drawn to their crops, as well as that the work of havoc might then be greater by the destruction of them. But a circumstance, trifling in itself, in a measure frustrated the plan. When the attack was made it was found not to be simultaneous.

* Egle.

That on Fort Pitt and vicinity was made two or three days before the time agreed upon for the general attack, although it was done in the belief that the day had arrived. The misunderstanding is said to have proceeded from the officiousness of a Delaware squaw, who was desirous that their plans might be deranged. At the grand council held by all the tribes for the appointment of the day for the general uprising and making the necessary arrangements for it, a bundle of rods had been put into the hands of every tribe, each bundle containing as many rods as there were days till the day when the assault was to be made. One rod was to be drawn from the bundle every morning, and when a single one remained, it was to be the signal for the outbreak. The squaw referred to had purposely extracted two or three rods without the knowledge of the tribe, thinking it might materially disconcert, if not defeat, their project. From this circumstance the attack on Fort Piit and vicinity was precipitated, although it was simultaneous on all other posts and settlements.

The Shawanese and Delawares, who were the most affected by the encroachments of the settlers, appear to have been the most active in urging on the attack; and they hailed with exultation the day when it was to deluge the frontier with blood, and bring them sweet revenge with a plentiful return of scalps so dear to the Indian brave. It would be interesting to pause here and inquire into the causes which led to the alienation of these two tribes from the English; for of all the nations they had been the most steadfast. It is in general to be attributed to the encroachments of the settlers, the claims of land companies and the extortion of the traders.

So well planned and formidable was the attack that of all the frontier posts only three were able to withstand it—Detroit, Niagara and Pitt. All the others fell; some at the first assault, others after a short resistance; and their garrisons were butchered on the spot or carried off to be tortured with a greater refinement of cruelty. Great skill was manifested in the carrying out of the plan of attack. At one place the savages filed off the ends of their gun-barrels, that the squaws might be able to conceal them under their blankets; then the braves invited the garrison of the fort out to witness a game of ball, as they had often done before; the squaws were instructed to place themselves near the gate of the fort; and in the course of the game the ball, as it were by accident, was thrown near the gate of the fort; the contestants ran after it, got their weapons from the squaws and cut off the garrison from entering or getting their arms for defense, and thus placed them at the mercy of their assailants. Again, a fort was attacked by stealth in the night or early morning. At another time ingress was gained under some pretext, and the gate was opened for the assailants. Or, as in the case of Fort Pitt, the stronghold was stealthily surrounded, the warwhoop was raised, and an attempt was made to carry the works by storm. Mr. Parkman has admirably portrayed the scenes of this frontier war in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," where the student of our history will find the most glowing descriptions in the most classic language.

The shock of this attack was the most terrible ever felt on the frontier, so used to war's alarms. During the French ascendancy raids on the frontier were naturally to be expected; but when their power was destroyed a respite was looked for. But the backwoodsmen were a sturdy race, and soon recovered their self-possession, and with it a renewed hatred of the redskins, with the determination to wage war on them to extermination. Fort Pitt, the main reliance, not only for the western part of the province, but also for the entire western country, was placed in a most hazardous position, and serious fears were entertained of its ability to hold the enemy at bay until relief could be despatched. And, although a full account of this attack will be found in another part of this history, a brief notice will be given in this place to preserve the thread of the narrative. The attack on the fort, of which Simon Ecuyer was then in command, was made on the afternoon of June 22, 1763, and all communication was immediately cut off. For several days the fate of the garrison was unknown. Fort Ligonier, though a place of no importance in itself, was an intervening post, which aided in keeping up communication with the east; and its preservation was for that reason very necessary at that juncture. Besides, large quantities of provisions and ammunition were stored in it at that time, which must at all cost be kept out of reach of the Indians. Characteristic apathy marked the proceedings of the Pennsylvania assembly; but the commander at Bedford, or Raystown, as it was then called, despatched a small force of picked men to reinforce the garrison at Ligonier, while Col. Henry Bouquet was ordered to hasten to the relief of Fort Pitt. It was the most perilous period in the history of Western Pennsylvania; and, though a century and a quarter with marvelous changes have elapsed since those eventful days, it chills the blood to read of the trials of our grandsires of that time. All hope was centered in the reinforcement of Fort Pitt, and no better leader could have been chosen for the hazardous undertaking than Col. Bouquet. This point for defensive and aggressive warfare was then in the hands of the provincials; yet the garrison was small and exhausted, and the store of provisions and ammunition was so limited as to create serious alarm. Bouquet set out on the old Forbes road with the scattered remnant of the Forty-second and the Seventy-second regiments, lately returned from the West Indies, comprising in all scarcely five hundred men, not a few of whom were invalids, who had to be conveyed in wagons. These, however, he hoped to leave as garrisons at some of the posts on the way. He had also with him a large quantity of provisions and ammunition. To his forces were added six companies of rangers, amounting to two hundred men. The little army pressed forward with all speed, the fate of the fort being all the while uncertain. Passing Ligonier he came to the headwaters of Turtle creek, a tributary of which, named Bushy run, was reached on the 5th of August, after a march of seventeen miles. It being yet early in the afternoon, it was determined to halt and rest the troops till toward evening, and pass the Turtle creek defile during the ensuing night. "But

when within half a mile of the creek, the advance guard of the army was suddenly surprised by an ambuscade of Indians opening a brisk fire of musketry upon them. Being speedily and firmly supported, by bringing up the rear, a charge of bayonets was ordered, which effectually routed the savages, when they were pursued a short distance. But no sooner was the pursuit given up than they returned and renewed the attack with redoubled vigor, while at the same moment a most galling fire was opened by parties who had been concealed on some high ground that skirted the flanks of the army. A general charge with the whole line was now made, which proved effective, and the savages were obliged to give way; but withal to no purpose, for no sooner was the pursuit again given up than the Indians renewed the attack with their wonted ferocity. The action continued without intermission the whole afternoon—a confused and irregular attack by the forces of both parties. The enemy, routed from one skulking-place, would retreat to another. But Col. Bouquet made it an object as much as possible to keep his troops collected, that they might not be broken in upon and dispersed by the enemy. The battle ended with the day, without any decided advantage to either. With the first dawn of morning the warwhoop was again raised, and in a moment there seemed a thousand startling yells to break in every direction around. At this signal a rush was made by the Indians on all sides, but the lines ready formed were not to be taken by surprise, and effectually repulsed the savages in every attempt. Betaking themselves to the trees, the Indians poured an incessant fire with great precision into the little army. Fatigued with the previous day's march and the battle of the preceding evening, combined with the exposure to a hot August sun, with no water within their reach, they began indeed to be dispirited. Attacked with a dogged determination, and fired upon without intermission, they could neither retreat nor proceed. It became obvious, therefore, that a desperate effort must be made to save the army from total destruction. The commander happily bethought himself of a stratagem that might prove successful, which, as the troops were still disposed in a circle from the previous night, consisted in making a maneuver of the appearance of a precipitate retreat from one side, so as to entrap the assailants in pursuit, who would rush as thoughtless within the enclosure of lines which lay in ambuscade. The snare was set in the direction of the enemy's deadliest fire, and most happily succeeded in enticing them from their place of concealment. Before being aware, they were under a most destructive fire of the troops; and ere they could retreat they received so deadly a charge from the regulars that they fled with the utmost precipitation. This secured the victory. The woods around were immediately abandoned by the others, and the conflict ceased.*

The victory gained on this memorable occasion was nothing less than the defeat of all the forces that had been besieging Fort Pitt for the last two months. They had long been undisputed masters of the country, carrying

* Egle.

death and destruction wherever they pleased; and they hoped, by defeating the forces coming to the relief of the fort, to reduce it also, and carry away as rich trophies the scalps of its unfortunate garrison. But they began to feel the ability of Bouquet to cope with them, and they were soon to experience it still further in the very heart of their own country. Bouquet lost about fifty killed and sixty wounded; the savages had some sixty of their best warriors killed, with many of their most distinguished chiefs. A few scattered shots were fired at Bouquet during the rest of his march, but they amounted to little; the Indians were thoroughly disheartened, and no general attack was ever again made on the settlements. It must not, however, be imagined that an uninterrupted peace began to dawn upon the frontier; far from it. The confidence and the main strength of the savages were indeed broken; but they continued to be savages with all their cruel instincts and thirst for revenge on those who dared to trespass on their broad domain. Still it was not probable that they would attack any place in considerable numbers; only a small party was likely to fall upon any of the settlements. The foothold of the whites was becoming more firm, and the day of their final triumph was dawning apace. Still the road to Fort Pitt was a favorite scene of sudden attacks by the savages, who, after the Indian fashion, would strike a blow and disappear before the settlers could meet to retaliate. For this reason communication with the fort was at times almost cut off.

Settlements would have flourished better had it not been for the supineness of the Pennsylvania assembly and the blindness of the Quakers, by whom its action was controlled, who seemed more solicitous for the welfare of the Indians than for that of the whites. Justly exasperated at this, Gen. Amherst wrote: "The conduct of the Pennsylvania Quakers is altogether so infatuated and stupidly obstinate that I find no words to express my indignation." And Mr. Parkman says: "The Quakers seemed resolved that they would neither defend the people of the frontier nor allow them to defend themselves, vehemently inveighing against all expeditions to cut off the Indian marauders." At length the attitude of the Indians became so threatening, and their attacks on the settlements so frequent, that in 1764 Gov. John Penn offered, by public proclamation, the following rewards for the scalps or the capture of Indians: For every male above ten years of age, captured, $150; or for his scalp, being killed, $134. For every female or male under ten years old, captured, $130; or for the scalp of such female killed, $50.

The only security for the frontier lay in the striking of such a blow against the Indians of the west as would not only inflict a temporary injury, but would also be felt for years to come, and inspire them with a lasting sense of the prowess of the white man. No person better fitted for leading such an expedition could be found than Col. Bouquet, to whom the colony was already so deeply indebted, and who had shown himself so capable of coping with the Indians under the most unfavorable circumstances. To no other man does

Western Pennsylvania owe so much. Such a campaign into the western country, the present state of Ohio, was planned by Gen. Gage, at that time the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who determined to attack the Indians from two different points. A corps under command of Col. Bradstreet was to proceed by the lakes, to act against the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas and other tribes living on or near Lake Erie, and at the same time prevent the Six Nations from forming a junction with those tribes, in case they felt disposed to aid them; while the corps under the command of Col. Bouquet should attack the Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Mohicans and other nations between the Ohio and the lakes. The two corps were to act in concert; but owing to the facilities for transporting troops by the lakes, and the distressing delays experienced by Bouquet, Bradstreet reached Presqu' Isle before Bouquet arrived at Fort Pitt. But Bradstreet was deceived by the specious promises of a delegation of savages, and, without proper authority, made a treaty with them which Bouquet did not think himself obliged to abide by, and which was afterward annulled.

Col. Bouquet, having with great difficulty at length collected his forces, consisting of regulars and provincial troops, with a small number of friendly Indians, amounting in all to about fifteen hundred men, and having formed his magazines, and provided for the safety of the posts he was to leave behind, was ready to march on Wednesday, October 3, 1764. He proceeded with great caution down the north bank of the Ohio, omitting nothing that could contribute to the safety of his men and stores and the success of the expedition, familiar as he was with the Indian modes of attack. When near the mouth of the Beaver he struck out into the country toward Central Ohio, where some of the principal Indian towns stood, which it was his intention to visit, and, if necessary, destroy. Another important object of the expedition was the rescuing of a large number of prisoners, taken by the savages in their frequent raids on the frontier. His firmness struck terror into the hearts of the Indians, who could neither deceive him by promises nor intimidate him by threats, and who were unable to cope with him in battle. Holding on his course to the termination of his journey, he persisted in refusing to treat with them till he had reached it; and not then till they had delivered up all the prisoners, for the due fulfillment of which he held some of their messengers as hostages. Although not a blow was struck, nor a shot fired, it was the most crushing defeat the Indians had ever experienced. Many were the touching scenes witnessed in the delivering up of the prisoners; wives recognizing their husbands after long years of separation, which had wrought their changes; parents receiving once more their captive children whom they had long mourned as lost; and others seeking in vain for members of their families, who, alas! were now numbered among the dead, having paid the debt of nature at the hands of the most cruel torturers the world has ever seen. But there were not wanting those who would fain have remained among the Indians, for whom civilized

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society possessed no charms, and who had to be led away by force. Never had that vast wilderness witnessed such a scene. Having taught the savages a salutary lesson, impressed them with both the courage and the determination of the whites, and extorted from them a promise of preserving the peace, which, for once, they were only too willing to make, Bouquet set out on his homeward march on the 16th of November, and arrived on the 26th. The frontier was now permitted to enjoy a season of comparative security. But the pioneers had long since learned not to place too much confidence in the pacific dispositions of the savages. It was easy to make a raid on a settlement, and, when called to account for it, blame it on the young warriors, who would not be advised. This was a favorite way of getting revenge without being held responsible; and it was about as true and as honorable as the conduct of many of the whites themselves, who would settle on the lands not yet secured from the natives, and then offer to buy them, when the natives saw they could no longer hold them. There was about as much trickery on the one side as on the other.

Settlers continued to take up lands west of the mountains, although the title to them had not as yet been extinguished, and the Indians complained of the encroachment to the king and to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As early as 1764 the king sent instructions to Gov. Penn informing him that several persons from his province and also from Virginia had crossed the mountains and located on lands lying not far from the Ohio, in express disobedience to a proclamation, issued on the 7th of the previous October, prohibiting all governors from granting warrants for lands to the westward of the source of the rivers which flow into the Atlantic, and forbidding all persons purchasing such lands or settling on them without special license from the crown. The governor was enjoined to use all the means in his power to prevent this emigration, and to cause such persons as had actually settled in the trans-Allegheny country to be removed. In compliance with this order, Gen. Gage instructed Alexander Mackay, who commanded a detachment at Redstone, the present Brownsville, to require the settlers to withdraw from the lands they occupied; and the latter issued an order dated June 22, 1766, to all those who had settled west of the mountains, as he informs them: "To collect you together and inform you of the lawless and licentious manner in which you behave, and to order you all to return to your several provinces without delay, which I am to do in the presence of some Indian chiefs now along with me." He further informs them that, in case they refuse to comply with his demand, he will be compelled to drive them back by force, and confiscate their goods. Gen. Gage wrote to John Penn on the same subject on the 2d of September. All their efforts were not, however, successful; the pioneers were not remarkable for their respect for the law, especially when it would force them to relinquish their lands and leave them in the possession of the natives whom they hated so cordially, and from whom they had suffered so

much. And Penn was compelled to write to the Earl of Shelbourne, January 21, 1767, after recounting what he and the governor of Virginia had attempted: "I am at a loss to know what more can be done by the civil power." And Gage wrote on the 27th of December of the same year: "You are witness how little attention has been paid to the proclamations that have been published, and that even the removing these people from the lands last summer by the garrison of Fort Pitt has been only a temporary expedient; as they met with no punishment, we learn they are again returned to Redstone," etc. More stringent measures were now adopted, and on the 3d of February, 1768, an act was passed inflicting the penalty of death, without benefit of clergy, upon any person settled upon lands not purchased from the Indians, who should refuse after a certain number of days' notice to quit the same, or, having removed, should return to the same or other unpurchased lands. But it was all to no purpose; for those who were removed returned again as soon as the troops were withdrawn.

The Indians, on their part, continued to complain, and a conference was held at Pittsburgh in April and May of this year, with the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies and Mohicans, at which eleven hundred and three Indians were present, besides women and children; but nothing effectual was done to remedy the evil.

To complicate matters still more the old Ohio Company sought a perfection of their grant; the Virginia volunteers of 1754, who had enlisted under a proclamation offering liberal bounties of lands, were also clamorous; individual grants were urged; even Sir Willian Johnson was ambitious of becoming governor of an armed colony south of the Ohio river, upon a model proposed by Franklin in 1754; and the plan of another company, led by Thomas Walpole, was submitted to the English ministry. Under these circumstances but one course could be pursued; the title to the country must be purchased from the Indians. Accordingly, on the 24th of October, 1768, a council was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y., with the Six Nations and their confederates, and also with some independent tribes, although, as a matter of fact, it was a conference with the Iroquois exclusively, as none others signed the articles finally agreed upon. The general government was represented by Sir William Johnson, and there were commissioners present from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The result of the treaty was that the Indian claim was extinguished to all the country of the Six Nations lying to the eastward of the Allegheny river, as far north as what is now Kittanning, and all lying to the southward and eastward of the Ohio from Pittsburgh down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, "and extending eastward from every part of the said line as far as the lands betweeen the said line and the purchased lands and settlements," except such tracts in Pennsylvania as had previously been sold by those Indians. The lands in Pennsylvania east of that line were at the same time purchased by that province. These embraced, among others,

the first land lying within the limits of Allegheny county the Indian title to which had been extinguished. The way was now clear for the march of civlization to the Allegheny and Ohio, from Kittanning south as far as settlers were prepared to go.

"The title being thus acquired, measures were immediately taken to prepare the newly purchased lands for sale. On the 23d of February, 1769, an advertisement was published for general information that the landoffice would be opened on the 3d day of the ensuing April, at 10 o'clock A. M to receive applications from all persons inclined to take up lands in the new purchase upon the terms of five pounds sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per acre, per annum, quitrent. This quitrent was afterward abolished by the act vesting in the commonwealth the title of the Penns, commonly called the divesting act, passed on the 27th of November, 1779. In Washington county, and in portions of Allegheny, west of the Monongahela river, many settlements were also made under Virginia titles, so that there was a rapid increase of the population from 1770 to 1775. Much of the very best land in that quarter is held by titles based on Virginia entries; which, by the compromise of 1779, are recognized as equally good as Pennsylvania warrants. A large portion of the land along Chartier's creek is thus held by entries between 1769 and 1779."* It is clear, however, from the journal of George Washington's tour down the Ohio in 1770, that no settlements had been made up to that time on the south side of that stream below a point only three miles west of Pittsburgh.

But another difficulty, the rumblings of which had long been heard, now arose, and disturbed the tranquillity of the territory around the headwaters of the Ohio, the tracing of which will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

Territory Grants—The Ohio Company—Earl of Dunmore—Subdivisions of Virginia and the Disputed Territory—Dr. John Connolly—Fort Pitt the Bone of Contention—The Manor of Kittanning—Mason and Dixon.

IT was stated in a previous chapter that King James I, in 1609, granted to a company by royal charter a large tract of country, including the territory, among others, now embraced within the limits of Southwestern Pennsylvania; and that Charles II included the same territory in his charter to William Penn, in 1681. Hence arose a dispute regarding the boundary between the

* Craig's "History of Pittsburgh."

two grants, which grew more interesting and bitter as the country began to be settled and the value of the property became better known. The purpose of this chapter will be to trace the history of that dispute from its inception to its final settlement, with such reference as may be necessary to questions of minor importance connected with it.

The boundary question first began to come into prominence when it became necessary for the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia to take active measures to secure the valley of the Ohio against the encroachments of the French, in the middle of the last century; and Virginia took the initiative, as we have seen, although the charter of the company to which the territory had been granted was dissolved, and the land had reverted to the crown. So long as the French war continued the colonies were too busily engaged in striving to repel the common enemy to consume much time in disputing among themselves, though even then they were not in perfect harmony; and when the French were finally expelled troubles with the Indians engaged no little of their attention for many years. The way was at length clear for settlements east of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers; Pittsburgh became the center of the Indian trade, and of those who came out many began to take up lands, more especially along the military routes, in the valleys of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, and in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. The Ohio Company, too, revived its claim, and settlers moved onto the territory embraced within its grant. In general it may be said that the settlers were, for the most part, from Virginia, while the Indian traders were Pennsylvanians; and that while it was to the interest of the former to drive the natives back, exterminate or get rid of them by any means, and the more summary the better, the latter wished, on the contrary, to cultivate friendly relations with them. This gave rise to a conflict of interests; and, though the Virginians seemed to have the better of it in the possession of the lands, the Pennsylvanians held the center of trade and population with its celebrated fort, which commanded the watercourses, a matter of the greatest importance in those early days. But in the nature of things the Indian trade must diminish, as the aborigines retired before the advance of civilization; the settlers must multiply, and every day must bring nearer the inevitable conflict between the two colonies regarding the boundary line. The conflict was, however, precipitated by a circumstance which was in itself an evidence of peace and security. Without trenching on the history of Fort Pitt, which belongs to another part of these annals, it may here be stated, briefly, that Maj. Edmondson, who then commanded the little garrison of Fort Pitt, received orders from the commander-in-chief, in October, 1772, to dismantle the fort and withdraw.

Unfortunately for the peace of the colony, Virginia at that time possessed a governor who was more remarkable for his avarice than he was for his patriotism. The Earl of Dunmore was appointed governor of the colony in July, 1771; and no sooner was he in possession of authority than he began to use it

in taking up lands for himself. He may be regarded as the prince of land-grabbers in North America. Says Mr. Bancroft: "No royal governor showed more rapacity in the use of official power than Lord Dunmore. He reluctantly left New York, where, during his short career"—of less than a year and a half—"he had acquired fifty thousand acres, and, himself acting as chancellor, was preparing to decide in his own court, in his own favor, a large and unfounded claim which he had preferred against the lieutenant-governor. Upon entering on the government of Virginia, his passion for land and fees outweighing the proclamation of the king and the reiterated and most positive instructions from the secretary of state, he advanced the claims of the colony in the west, and was himself a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois. In 1773 his agents, the Bullets, made surveys at the Falls of the Ohio, and a part of Louisville and of the towns opposite Cincinnati are now held under his warrant. The area of the Ancient Dominion extended with his cupidity." So great was the antipathy of the Virginians to him that in a few years he thought himself only too fortunate in escaping their fury with his life; and Washington, who was not given to the utterance of ultra opinions, said, in December, 1775: "Nothing less than depriving him of life or liberty will secure peace to Virginia." Such was the man whose machinations, seconded by an unprincipled tool, were to bring upon Western Pennsylvania the last serious disturbance to which it was destined to be exposed. At the same time he involved all Northwestern Virginia and Southwestern Pennsylvania in an Indian war which forced the settlers who were so fortunate as to escape with their lives to retire to the east of the mountains from the valley of the upper Monongahela and the adjacent country, and which seriously interfered with the Indian trade of Pittsburgh.

Having given the general outline of the territories claimed by the two provinces, and the grants upon which those claims were based, it will be necessary, before entering upon a narrative of the events which precipitated the adjustment of the dispute, to glance at the subdivisions of the territory made by the provinces, prior to that date, irrespective of the rights of each other.

It is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of the subdivisions of that part of the country made by Virginia; but the whole would appear to have been included in Spottsylvania county, which was erected May 1, 1721. In 1734 this county was divided, and the western portion of it was formed into Orange county. The western part of it, however, soon came to be known as the district of West Augusta; but just when, or for what reason, is not ascertained, only that it was prior to September, 1776. In October of that year the legislature of Virginia passed an act to ascertain the boundary between Augusta county and the district of West Augusta, in the preamble of which it is declared that, among other tracts, "all the territory lying to the westward of the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania shall be deemed, and is hereby declared to be, within the district of West Augusta." The name Pennsylvania

is here taken, of course, as Virginia then understood it. By another act, to take effect November 8th of the same year, 1776, the district was subdivided into three counties, Youghioghania, Ohio and Monongalia, to the first of which the territory embraced in Allegheny county belonged. This division remained unchanged until the boundary dispute was finally settled. But after that time Virginia retained the names of Ohio and Monongalia for two of her western counties, now in West Virginia, and the name of Youghioghania was dropped, which has, for that reason, been called "the lost county."

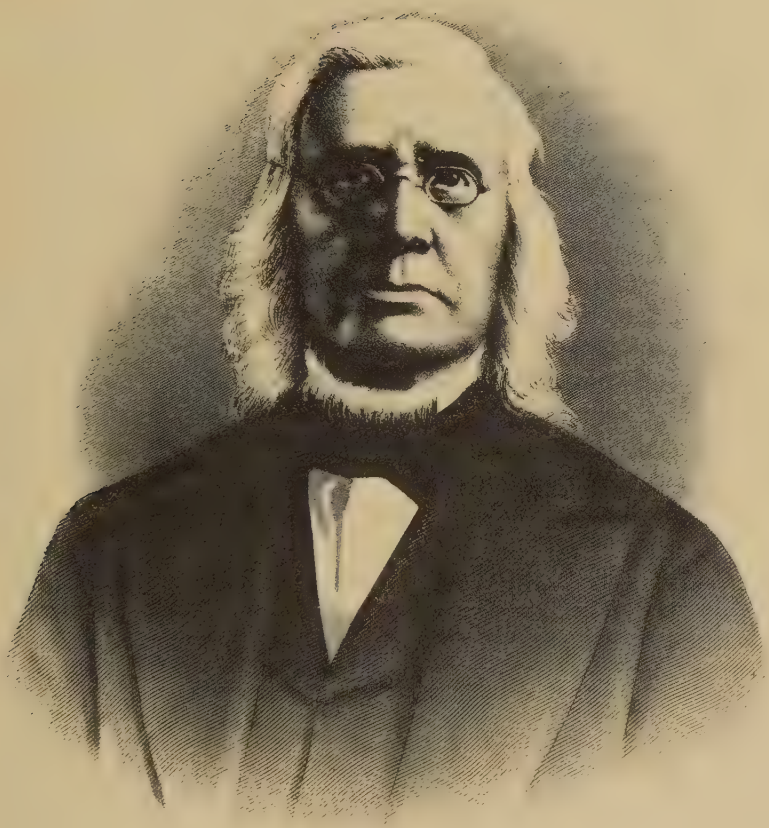
With regard to the subdivisions of the disputed territory made by Pennsylvania: As early as January 27, 1750, Cumberland county, the sixth county of the province, was formed, which included "all and singular the lands lying within the province of Pennsylvania, to the westward of the Susquehanna, and northward and westward of the county of York," to which the claims of the Indians had been up to that time extinguished. To this was added the territory acquired by the treaty of 1758. As yet the Indians had not relinquished their claim to any part of the territory now included within the limits of our county. By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, of October 24, 1768, already referred to, the Six Nations ceded a large tract of country, including all that part of Allegheny county east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, from Kittanning down, which became, for the time being, a part of Cumberland county. It may be here remarked, parenthetically, that, in the study of our early history, it is necessary to bear in mind that almost all the counties first formed have been divided and subdivided until they are only the merest fractions of what they were originally. March 9, 1771, Cumberland county was divided by the erection of Bedford county, which included all the western and southwestern parts of the province already secured from the aborigines; and consequently that part of Allegheny county included in the treaty of 1768. A further subdivision of this territory was made by the establishment of Westmoreland, February 26, 1773, which included all the western part of the province east and south of the rivers. Washington county was formed from Westmoreland by an act of the legislature, dated March 28, 1781, and included all the territory west of the Monongahela and south of the Ohio rivers. No further division of counties was made until after the settlement of the boundary question.

In the division of Westmoreland county into townships, the tract of country now engaging our attention was included in Hempfield and Pitt townships, but principally in the latter, which included the incipient city of Pittsburgh. Hempfield took in all that part of Allegheny on the east side of the Youghiogheny river from its mouth to the county line. The boundaries of Pitt township are thus described: "Beginning at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas and running down the Allegheny river to its junction with the Monongahela, then down the Ohio to the western limits of the province, thence up the western boundary (*i. e.*, south) to the line of Springfield township" (which was a line drawn due west from the mouth of Redstone creek to the western boundary of

the province), "thence with that line to the mouth of Redstone creek, thence down the Monongahela to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, thence with the line of Hempfield to the mouth of Brush run, thence with the line of said township to the beginning," which was a straight line from that point to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas.

Fort Pitt was evacuated by the British forces, as we have seen, in October, 1772, and soon afterward it was occupied by forces sent from Virginia by Lord Dunmore under command of Dr. John Connolly. Says Mr. Craig, in his "History of Pittsburgh:" "Early in 1774 Dr. John Connolly, a Pennsylvanian by birth, but a partisan and friend of Lord Dunmore, came here from Virginia with authority from that nobleman to take possession of the fort, calling it Fort Dunmore, and issued a proclamation calling the militia together on the 25th of January, 1774. For so doing, Arthur St. Clair, a magistrate of Westmoreland county, Pa., issued a warrant against him, and had him committed to jail at Hanna's Town, which was then the seat of justice for all this country. Connolly was soon released by entering bail for his appearance. He then went to Staunton, and was sworn in as a justice of the peace of Augusta county, Va., in which, as it was alleged, the country around Pittsburgh was embraced. Toward the latter part of March he returned to this place, with both civil and military authority, to put the laws of Virginia in force. About the 5th of April the court assembled at Hanna's Town. . . . Soon after, Connolly, with about one hundred and fifty men, armed and with colors flying, appeared there; placed sentinels at the door of the courthouse, who refused to admit the magistrates, unless with the consent of their commander. A meeting then took place between Connolly and the magistrates, in which the former stated that he had come there in fulfillment of his promise to the sheriff, but denied the authority of the court, and declared that the magistrates had no right to hold a court. He added, however, that, to prevent confusion, he agreed that the magistrates might act as a court in all matters which might be submitted to them by the acquiescence of the people, until he should receive instructions to the contrary." This compromise, however, was of short duration, for, on the 8th of April, the justices returned to Pittsburgh, where most of them resided, and were arrested the next day by order of Connolly. They were soon released, but on the 19th of April intelligence of the arrest of the justices reached the governor of Pennsylvania; and on the 21st, at a meeting of the council, it was determined to send two commissioners to Virginia to represent to the government there the ill consequences that might ensue if an immediate stop was not put to the disorders which then existed in the west, and to consult upon the most proper means for establishing peace and good order in that quarter. James Tilghman and Andrew Allen were appointed, with instructions, first, to request the governor of Virginia to unite with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania to petition his majesty in council to appoint commissioners to run the boundary line, the expense to be equally borne by the two colonies; second, to use every exertion

to induce the governor to agree to some temporary line, but in no event to assent to any line which would give Virginia jurisdiction of the country on the east side of the Monongahela river. The commissioners arrived at Williamsburg on the 19th of May, and on the 21st an oral conference was held with the governor, in which he expressed his willingness to join in an application to the king to appoint commissioners to settle the boundary, but also declared that Virginia would defray no part of the expenses. As to the temporary line, he desired the commissioners to make their proposition in writing. In compliance with this request they, on the 23d, addressed him a letter containing the following proposition: "That a survey be taken by surveyors, to be appointed by the two governments, with as much accuracy as may serve the present purpose, of the courses of the Delaware, from the mouth of Christiana creek, or near it, where Mason and Dixon's line intersects the Delaware, to that part of said river which is in the latitude of Fort Pitt, and as much further as may be needed for the present purpose. That the line of Mason and Dixon be extended to the distance of five degrees; a line, or lines, corresponding to the courses of the Delaware be run to the river Ohio, as nearly as may be at the distance of five degrees from said river in every part." And that extension of Mason and Dixon's line, and the line or lines corresponding to the courses of the Delaware, be taken as the line of jurisdiction, until the boundary can be run and settled by royal authority. Lord Dunmore, in his reply, dated May 24th, contended that the western boundary could not be of "such an inconvenient and difficult-to-be-ascertained shape" as it would be if made to correspond to the courses of the Delaware. He thought it should be a meridian line, at the distance of five degrees from the Delaware, on the forty-second degree of latitude. He further insisted that, unless the commissioners proposed some line that favored the Virginians as much as the Pennsylvanians, "he saw that no accommodation could be entered into previous to the king's decision." The commissioners, in their reply of the 26th, say that for the purpose of producing harmony and peace, "we shall be willing to recede from our charter bounds so as to make the river Monongahela, from the line of Mason and Dixon, the western boundary of jurisdiction, which would at once settle our present dispute, without the great trouble and expense of running lines, or the inconvenience of keeping the jurisdiction in suspense." On the same day Lord Dunmore replied in a very characteristic and haughty manner, remarking, as his final conclusion, "Your resolution with regard to Fort Pitt puts an entire stop to further treaty;" and the commissioners in their turn replied, the next day, that "the determination of his lordship not to relinquish Fort Pitt puts a period to the treaty." The possession of Fort Pitt was the great difficulty in the way of an agreement. Both wanted it; tne Pennsylvanians for purposes of trade and defense; the governor of Virginia for the advancement, it appears as certain, of objects of personal ambition. Says the accurate historian from whose narrative the above has been taken in a great measure: "After a careful



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perusal of this correspondence, and an attentive consideration of Lord Dunmore's conduct in 1774 and 1775, the conclusion is forced on the mind that he was a very weak and arbitrary man, or else that the suspicions then entertained that he wished to promote ill-will and hostility between Pennsylvanians and Virginians, as well as between the Indians and the whites, was well founded." This negotiation having failed, Connolly continued to domineer and carry things with a high hand in the country around the head of the Ohio, so much so that Æneas Mackay, a prominent citizen in this part of the province, wrote to Gov. Penn: "The deplorable state of affairs in this part of your government is truly distressing. We are robbed, insulted, and dragooned by Connolly and his militia in this place and its environs."

The people were driven to the last extremity, and though a hardy race, and accustomed to take their own part, they had no court to which an appeal could be made, and were too weak to have recourse to arms. The trade upon which the town of Pittsburgh especially depended was utterly prostrated; and the traders contemplated a number of plans for their relief. One of these was to surround the town with a stockade; but this was hardly practicable so near the fort, where Connolly's men could harass them all the while. A second was to build another town on the manor of Kittanning, about two miles below the present town of that name, where Manorville now stands. The manor of Kittanning did not, as many suppose, embrace either the Indian or the more recent town of that name, but extended north on the east bank of the Allegheny river from the mouth of Crooked creek to about the middle of the present Manorville. Active measures were taken for the carrying out of this intention, as appears from the proceedings of the Pennsylvania council, as well as from letters addressed to it and the governor from the western part of the province. It was the intention to name the town Appleby. This name was probably selected because of its being the name of the principal town in Westmoreland county, England. The following extracts from state papers show how far the project was carried before it was abandoned. At a council held at Philadelphia on the 4th of August, 1774, "the governor laid before the board two letters, which he received within these three days from Capt. St. Clair, at Ligonier, dated the 22d and 29th of July, with sundry papers inclosed relative to Indian and other affairs in Westmoreland, and the same being read and considered, the council advised the governor to order a town to be immediately laid out in the proprietary manor of Kittanning, for the accommodation of the traders and other inhabitants of Pittsburgh, who, by Capt. St. Clair's advices, would be under the necessity of removing from the town on account of the oppressive proceedings of the Virginians." And on August 6th of the same year Gov. Penn wrote St. Clair: "I am now to acquaint you that I approve of the measure of laying out a town in the proprietary manor of Kittanning, to accommodate the traders and other inhabitants who may choose to reside there, and therefore inclose you an order for that purpose." Measures were imme-

diately taken for carrying the plan into execution; for on the 15th of September, as we learn from his deposition, in which he relates how he was met and taken prisoner by the emissaries of Connolly, and treated with great harshness, George Ashton says: "On the 24th day of August, 1774, as I was returning from conveying Mr. James McFarlane, who set off before day with eight horse-loads of dry goods to be taken to the new town to be built at the Kittanning, on the proprietaries' manor, and two horse-loads of flour and salt for the use of the Pennsylvania troops to be stationed there," etc. . . . "The people of the town were to meet Capt. St. Clair and a party of soldiers on the Monday following at the Kittanning and proceed to building a store and dwelling-house, but the horses were stopped and turned back, and Mr. McCully seized and brought prisoner." The Indians, too, especially the Delawares, were informed by St. Clair of the erection of the new trading-post, as he writes to Gov. Penn under date of August 25th: "At the same time I acquainted them with your orders for erecting a trading-place at the Kittanning, for which they are very thankful, as they are in want of many things already, and can not come to Pittsburgh to purchase, and a number of them will probably be there on Monday next, which is the time I have appointed for laying out the town. Mr. Speare and Mr. Butler set out this day with their goods and other effects." But the fall of the Dunmore government soon afterward left the traders more freedom at Pittsburgh, and rendered another post unnecessary.

Connolly continued, however, to disturb the peace of the country. In November of this year, 1774, and in the following February he went to Hanna's Town with an armed force and released certain prisoners detained there; and about the same time William Crawford, the president judge of Westmoreland county, renounced his allegiance to Pennsylvania and joined the Virginians.

But Dunmore was becoming so odious to the Virginians that his power was fast waning—so much so that on the 8th of June, 1775, he was obliged to take refuge on a man-of-war, where he was soon afterward joined by Connolly. Patriotic citizens of both provinces lamented the continual disturbances, which so seriously affected trade and settlement, and exposed the pioneers to the incursions of the natives, without their being able to unite in repelling them; and on the 25th of July, 1775, the delegates in Congress, including Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin, united in a circular urging the people to mutual forbearance. Yet on the 7th of August the Virginia provincial convention passed a resolution to the effect "that Capt. John Neville be directed to march with his company of one hundred, and take possession of Fort Pitt." This action was wholly unexpected by the Pennsylvanians, who had hoped for a respite during the absence of Connolly, and it created considerable confusion, exasperating all parties, who were prepared to entertain more friendly feelings for each other, and preventing the delegates from Congress, who were at Fort Pitt to hold a conference with the Indians,

from doing so. In the meantime the first clouds of war between the colonies and Great Britain began to appear above the horizon, and Connolly, true to his instincts, was planning a scheme by which Fort Pitt would become an important point from which British troops could operate under his direction. But the authorities could no longer permit so turbulent a spirit to be at liberty, and, accordingly, on the 22d of November, he and two of his associates were arrested at Frederick, Md. His papers were seized, his machinations were discovered and exposed, and by order of Congress he was taken to Philadelphia for greater security, and there kept in prison. In time he was released, and after the war of the Revolution he resided in Canada, where he enjoyed the confidence and liberality of the English government, and where we shall leave him.

The boundary dispute was still the vexed question which was daily crying more loudly for adjustment. Both colonies were anxious to have it settled, the only difficulty in the way being the natural unwillingness of both the contestants to make concessions.

From the foundation of the province of Pennsylvania to the year 1768 the dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland had been carried on with such feeling that bloodshed not unfrequently resulted; when at length such an agreement was entered into by the two colonies as promised a final settlement of the long-standing dispute. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who drew the line which was destined to play a far more important part in American history than they could have expected in the wildest flights of their imagination, arrived from England November 15, 1763, and commenced their work in December. The line begins at the northeast corner of Maryland, in latitude 39° 43′ 26.3″, and extends westward two hundred and twenty-four miles from the Delaware river. Here the surveyors were compelled to stop, owing to the hostility of the Indians, and the line remained unfinished until November, 1782, when it was completed by Col. Alexander McLean, of Pennsylvania, and Joseph Neville, of Virginia. At the end of every fifth mile of the original line a stone was planted graven with the arms of the Penn family on the one side and of Lord Baltimore on the other. The intermediate miles were marked with smaller stones having a P on the north side and an M on the south side. All these stones were sent from England. Mason and Dixon, having prosecuted their work as far as it was possible, returned to Philadelphia on December 26, 1767. The line was tested by astronomical observations, and permanently marked, in 1874; and in 1849 the former surveys were revised, and found correct in all important points. So much for this line, the running of which settled the long and bitter dispute between the two colonies; but, though it settled nothing regarding the dispute between the provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia, yet it exercised an influence on that question, as will presently be seen. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania claimed, under the royal grant, a territory three degrees of latitude in width—that is, in the words of the charter, "from the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude" to "the begin-

ning of the three-and-fortieth degree of north latitude." They contended that the beginning of the first degree of north latitude is the equator, and the beginning of the second degree is at the end of the first, or latitude 1° north, which is certainly correct; therefore, that "the beginning of the fortieth degree is at the ending of the thirty-ninth degree, or latitude 39° north. They therefore claimed as their boundary against Virginia the parallel of 39° north, which was beyond question in harmony with the terms of their charter. If there was a mistake, it was made by the king who granted the charter, not by them. This claim, however, would have given to Pennsylvania a strip 43′ 26″ in width south of Mason and Dixon's line, in that part west of the western boundary of Maryland. But Virginia, on the contrary, claimed that the boundary between the two states should be the parallel of 40° north latitude. This would have given to Virginia a strip 16′ 34″ wide north of the present state boundary, along the southern boundary of Greene and Fayette counties, as far east as the western limits of Maryland.

Another proposition for the settlement of the boundary dispute is found in a resolution passed by the Virginia legislature on the 18th of December, 1776, which authorized the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress to propose the following plan: "The meridian line drawn from the head of the Potomac to the northwest angle of Maryland be extended due north until it intersects the latitude of forty degrees, and from thence the southern boundary shall be extended on the said fortieth degree of latitude until the distance of five degrees of longitude from the Delaware shall be accomplished thereon, and from the said point five degrees, either in every point, according to the meanderings of the Delaware, or (which is perhaps easier and better for both) from proper points or angles on the Delaware, with intermediate straight lines." This was identical with the plan before mentioned, by which Pennsylvania would lose a strip of considerable width north of Mason and Dixon's line, along the southern boundary of the western part of the province. In fact it was almost identical with the proposition made by Gov. Penn for a serpentine line, corresponding to the courses of the Delaware, for the western boundary, which Lord Dunmore very sensibly thought was not practicable. But the long-drawn struggle was not destined to be settled for a few years, though both provinces were suffering from its continuance. The war of the Revolution, too, was engaging their attention and seriously affecting the western country, as will be seen more at length hereafter. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the settlers felt anxious about a controversy that, it was feared, and not without reason, would exercise an influence on the titles to their lands. The administration of justice was no less affected by the anomalous state of affairs where two independent commonwealths claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the same territory and the same people. Something must be done, and done without delay.

The first practical official action toward a definite and final settlement was

taken in 1779, by the appointment of George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews, on the part of Virginia, as commissioners to meet in conference and determine the boundary. These commissioners met, August 31, 1779, at Baltimore, where they made and subscribed to the following agreement: "We [naming the commissioners] do hereby mutually, in behalf of our respective states, ratify and confirm the following agreement, viz.: To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said state be the western boundary of said state forever."

This agreement of the commissioners was confirmed—upon certain conditions as to land-titles—by the Virginia legislature June 23, 1780, and by the general assembly of Pennsylvania on the 23d of September of the same year. The southern boundary, as agreed to by the commissioners, was run later, as has been said; and all that remained to complete the boundary of our state was the tracing of the western line. And while we are on the subject it may as well be told, and further reference to it avoided. On the 9th of April, 1785, instructions were issued to Dr. John Ewing and Mr. Hutchins to run and mark the western boundary. Dr. Ewing, being unable to accept, resigned April 18th, of the same year, and Mr. Hutchins being absent, David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter took their places. They, with the Virginia commissioners, Andrew Ellicott and Joseph Neville, reported, on the 23d of August, that they had carried the meridian line from the southwest corner of Pennsylvania northward to the Ohio river, and marked it by cutting a vista over all the principal hills, and felling and deadening trees through the lower grounds, and placing stones marked on the east side P, and on the west side V, accurately on the meridian. Here the duty of the Virginia commissioners ended, and the boundary dispute was put to its final rest. The line from the Ohio to the northwestern corner of the state was yet to be run, and as it was for a time the boundary also of Allegheny county, mention should be made of it. By a resolution of May 5, 1785, David Rittenhouse, Andrew Porter and Andrew Ellicott were appointed commissioners to continue the western boundary north of the Ohio to the northwestern corner of the state. They began their survey at the Ohio on the 23d of August. After carrying the line northward about forty or fifty miles they suspended work until the following spring; and the survey of the remaining portion of the line to Lake Erie was made by Gen. Porter and Alexander McLean. By a letter dated at Shenango creek, 25th of June, 1786, they informed the council that they began the extension of the boundary line on the 19th of June. On the 23d of September they reached the point 143 miles from the southwest corner of the state, and on the waters falling into Lake Erie. On Friday, September 15th, they came to Lake Erie, a distance of 155 miles and 226 perches from the southwest corner

of the state. The angle formed with the northern boundary fell a short distance within the waters of Lake Erie. The Erie triangle had not as yet been purchased, and the state had no harbor on the lake. Thus it was that the boundaries of the western part of the state were finally run, after all the difficulties presented by the Virginians and the Indians had been overcome, and the Keystone State was settled in the possession of her territory.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

News of the Battle of Lexington—Meetings at Hannastown and Pittsburgh—Fort Pitt in the Struggle—Gen. Hand—Gen. McIntosh—Regiments Ordered to Fort Pitt—Concentration of Storehouses at Fort Pitt—Fort McIntosh—Fort Laurens.

SETTLEMENTS continued to multiply in Western Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the disturbances through which the territory was passing. Probably not less than fifty houses, says a well-informed writer,* constituted the town of Pittsburgh at the commencement of 1774. From Fort Pitt far up the Monongahela, and along many of its branches, were settlements. Upon the eastern tributaries of the Ohio, and down that stream for more than a hundred miles, were to be seen cabins of frontiersmen; but not a single settler had yet ventured across that river. Small cultivated fields broke in on the monotony of the wilderness for a short distance up the east side of the Allegheny from the forks, while toward the mountains Forbes' road was, in general, the northern limit of civilized habitations. Had the frontiersmen cared much for the majesty or the law the troubles regarding the boundaries of the province would have caused them anxiety; but, as it was, the only matter that troubled them was the title to their lands, and in this they trusted to future developments; still the trouble resulted in checking settlements to some extent. But scarcely had Dunmore and Connolly passed from the scene when a more formidable struggle demanded their attention, which was nothing less than the severing of their attachment to the mother-country; and right nobly did they face it. The day of the Revolution began to dawn. No sooner had intelligence been received of the battle of Lexington than the fires of patriotism were lighted west of the mountains. On the 16th of May, 1775, a meeting was held at Hannastown, composed, it may be supposed, entirely of Pennsylvanians, of which the following interesting report has come down to us, and is worthy to be preserved to posterity:

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*C. W. Butterfield, "The Washington-Irvine Correspondence."

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, held at Hannastown the 16th day of May, 1775, for taking into consideration the very alarming situation of the country, occasioned by the dispute with Great Britain:

Resolved, unanimously, That the parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Ba_ to be in rebellion, and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have endeavored to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing their lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the means of subsistence.

Resolved, unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will—should it meet with success in Massachusetts Bay—be extended to other parts of America. It is, therefore, become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or love of his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us we will be ready to oppose it with our lives and our fortunes. And the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland County.

Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to his majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful king, and who we wish may be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire, we declare to the world that we do not mean by this association to deviate from loyalty, which we hold it our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights—which with sorrow we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked ministry and a corrupted parliament—and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which we do agree and associate together:

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportions as shall be thought necessary.

2d. We will, with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercises, and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed, either for the companies or the regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3d. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defense of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to and go on in the same way as before the era of the stamp act, when Boston grew great and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrate to carry the same in execution.

5th. That when the British parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance; or some general plan of union and reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this our association shall be dissolved; and to the observance of it we bind ourselves by everything dear and sacred amongst men.

On the same day a meeting of the inhabitants of Augusta county, around the headwaters of the Ohio, was held at Pittsburgh, at which a committee was

appointed for the district. The following report of the proceedings of the committee has come down to us:

The foregoing gentlemen met in committee, and resolved that John Campbell, John Ormsby, Edward Ward, Thomas Smallman, Samuel Sample, John Anderson, and Devereux Smith, or any four of them, be a standing committee and have full powers to meet at such times as they shall judge necessary, and, in case of an emergency, to call the committee of this district together; and shall be vested with the same power and authority as the other standing committee and committees of correspondence are in the other counties within this colony.

Resolved, unanimously, That the cordial and most grateful thanks of this committee are a tribute due to John Harvie, Esquire, our worthy representative in the late colonial convention held at Richmond, for his faithful discharge of that important trust reposed in him; and to John Neville, Esquire, our worthy delegate, whom nothing but sickness prevented from representing us in that respectable assembly.

Resolved, unanimously, That this committee have the highest sense of the spirited behavior of their brethren in New England, and do most cordially approve of their opposing the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme, and that each member of this committee, respectively, will animate and encourage their neighborhood to follow the brave example.

The imminent danger that threatens America in general, from ministerial and parliamentary denunciations of our ruin, and is now carrying into execution by open acts of unprovoked hostilities in our sister colony of Massachusetts, as well as the danger to be apprehended to this colony in particular from a domestic enemy, said to be prompted by the wicked minions of power to execute our ruin, added to the menaces of an Indian war, likewise said to be in contemplation, thereby thinking to engage our attention, and divert it from that still more interesting object of liberty and freedom that deeply, and with so much justice, hath called forth the attention of all America; for the prevention of all or any of these impending evils it is

Resolved, That the recommendation of the Richmond convention, of the 20th of last March, relative to the embodying arming and disciplining the militia, be immediately carried into execution with the greatest diligence in this county, by the officers appointed for that end; and that the recommendation of the said convention to the several committees of this colony, to collect from their constituents, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to them, so much money as shall be sufficient to purchase half a pound of gunpowder, and one pound of lead, flints and cartridge-paper, for every tithable person in their county, be likewise carried into execution.

This committee, therefore, out of the deepest sense of the expediency of this measure, most earnestly entreat that every member of this committee do collect from each tithable person in their several districts the sum of two shillings and six pence, which we deem no more than sufficient for the above purpose, and give proper receipts to all such as pay the same into their hands; and the sum so collected to be paid into the hands of Mr. John Campbell, who is to give proper security to this committee, or their successors, for the due and faithful application of the money so deposited with him for the above purpose, by or with the advice of this committee or their successors; and this committee, as your representatives, who are most ardently laboring for your preservation, call on you, our constituents, our friends, brethren, and fellow-sufferers, in the name of God, of everything you hold sacred or valuable, for the sake of your wives, children, and unborn generations, that you will, every one of you, in your several stations, to the utmost of your power, assist in levying such sum, by not only paying yourselves, but by assisting those who are not at present in a condition to do so. . . . And the committee do pledge their faith and fortune to you, their constituents, that we shall, without fee or reward, use our best endeavors to procure, with the money so collected, the ammunition our present exigencies have made so exceedingly necessary. . . .

Casper Reel Sr.

Resolved, That this committee do approve of the resolutions of the committee of the other part of this county, relative to the cultivating a friendship with the Indians; and if any person shall be so depraved as to take the life of any Indian that may come to us in a friendly manner, we will, as one man, use our utmost endeavors to bring such offender to condign punishment.

Ordered, That the standing committee be directed to secure such arms and ammunition as are not employed in actual service, or private property, and that they get the same repaired, and deliver them to such captains of independent companies as may make application for the same, and taking such captain's receipt for the same so delivered.

Such were some of the measures adopted by the people of Western Pennsylvania to prepare for the threatened invasion of their rights. Among those who took part in these meetings were Arthur St. Clair, subsequently a major-general in the revolutionary army, and John Gibson, William Crawford and John Neville, who commanded regiments in the same service.

At the commencement of the struggle of the colonies for independence the settlements to the west of the mountains had little to fear from the invading armies of Great Britain. Their dread was of a more merciless foe. Nor were their apprehensions altogether groundless; for the restless disposition of what might be termed the friendly tribes was well known. Besides, Kiashuta, whose name has already occurred in the history of the combination formed by Pontiac, and who was, perhaps, the most noted chief that ever figured in the history of Western Pennsylvania, declared the intention of the Six Nations to remain neutral in the great struggle of the united colonies for independence, although they were afterward induced to side with the British. At a conference held at Fort Pitt, just two days after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and before intelligence of that memorable action could have been known with the means of communication to which recourse had then to be had, this noted chief was present, as well as Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, Shade, a Shawanese chief, and several other Shawanese and Delawares, also Maj. Trent, Maj. Ward, Capt. Neville and his officers, when Kiashuta produced a belt of wampum, which was to be sent from the Six Nations to the Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, and other western Indians, acquainting them that the Six Nations were determined to take no part in the war between Great Britain and America, and desiring them to do the same. He was especially delegated by the Six Nations to send the belt through the Indian country. His address to the whites, taking their peculiar circumstances into account, is worthy of serious consideration: "Brothers," he said, "we will not suffer either the English or Americans to pass through our country. Should either attempt it, we shall forewarn them three times, and should they persist, they must abide the consequences. I am appointed by the Six Nations to take care of this country; that is, of the Indians on the other side of the Ohio" [the Allegheny and Ohio were known at that early day by the common name of the Ohio], "and I desire you will not think of an expedition against Detroit, for, I repeat, we will not suffer an army to pass through our

country." He then addressed the other natives present. Capt. Neville replied to his speech, declaring that the colonists would not march an army through their territory without first acquainting his people of their intention, but stating that in case the English attempted an invasion, "we must make all possible haste to march and endeavor to stop them." But the chief was not to be moved from the position his people had taken, and replied that "there is not the least danger of that, as the Six Nations would make it their business to prevent either an English or an American army passing through their country." When it is remembered that the Six Nations were not only the most powerful tribes or confederation of tribes in the entire New World, but also that all the nations with whom the pioneers of Western Pennsylvania had to deal were under their dominion, it will be seen that their neutrality meant far more than appeared on the surface; it meant that whichever of the contestants secured their favor would have all the Indians with them.

English influence and English gold were not, all this time, dormant. The agents of the mother-country were busy, and their efforts to fasten the fetters more securely on the yet feeble colonies were not sparing. Though boasting the first place in the ranks of civilized nations, they did not hesitate to appeal to the aborigines to assist them in the struggle, which they already felt was to be final as regards their hold on the colonies. The pen in our enlightened age hesitates to chronicle the means to which they had recourse to enslave the colonies; but fortunately one of her own sons has supplied us with all the arguments necessary, when he had the courage to declare in her own legislative halls that she had let loose the horrible hellhounds of war upon the exposed settlements. Painted and plumed warriors soon carried destruction and death to the dismayed frontiers, instigated by the agents of the British government. The deadly strife thus begun was made up largely on the side of the Indians by predatory excursions of scalping-parties, after their fashion, into the settlements; the tomahawk and scalping-knife sparing neither age nor sex, while the torch laid waste the rude homes of the frontiersmen. It is difficult to appreciate at this distant day, and in this time of peace and security, the appalling dangers that beset the frontier in those terrible days; for to the natural ferocity of the Indians was added the powerful support of the English, lavish in their resources, whose western agents, especially at the commencement of the war, were noted for their zeal in obeying the behests of their government.

The principal point of British power and influence in the northwest was Detroit, a post founded by the French in 1701, where Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton was in command, who paid a bounty for scalps, but withheld it for prisoners. He was captured by the Virginians early in 1779, but not until his systematic barbarities, carried on through the savages whom he instigated and supported, had caused the blood of uncounted helpless and unoffending pioneers to bedew their dearly bought homes. He was succeeded by Maj. A. S. De Peyster, a man zealous in carrying out the policy of his government, but of

a more humane disposition. Still the Indian depredations on the frontier drew their inspiration from that point. The important post of Fort Pitt was in possession of the Americans, and it continued to be the center of government authority west of the Alleghenies during the revolutionary period. In Western Pennsylvania nearly all military operations looked merely to the protection of the settlements. Expeditions were made from time to time into the enemy's country, but they were not always crowned with success. Capt. John Neville, who was in command at Fort Pitt at this time, tried to observe a strict neutrality with the Indians, but he had little influence with any except the Delawares, and his influence with them was not sufficient to control their operations. Hamilton of Detroit had, on the other hand, as early as September, 1776, organized small parties of the savages against the settlers on the Ohio and its branches, though the war on the frontier was not fully inaugurated till nearly a year afterward.

With a view of securing the friendship of the Indians, or at least their neutrality, Congress appointed commisssoners to hold treaties with them at different agencies. Those appointed for Pittsburgh met there in July, 1776, but were not able to convene a sufficient number of the tribes until the following October. In the meantime a general Indian war was thought to be inevitable, owing to the sinister influences of the British at Detroit. Every effort was made to put the fort in a state of defense, and an order was issued for the assembling of all the militia there that could be spared from other places; for if it were to fall the whole country would be at the mercy of the savages. But the threatening cloud blew over, and on the 8th of November Col. Morgan, the Indian agent for the middle department, wrote to John Hancock, president of Congress, the welcome news: "I have the happiness to inform you that the cloud which threatened to break over us is likely to disperse. The Six Nations, with the Munsies, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohikons, who have been assembled here with their principal chiefs and warriors, to the number of six hundred and forty-four, have given the strongest assurance of their neutrality with the United States." But the serious question was before the frontiersmen, How long could the Indians be trusted, with the tribes further west in the interest of the English, and they themselves liable at any time to be approached by the agents of the same government, with their proffers of gold and gifts?

On the 1st of June, 1777, Brig.-Gen. Edward Hand, of the continental army, arrived at Fort Pitt and assumed command. Not long after his arrival he resolved on an expedition against the savages—seemingly a timely movement. The frontiers of Virginia were, in the meantime, sorely afflicted with savage incursions, mostly by a lawless gang of the Mohawk Pluggy, located upon the Olentangy, or Whetstone, the principal eastern tributary of the Scioto, some distance above its confluence with that stream. This band was without tribal organization, and acted independently of other nations, but its incursions were none the less dreaded by the outposts of civilization west of the mountains.

So galling did these incursions become that it was determined to send an expedition against their towns; but the project was abandoned lest it should arouse the ire of the Delawares and Shawanese, whom the colonists desired to keep in a state of neutrality if not of friendship.

The extreme frontier line protection extended from Kittanning down the Allegheny and Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The important posts below Fort Pitt at this time were Fort Henry, formerly called Fort Fincastle, at Wheeling, and Fort Randolph, at Point Pleasant. The former was built at the commencement of Dunmore's war, 1774; the latter was erected a year later by the Virginians. Rude stockades and blockhouses were multiplied in the intervening distances, and in the most exposed settlements, and were defended by small detachments from a Virginia regiment, also by at least one independent company, and by squads of militia on short terms of duty. To these stockades and blockhouses the settlers were accustomed to hasten when the Indians were known to be in the vicinity. But it not unfrequently happened that so sudden and stealthy were their raids that the warwhoop was the first indication of their presence, and no time was left for escape. Even the scouts who patrolled the country did not always discover the enemy in time, and the sufferings of the settlements were in consequence increased.

Gen. Hand still held to the opinion—and in this his view was correct—that nothing would so effectually protect the settlements and bring the Indians to terms as penetrating their country with a large force and destroying some of the towns. But he appears to have been too sanguine of success in the undertaking. The Wyandots, and particularly the Mingoes—Pluggy's Town Indians—were the most troublesome. To prepare for the expedition Hand demanded two thousand men from the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, but his call was not responded to with alacrity, although eight hundred men were embodied, including regulars at Fort Pitt and Randolph. Although he had many difficulties to contend against, he still expressed the hope that he would be able before the winter to reach the Sandusky river. But, being deceived as to the strength and spirit of his people, he was reluctantly obliged to abandon the expedition in the latter part of the fall. One reason for the failure was a want of concert between Gen. Hand and the lieutenants of the border militia. Another reason was the influence of the boundary dispute, which prevented unity of action by the Virginia and Pennsylvania militia. The most, therefore, that Hand could accomplish was a partial protection of the settlements by acting on the defensive only. "If I can assist the inhabitants to stand their ground," he wrote, "I shall deem myself doing a great deal."

The Illinois country, with its old French settlements, was still in possession of the English; and in January, 1778, Lieut.-Col. George Rogers Clarke planned an expedition for its capture. He came to the west of the mountains with a view of enlisting men for the expedition; and by the end of the month

he had all his recruiting parties disposed properly, and at Redstone he prepared boats, light artillery and ammunition. But many of the backwoodsmen opposed the undertaking, and he could only succeed in raising one hundred and fifty men, when, on the 12th of May, he set sail for the Falls of the Ohio. The country around the head of the Ohio was greatly distressed by the Indians at this time, and it is not to be wondered at that the frontiersmen were reluctant to leave their homes unprotected while they engaged in a distant expedition, the issue of which was very uncertain, with the forces at hand.

A little before this time, in February, Gen. Hand, having learned that a considerable quantity of stores was deposited by the British at an Indian town on the Cuyahoga river, which flows into the lake a short distance east of Cleveland, formed a project for capturing them. "Gathering a party of about five hundred men, mostly from Westmoreland county," writes an authority on border annals, "he proceeded on the expedition. But heavy rains falling, and the snows of winter melting, he was obliged to relinquish his design, after having arrived at a point a considerable distance above the mouth of the Beaver, on the Mahoning river. Just at this place Indian tracks were discovered, conjectured to be of warriors on a marauding expedition into the settlements. These were followed to a camp supposed to contain fifty or sixty Indians, which was immediately attacked. 'But, to my great mortification,' wrote the commander, 'only one man, with some women and children, was found.' The Indian and one of the squaws were killed. 'Another woman was taken,' adds the chagrined and thoroughly disgusted general, 'and with difficulty saved; the remainder escaped.' The prisoner reported that ten Munsie Indians were taking salt ten miles further up the Mahoning. A detachment was sent to secure them. This enterprise proved even more inglorious than the first. The enemy turned out to be four women and a boy, of whom one woman only was saved. . . . This, the first expedition to march into the Indian country from Pittsburgh after the war began, was long remembered in the west as 'the squaw campaign.'" Gen. Hand was singularly unfortunate in his efforts to fight the Indians.

For some months previous the Indians had become very bold, and the fruitless efforts made to protect the settlements by their utter failure only tended still more to embolden the savages. Kittanning had been occupied by troops from the spring of 1777, but Hand wrote to the commanding officer, Capt. Samuel Moorhead, on the 14th of September: "Being convinced that, in your present condition, you are not able to defend yourself, much less to render the continent any service, you will withdraw from Kittanning, bringing everything away, leaving the houses and barracks standing." This evacuation caused the greatest alarm, especially in the northern part of Westmoreland county.

Strong suspicions were entertained about this time of the loyalty of some of the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and numerous

arrests were made; but the greater part of those arrested were paroled. The most noted of these was Alexander McKee, who had formerly been deputy Indian agent at Pittsburgh, and who, as early as April, 1776, had been put on his parol, by a committee of whigs, "not to give any aid or comfort" to the British. In the meantime he quietly plotted with the Indians for the removal of his effects from Fort Pitt across the Allegheny into the Indian country. Well had it been for the western country had this arch-traitor been secured at once. As it was, he was suffered to remain at large upon his promise not to correspond with or give any intelligence to the enemies of the United States, or to leave the neighborhood without permission. He was soon afterward rearrested, and, after being confined to his own house, was paroled anew. Hand afterward ordered him to report at York, Pa., to the continental board of war; but he feigned sickness, and remained at home. The excitement against the tories subsided after a short time, and in the spring of 1778 all was apparently quiet. But it was the lull that precedes the storm. On the 28th of March all was changed; for not only McKee, but Mathew Elliott, who had lately arrived from Quebec, claiming to be a prisoner returned on parol, but in reality having a captain's commission from the British in his pocket, and Simon Girty, an Indian interpreter, fled from the vicinity of Fort Pitt and joined the enemy. These three renegades, as H. H. Brackenridge said, "of that horrid brood called refugees, whom the devil has long since marked as his own," proved themselves active servants of the English, causing untold sufferings on the frontier, not only during the war with Great Britain, but so long as the war with the Indians continued. Immediately after their departure they began to exert a sinister influence on the tribes, mainly the Delawares, inducing many of them who had remained neutral to become avowed enemies of the United States. Their attempts were, however, in a measure, frustrated by the exertions of the friends of the Union. With other tribes, and especially the Shawanese, they were more successful, and aroused them to a desire to harass the settlements. After visiting neighboring tribes they made their way to Detroit. The seeds of disorder were rooted more deeply at Fort Pitt and in its vicinity than was at first supposed, and other traitors were soon discovered. On the night of April 20th several persons stole a boat and fled down the Ohio. They were, however, overtaken at the mouth of the Muskingum by a party sent after them, and the ringleaders were killed or captured. Six of the citizens escaped; but of those captured two were shot, one hanged, and two whipped, the latter receiving one hundred lashes each. "The activity displayed by the British Indians along the western border, during the fall of 1777, induced Pennsylvania to bestir herself to protect the distant settlements. Congress, urgently appealed to by these suffering states, determined to make common cause with them against the enemy. Commissioners, acting under authority of the United States, were sent to Fort Pitt to inquire into the disaffection of the frontier people, and to provide for carrying the

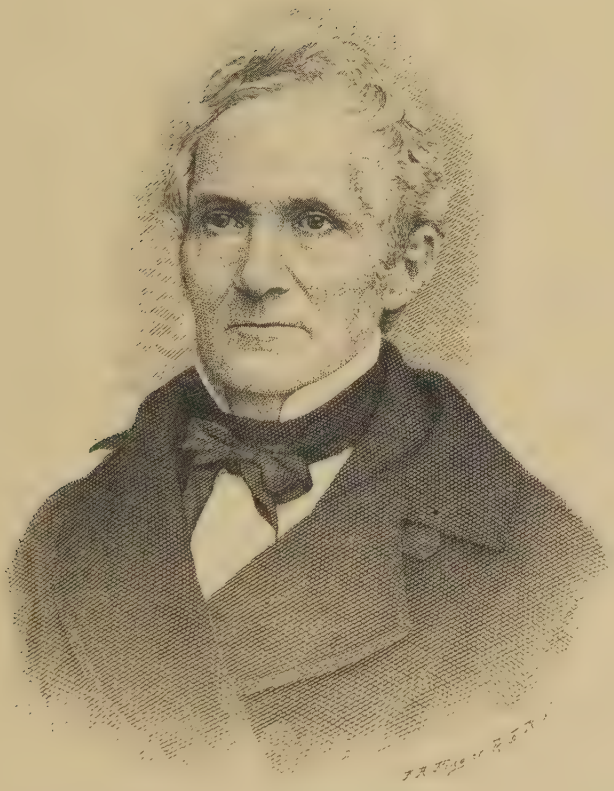
war into the enemy's country. They reported that the western Indians were stimulated in their hostility by the British commandant at Detroit. They drew up and presented to Gen. Hand an elaborate plan for the protection, by the militia alone, of the frontiers until recommendations made by them to Congress could be approved and carried into execution. On the 2d of May, 1778, Congress resolved to raise two regiments in Virginia and Pennsylvania, to serve for one year unless sooner discharged, for the protection of the western frontier, and for operation thereon—twelve companies in the former and four in the latter state. It was likewise determined that, as Gen. Hand had requested to be recalled from Pittsburgh, a proper person should be sent to relieve him. Washington was called upon to make a nomination. After much deliberation upon the subject, he named Brig.-Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, an officer of worth and merit, a Georgian by birth."* Washington expressed the high opinion he had of the integrity and ability of this person, and declared that he parted with him with the utmost reluctance. He wrote: "His firm disposition and equal justice, his assiduity and good understanding, added to his being a stranger to all parties in that quarter, point him out as a proper person; and I trust extensive advantages will be derived from his command, which I could wish was more agreeable."

Detroit, it was felt, not only by the inhabitants but by the military authorities of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, was the source whence the Indians received their inspiration and support, and Congress was also at length convinced of the same truth. Accordingly, with the appointment of Gen. McIntosh to the command of Fort Pitt and of the forces of the west, it was resolved by Congress that an expedition should be undertaken against this British stronghold, as the most certain means of overcoming the Indians and restoring peace and security to the frontier. It was proposed to enlist three thousand men in the expedition. Virginia was requested to call forth as many militia, not exceeding twenty-five hundred, as should be judged necessary to complete the number appropriated for the undertaking. The continental board of war was directed to coöperate with McIntosh, who had not yet entered on the duties of his new appointment, but who was soon to have command of affairs in the west, in measures necessary for the enterprise, and give him such instructions as might appear best adapted to promote the expedition. Over nine hundred thousand dollars were voted to defray the expenses, and a person was appointed to procure provisions, packhorses and other necessaries for the army. To give effect to the action of Congress, a plan was immediately set on foot for raising the necessary force and for the purchase of supplies for the expedition. Fifteen hundred men were to march by way of the Kanawha to Fort Randolph, and a like number was to descend the Ohio from Fort Pitt to the same place, whence they were to march into the enemy's country. Prior to this Washington, having heard of the ravages of the Indians

* Butterfield.

in Western Pennsylvania, had ordered the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, a choice body of men who had been raised in the west, to prepare to march to Pittsburgh. Col. Daniel Brodhead was at the head of this regiment. That part of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment remaining at Valley Forge was also placed under marching orders for Fort Pitt, under command of Col. John Gibson. Brodhead did not reach Pittsburgh before the 10th of September.

The great obstacle to success against the Indians, all this while, was the possession of Detroit by the English; and it was felt that so long as they were there to back the savages no telling victory could be gained. It was therefore determined to fit out an expedition against that post. But the late arrival of Brodhead at Fort Pitt and the high price of supplies were insurmountable obstacles; for an expedition, to have well-grounded hope of success, must leave Western Pennsylvania not later than the 1st of September. Congress for these reasons resolved that the expedition should be abandoned for the present. In lieu of it, however, McIntosh was directed to assemble at Pittsburgh fifteen hundred continental troops and militia, and proceed without delay to destroy such towns of the hostile tribes as he, in his discretion, should think would most effectually tend to chastise and terrify the savages, and check their ravages on the western frontier. McIntosh was more ambitious, and declared that Detroit and nothing less would satisfy him. Congress asked Virginia to supply him with as many militia as he should call for, and it was the intention to march the force from that state by way of the Kanawha to Fort Randolph to join the forces from Pennsylvania that should descend the Ohio. But upon more mature deliberation this plan was abandoned. At the date of the arrival of McIntosh there were only two forts west of the Alleghenies in Pennsylvania occupied by continental troops. These were Forts Randolph and Hand. Fort Hand was erected in the spring of 1778, and named in honor of the commander of Fort Pitt; it was located in Westmoreland county, about fourteen miles north of Hannastown, at a point described in an old manuscript as being "about a mile south of the ford of the Kiskiminetas; and the ford was about six miles above the mouth of the stream." It is very difficult to understand what the exact position of the fort was from this description, and it will for that reason be left to the reader to make the most of it. Besides these forts there was a large number of smaller stations or forts at different times garrisoned by militia; some between Wheeling and Pittsburgh, others between the Monongahela and the Kiskiminetas, as well as others scattered throughout the settlements. These are described as being "frequently altered, kept or evacuated, according to the humors, fears or interest of the people of most influence." And, however much Gen. McIntosh may have been opposed to this, he was forced to yield to it, as his chief dependence was on the militia, who were about as independent a class as could have been found in the world in their day. But a new move was now to be made by Gen. McIntosh. The war was to be carried into the enemy's country; and as these forts could



Wm. Eichbaum

be of no practical service, and their garrisons seemed unnecessary when the enemy had to defend themselves on their own territory, the general resolved to break them up as soon as he could without giving too much offense to the people upon whom he depended for the success of his enterprise. It would not, however, be prudent to leave the frontier without any protection; for the enemy might elude the pursuit of the general and fall upon the defenseless settlers and massacre them while the army was marching against their abandoned towns. The lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio counties, Virginia, which comprised the greater part of the valley of the Monongahela river, were authorized to raise a ranging company jointly, to scout continually along the Ohio river below the mouth of the Beaver, at such places as the savages usually forded the river to attack the settlements. At the same time Archibald Lochry, a name that figures prominently in the early history of Westmoreland county, was empowered to organize two companies for similar service on the northern frontier, as a protection against the scalping-parties that might assail the settlers in that direction. Other companies occupied the forts in the absence of the regular garrisons. It need hardly be repeated that at this time all Western Pennsylvania, purchased from the Indians, was included in Westmoreland county, although Virginia assumed jurisdiction, as has been shown, over certain parts of it. Another prudent move made by Gen. McIntosh was the concentrating of all the storehouses at Fort Pitt. Previous to that time there had been a considerable number of such buildings, each of which required a small number of men for its defense, and, being situated in different parts of the country, streams had to be crossed with considerable risk at certain seasons. By making Fort Pitt what might be called a distributing point, provisions could be brought across the mountains, as the expression then was, without necessitating the crossing of any considerable stream, and they could then be sent to other points from it at such seasons as were most favorable.

As the prosecution of the war was now in the hands of the general government, lately established, efforts were constantly being made to preserve friendly relations with some at least of the Indian tribes in Western Pennsylvania and beyond, although none could be relied on but the Delawares, and their attachment was beginning to grow weak. The Shawanese, the last of the other tribes to go over to the English, were now known to be unfriendly to the Americans, though from motives of interest they tried to preserve the semblance of friendship. But, however few of the savages might be on the side of the United States, they were more or less of a check on the British at Detroit and the Indians who drew their inspiration from that point; and, besides, they might give some warning of inroads on the settlements. Hence the value of their good will. Hence, too, the important part which Fort Pitt played in the great struggle for the independence of the colonies, as its predecessor, Fort Duquesne, had played in the French campaign. It is difficult to overestimate the

importance of the forks of the Ohio during the quarter of a century from 1754 to 1779 and later. It was a fitting prelude to her present greatness and her future prospects. With a view of producing a favorable impression on the savages who might still be counted on as favoring the American cause, the commissioners at Fort Pitt, by the advice of Congress, resolved to hold a treaty with the Delawares, Shawanese and other Indians at Fort Pitt in the summer of 1778. The 23d of July was chosen as the day for the conference, and messengers were dispatched to the Delawares and Shawanese with presents and invitations. On the part of the whites Virginia was requested to send two representatives and Pennsylvania one. The two from Virginia, Andrew and Thomas Lewis, appeared; but although George Morgan solicited the appointment from Pennsylvania that state neglected to send any representative. The Delawares sent three of their principal chiefs; but it was September before the parties met for consultation, and the treaty was not signed till the 17th of that month. It was very favorable to the United States, as far as the Delawares were concerned; for not only did they declare themselves in favor of the Union, and bury the hatchet, but they also permitted the general government to march troops through their hunting-grounds, which was a matter of no small importance at that time, when the cause of American freedom was not so hopeful as could have been desired. They further promised to join the forces of the general government, with such a number of their most noted braves as they could spare, consistently with their own safety. A requisition for two captains and sixty braves was afterward made upon the nation by the American commander.

The commanding officer at Fort Pitt opened a road to the mouth of the Beaver, and just below, on the table-land where the town of Beaver now stands, he built Fort McIntosh, as a post to which loads could be carried either by land or water, and where, should there be a failure of either sufficient troops or supplies to carry forward the expedition during the autumn, a footing at least would be secured, considerably advanced toward the enemy's country. This would enable the commander to be better prepared for another attempt in the spring, and would show the enemy, at the same time, that he was in earnest in his movements. The fort was a regular stockade-work, with four bastions, built of hewn logs; its figure was an irregular square, the face to the Ohio river being longer than that toward the land; and it is remarkable as being the first military post built by the United States on the Indian side of the Ohio. On the 8th of October, 1778, the headquarters of the army were removed from Fort Pitt to the new fort, where a considerable force, the largest collected west of the Allegheny mountains during the Revolution, numbering at least thirteen hundred, was assembled, consisting, besides the continental troops, of militia, mostly from the western counties of Virginia. But the want of supplies prevented any immediate movement forward. On the 3d day of November cattle from the mountain arrived, but they were

extremely poor, and could not be slaughtered for want of salt. At that date salt sold in Pittsburgh for twenty dollars per bushel. Alarming intelligence now reached McIntosh from the wilderness west. He was reproached for his tardiness by friendly Indians, who threatened that all their nation would unite in the Tuscarawas valley to give him battle, and oppose his progress to Detroit. Orders were therefore immediately issued for twelve hundred men to get ready to march. On the 5th of November the movement of the army westward commenced, including the whole force, except one company, which was left under command of Lieut.-Col. Richard Campbell, of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, to bring on the long-expected supplies. After a march of about seventy-five miles he was informed that the Indians had abandoned the idea of opposing his progress; and here, too, he learned the more disheartening fact that the supplies promised him had not yet reached Fort McIntosh, and that little, if any, could be expected. The result necessarily was that, like several other expeditions, this one had to be abandoned, and the army returned home, the only result produced being the confirmation of the savages in their conviction of the weakness of the Americans, and uniting them still more closely with the British at Detroit. A fort, however, was built, which was named Fort Laurens, in honor of the president of Congress. Leaving the fort with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, with scant supplies, under command of Col. John Gibson, to finish and protect it, the rest of the army under command of the general returned to Fort McIntosh, where the militia, who were now in a mutinous condition, were discharged. All that was left for the forces west of the mountains now to do was to act on the defensive, with such a disposition of men in the local forts and blockhouses as would best protect the frontier, and await further developments.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (Concluded).

Fort Crawford—Fort Armstrong—Brodhead's Expedition—Capt. Isaac Craig—Defeat of the Delawares—Col. Clarke's Expedition—Internal Disaffection—Crawford's Expedition—His Fate—Indian Attack on Hannastown and Miller's Station.

THE treason of McKee and his companions was a source of no little anxiety to the people of the frontier; for their perfect knowledge of the strength and condition of the settlements enabled them to give information that might prove very disastrous. About this time a resident of Westmoreland county wrote: "What may be the fate of this county God only

knows; but at present it wears a most dismal aspect." On the 28th of April, 1778, a settlement at and about Wallace Fort in Westmoreland county was attacked, and a body of twenty men who were out reconnoitering the woods had nine killed and their captain wounded. Only four of the enemy were killed. By the middle of May what was known as the northern road, that is, Forbes' route to Fort Pitt—Braddock's route was the southern road—had become the northern frontier line of settlement west of the mountains. A captain who, with nine men, chiefly continental soldiers, was bringing grain from the neighborhood of Fort Hand to Fort Pitt, was surprised, on the 7th of July, by a party of savages. Other scalping-parties were frequently found on the frontier settlements both of Pennsylvania and Virginia, since the return of McIntosh's unsuccessful expedition into the Indian country.

But the frontier, as well as the rest of the country, had more enemies than the British and the Indians. Money is the sinews of war; and the depreciation of the continental currency, which resulted in a great measure from the unsuccessful campaign of 1777, had by this time become a very serious burden on the people, and all over the country great ingenuity was exercised to discover a remedy. Among other devices the prices of commodities were fixed, and the Indian traders came in for a large share of public odium, and not without reason. A meeting of the officers of the line and staff in the western department, held in Pittsburgh in October, 1779, declares that the traders "are now commonly known by the disgraceful epithet of speculators." It was also resolved at the same meeting "that a select committee be appointed to collect all papers and get whatever information they can possibly obtain relative to the regulations which may have taken place down the country, and by them endeavor to ascertain the price of goods as they ought to sell at this place, and lay them, with whatever matters they may conceive necessary, before the committee at the next meeting." The committee, having been appointed, met on the 6th of October, and declared "that at the present enormous prices, unless dire and absolute necessity compels, to buy shall be deemed as criminal as to sell; and should the traders refuse to sell at the regulated prices agreed on and fixed by this committee," they further resolved, "that the commandant of the western department be waited upon by a committee, and earnestly requested for the good of the community, as well as the army, that said traders be immediately ordered to withdraw themselves and property from this post, being fully determined to have a reasonable trade, or no trade, and live upon our rations and what our country can afford us, and, should it be necessary, clothe ourselves with the produce of the forest, rather than live upon the virtuous part of the community to gratify our sanguinary enemies and enrich rapacity; and it is the unanimous opinion of this committee that the specious, designing speculator is a monster of a deeper dye and more malignant nature than the savage Mingo of the wilderness, whose mischiefs are partial, while those occasioned by the speculator have become

universal." Much more followed in the same strain, but the portions given are sufficient to show the depth and extent of the evil, and the feeling of utter abhorrence in which the traders were held.

Depredations continued, and the Indians, led by Simon Girty, came within a few miles of Fort Pitt and attacked parties of whites, while the little garrison of Fort Laurens was both reduced to the verge of starvation for want of supplies and beseiged by the savages. The latter, however, fortunately abandoned the siege, and the timely aid of Gen. McIntosh brought provisions to the men, who for a long time had subsisted on raw hides. Strangely enough, when the relief came and the garrison fired a salute for joy, the packhorses took fright and scattered the provisions over a considerable tract of country.

Gen. McIntosh was dispirited with the small number of men at his disposal, the want of proper supplies, and the activity of the Indians, spurred on by the British at Detroit; and, his health failing, he requested to be relieved of the important duty of commanding the department of the west. He withdrew in April, 1779, and this was the abandonment for the time of offensive measures west of the mountains. Although he had not succeeded against the Indians, his operations were not altogether fruitless, and it may be said that in his defensive measures he exercised good judgment. One rock, especially, he carefully avoided, which was interfering with the troublesome boundary question, although he had often been applied to by both sides. He also preserved cordial relations with the several county lieutenants, and was active and vigilant in protecting the exposed settlements. The erection of Forts McIntosh and Laurens as a precautionary measure was approved by Gen. Washington, who wrote "that the establishing of posts of communication, which McIntosh has done for the security of his convoys and the army, is a proceeding grounded on military practice and experience." Congress having directed the appointment of a successor to McIntosh, Washington, on the 5th of March, 1779, made choice of Col. Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, who was first in rank in the western department under the retiring general. At the time of his appointment he was in charge of Fort McIntosh, to which point Washington wrote him: "From my opinion of your abilities, your former acquaintance with the back country, and the knowledge you must have acquired upon this last tour of duty, I have appointed you to the command." It was a selection gratifying to the Pennsylvanians, as Brodhead was a citizen of that state. The whole force at his command at the time of his taking charge of the department, including continental and independent troops, consisted of seven hundred and twenty-two men, stationed at Forts Laurens, McIntosh, Henry, Randolph, Hand and Pitt. A few other stations were garrisoned by small detachments. At the same time Washington planned an expedition against the Six Nations, who had been committing depredations on the northern frontier, and it was his intention that, while a strong force set out east of the mountains, it should be joined by the commander of the western department,

who should march up the Allegheny. The latter part of this plan was, however, abandoned as impracticable under the circumstances. In his communications to Brodhead the commander-in-chief warned him not to interfere in the boundary dispute, as calculated to get him into difficulties without benefiting the cause he was sent to promote. Fort Laurens, after being a source of great anxiety to the commander of Fort Pitt, and after its garrison had suffered untold privations, was finally evacuated early in August, 1779.

"Turning our attention from the wilderness beyond the Ohio to the northern settlements of Westmoreland, we see that as early as the 26th of February, 1779, Indian depredations began therein. On that day, about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh, on the main road leading over the mountains, eighteen persons—men, women, and children—were either killed or taken prisoners. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first care of Brodhead, after assuming command in the west, was to protect the northern frontier. His first order directed a detachment from Fort Pitt to occupy the vacant Fort Crawford, located a few miles up the Allegheny." This fort stood a little above the mouth of Puckety creek, on the east side of the Allegheny river, probably on the site of the present village of Parnassus, eighteen miles above Fort Pitt. "The soldiers were instructed to scout on the waters of the river, as well on Puckety creek, and upon the Kiskiminetas as far as Fort Hand, thereby to protect as much as possible, from the death-dealing savages of the north, the exposed settlements to the eastward of Pittsburgh. Gen. Washington, with 'a full sense of the importance, necessity and duty of taking the most vigorous and speedy measures for the support and protection of the frontiers,' decided to order to the westward Col. Moses Rawlings' corps of three companies from Fort Frederick, Md., to assist in protecting the exposed settlements, and, at the same time, to promote the coöperation of troops from Fort Pitt with the army to be sent against the Indians of the Six Nations, by erecting posts at Kittanning and Venango. Although the plan for the movements of a force from Pittsburgh was soon laid aside and the building of the two forts abandoned, the march of the Maryland troops was not countermanded."*

The Indians seemed to have made Westmoreland, which then included all Western Pennsylvania east and south of the rivers, the scene of their greatest activity. Here were perpetrated most of their daring and cruel raids upon the settlements. Pennsylvania determined to raise five companies to hasten to the defense of the west. Fort Hand was attacked on the 26th of April, and though Capt. Samuel Moorhead, who was in command, had only seventeen men with him, he held out, and the women busied themselves in molding bullets. The siege was raised the next day, the garrison during the action not having lost a single life. At this time a resident of the county wrote: "The savages are continually making depredations among us, not less than forty people having been killed, wounded, or captured this spring." The arrival of additional

* Butterfield.

forces gave confidence to the frontier; but the settlements were still the scenes of Indian raids in which lives were lost and prisoners taken.

During all this time the commander of Fort Pitt experienced great difficulty in obtaining provisions for his soldiers, as his letters to the commander-in-chief amply testify. The presence of the British at Detroit was still the greatest source of trouble on account of the use they made of the Ohio Indians and the means they employed in winning over the few who remained neutral or friendly to the American cause. For this reason it was that Brodhead complained of his limited resources at a time when it was of the utmost importance to rival the English in the value of the presents he gave to the savages, upon whom these were known to have a potent influence. He says in one of his letters: "The Indian captains appointed by the British commandant at Detroit are clothed in the most elegant manner, and have many valuable presents made them. The captains I have appointed by authority of congress are naked, and receive nothing but a little whisky, for which they are reviled by the Indians in general, so that unless some kind of a system is introduced I must expect to see all the Indians in favor of the British, despite of every address in my power." The Indians from the north had now become more troublesome than those of the west, and Brodhead's attention was accordingly directed to them. He sent Capt. Samuel Brady with a small party to scout the country up the Allegheny and collect such information as he could regarding the savages. Near the mouth of Mahoning creek he met a small body of them who had made a raid on the settlements, killed some persons, and taken two children prisoners, and he killed the leader of the band with others, rescued the prisoners and recaptured the booty. Other adventures of this noted scout form interesting episodes in our frontier history about this time. But Brodhead very properly thought that a station at Kittanning would more effectually hold the Indians in check than any other measure he could at that time adopt. This place was well known as an Indian stronghold during the French occupation of the valley of the Allegheny and Ohio. The provincials did not, however, occupy it for many years after its destruction by Col. Armstrong. But on June 5, 1776, a memorial was presented to the assembly of Pennsylvania by the inhabitants of Westmoreland county that they feared an attack from the Indian country west, and that Van Swearingen had, at a considerable expense, raised a company of effective men which the memorialists had continued and stationed at Kittanning, and which they prayed might be continued. Congress resolved on the 15th of July that the battalion which was to garrison the posts to be established at Presqu' Isle, Le Bœuf and Kittanning be raised in the counties of Westmoreland and Bedford, which latter at that date embraced a considerable part of Southwestern Pennsylvania. Some time afterward the battalion commanded by Col. Æneas Mackay was stationed at Kittanning, where it remained till December 15th of the same year, when the commanding officer was ordered to collect his scattered forces at some convenient rendezvous

to march elsewhere. No troops were stationed at Kittanning from that time till 1779, although some attempt was made to protect the northern frontier by other posts and rangers in small detachments in the pay of the state. As regards the building of the fort we have the following, which Gen. Washington wrote to Brodhead under date of March 22, 1779: "I have directed Col. Rawlings' corps, consisting of three companies, to march from Fort Frederick, in Maryland . . . to Fort Pitt, as soon as he is relieved by a guard of militia. Upon his arrival you are to detach him with his own corps and as many as will make up one hundred men, should his company be short of that number, to take post at Kittanning, and immediately throw up a stockade fort for the security of the convoys. When this is accomplished a small garrison is to be left there, and the remainder are to proceed to Venango." But the fort was not built at that time, whatever may have been the reason, for Col. Brodhead wrote on the 3d of June to Archibald Lochry, lieutenant of Westmoreland county: "I purpose building a small fort at Kittanning as soon as possible, and that will be more effectual security for the inhabitants than all the little posts now occupied by the garrisons." On the 23d he again wrote: "Lieut.-Col. Bayard is now at Kittanning, and will cover the frontier effectually;" and on the 31st of July he wrote to Gen. Washington: "A complete stockade fort is erected at the Kittanning, and now called Fort Armstrong." The fort stood a little more than two miles below the present town of Kittanning, close on the east bank of the river; and about half a mile further down there was a block-house, which was standing as late as 1834. The writer distinctly remembers the well of the fort, which, thirty-five years ago, was still visible, though filled with stumps from the surrounding field. It would seem that Col. Bayard, who built the fort, wanted to name it after himself; for, although his letters are not preserved to us, Brodhead's replies, which we have, plainly imply so much. The correspondence was evidently animated, and appears to have had a sarcastic vein running through it as far as the commander of Fort Pitt was concerned. In a letter of his dated July 1st, he says: "I think it is a compliment due to Gen. Armstrong to call the fort after him; therefore, it is my pleasure from this time forward it be called Fort Armstrong, and I doubt not we shall soon be in the neighborhood of a place where greater regard is paid to saints than at Kittanning, where your sainthood may not be forgotten." And in another letter of the 9th of the same month he writes: "I have said that I thought it a compliment due to Gen. Armstrong to name the fort now erecting at Kittanning after him; and I should be very sorry to have the first fort erected by my direction in the department named after me. Besides, I should consider it will be more proper to have our names at a greater distance from our metropolis. I never denied the saintship of Stephen or John, but some regard to propriety must be necessary even among saints." The commander's trouble with the fort, however necessary it certainly was for the protection of the northern frontier, was not to end with the naming of it. On the 1st of August Bayard was

Geo. Hogg

relieved of the command of the post. Early in October Brodhead ordered Capt. Irwin to take up his quarters there, but he did not obey the order, and a sharp correspondence took place between the two; for in a letter of his, dated October 13th, Brodhead writes him: "You had my positive orders to wait upon me for instructions to govern you at Fort Armstrong, which orders you have been hardy enough to disobey and are to answer for." During this dispute Francis McIlvaine was sent to occupy the fort. There was talk of courtmartialing Irwin, but it is most probable it was not done. Discipline was at a low ebb in the department at that time, owing to the life of the pioneers, and the injurious effects of the boundary dispute, which taught the people to disregard the civil jurisdiction of one of the states. In the meantime Brodhead wrote to Lieut. Glass, or the "commanding officer of Capt. Irwin's company," October 18th: "You are to march the company under your command to Fort Armstrong and there relieve the present garrison under Mr. McIlvaine." Still another change of officers was found necessary; and on the 27th the commander of Fort Pitt wrote to Lieut. John Jameson: "I have received your favor of the 24th inst. I am glad to hear you are at length got to Fort Armstrong." He was to be the last commander of the short-lived fort. On the 27th of November Joseph I. Finley wrote him: "I am directed by Col. Brodhead to request you to evacuate Fort Armstrong, and to repair to this post [Fort Pitt] with all convenient dispatch, taking care to bring off all the stores in your possession and pertaining to the garrison of whatsoever kind." The fort was never after occupied permanently, although soldiers may have lodged there for a short time occasionally. Why a post so favorably situated should have been abandoned so soon after its construction it is difficult, with the information at command, to determine, unless it was that the success attending the expedition up the Allegheny into the Indian country was thought sufficient to prevent the savages from attempting any further raids from that direction for a considerable time.

Brodhead had long been anxious to carry the war into the enemy's country, declaring to the commander-in-chief that he could effect more in this way than he could with three times the number of men required if he acted on the defensive. With great difficulty he succeeded in obtaining the consent of Washington as well as of the state authorities for the expedition; a considerable force was collected with the usual amount of delays and annoyances of other kinds; but a greater difficulty was encountered in securing the necessary provisions. At length he was able to inform Gen. Washington of the pleasure he felt in having upward of four hundred head of cattle and nearly a thousand kegs of flour. "The small posts of the department garrisoned by continental or provincial troops were evacuated, that their commands might be rendered available for the enterprise. As many soldiers as could well be spared from the large ones were directed to march to Pittsburgh for the same purpose. The provincial companies in Westmoreland were called in. Exertions were made to induce volunteering. Militia from the neighborhood were ordered to

Fort Pitt. By the 11th of August six hundred rank and file, with a number of Delawares, were collected. The force began to march that day under the lead of Brodhead, with Col. Gibson second in command. The army, having one month's supplies, advanced up the Allegheny—the provisions, except live cattle, being transported by water under an escort of one hundred men—to the mouth of the Mahoning above Kittanning. The stores were now loaded on pack-horses, and the troops continued their march up the river. An advance party of fifteen light infantry and eight Delawares, under command of Lieut. John Hardin, of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, fell in with thirty or forty warriors, coming down the Allegheny in seven canoes. A sharp contest ensued. The enemy were defeated, the savages losing five of their number killed and several wounded. All their canoes with their contents were captured. Three of the Americans were wounded, also one of the Delawares.

"Brodhead proceeded up the river as far as an Indian village of Buckaloons, its inhabitants fleeing upon his approach. The army threw up a breastwork of trees not far away, and a garrison of forty men was left to guard the provisions. The remainder of the force marched up the river to the mouth of the Conewango, near which was a deserted village of that name." This was at the present town of Warren, one hundred and sixty-nine miles above Pittsburgh. "The troops then moved up the latter stream to within about four miles of the present state boundary line, where several towns were found just vacated."* All the villages found were burned, and the cornfields destroyed. The army returned by the Venango road, and reached Pittsburgh on the 14th of September without the loss of a man. On the 27th of October Congress passed the following resolution relative to this expedition:

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to his excellency, Gen. Washington, for directing, and to Col. Brodhead and the brave officers and soldiers under his command for executing, the important expedition against the Mingo and Munsie Indians, and that part of the Senecas on the Allegheny river, by which the depredations of those savages, assisted by their merciless instigators, subjects of the king of Great Britain, upon the defenseless inhabitants of the western frontiers have been restrained and prevented.

During all this time, as before, the Indians of the west were a great source of trouble, and what to do, with the limited resources at command, was the question that perplexed everyone from the commander-in-chief down. Fort Laurens had for a long time engaged the attention of the savages, but without relieving the commander of the western department, who found the care of that post as difficult as that of the frontier had been without it. Even during its occupation the frontier was not free from the raids of small war-parties, but after its evacuation, up to the setting in of winter, the Indians of the west overran the whole southwestern part of Pennsylvania, and life was nowhere secure. The repetition of these raids, although varying more or less according to cir-

* Butterfield.

cumstances, was the everyday expectation of the western population, and the mere recital of them became monotonous.

The population around Forbes' road, in the Monongahela valley, in the immediate vicinity of Pittsburgh, and generally throughout the southwestern part of the state, had by this time become considerable. But the draft that was made on them for the war with England, for the garrisoning of the local forts and blockhouses, for the various expeditions into the enemy's country, and for the defense of their own homes, left them little time for the care of their farms. Yet at no time in the history of the state did this require greater labor. For, although the soil was as yet rich and required little cultivation, the forests had to be cleared and enclosed, the ground in most cases to be broken up with strong teams, which were not at the command of everyone, and when under cultivation it required constant watching to prevent wild animals, such as deer, bears. raccoons, etc., from destroying large portions of the crop. The life of the frontiersman was one of great hardship, and though it bred a hardy race it frequently taxed them beyond the power of endurance. The women, too, required courage equally with the men, for it frequently happened that for weeks they were left alone with their families in a little "patch" in the forests, far from all human succor, and liable at any moment to hear the warwhoop of the savage, or discover him lurking around the premises, ready to fall upon his victim. Many a descendant of these pioneers remembers the thrilling tales of adventure with which his winter's nights were regaled by eyewitnesses of them, and actors, too, in the years of his childhood, and how he retired to rest afraid of seeing an Indian, in his childish fancy, as he crept into bed. With the narrators of those stories this was no fancy, but the sternest reality; and it may be truly said of them that they carried their lives in their hands.

The Indians were again on the frontier earlier than usual in 1780, murdering and taking prisoners. Among the latter of these was a girl named Catharine Malott, who afterward became the wife of the notorious Simon Girty, whom Heckewelder called "the white savage," and who certainly deserved the name. This year threatened to be a sad one for the settlements. Says Mr. Butterfield: "By the last of April the Indians had become exceedingly troublesome; over forty men, women, and children had fallen victims of their ferocity in the country south and southwest of Fort Pitt. These depredations were quickly followed by others to the northward. It really began to look as though the county of Westmoreland would again become a wilderness. A large part of the population north of the Youghiogheny were forced to fly to the several forts of that locality for safety. The utmost exertions of the local companies and of the half-clad, half-starved regulars—now only the cullings of last year's men, many having been sent over the mountains on account of the pressure of the war upon the seaboard—were put forth to protect the homes of the borderers, but with little effect. The war, if possible, the commander realized fully, must be carried to the homes of the savages,

and, above all, it was now seen, to the homes of the Wyandots, who were more powerful for mischief to the border than either of the other tribes acting against it. In June Capt. Isaac Craig, with a detachment from the Fourth Pennsylvania Artillery, reached Fort Pitt." Mr. Craig and his descendants were destined to be among the most intelligent and public-spirited citizens of the incipient city of Pittsburgh, and his name is frequently mentioned both in military and civic matters later on in our history. His son, Neville B. Craig, has put not only Pittsburgh, but the southwestern portion of the state, under obligations to him for his seasonable publication of "The Olden Time," a collection of original papers relating to the country around the head of the Ohio, and his "History of Pittsburgh," which relates the annals of our city with unusual accuracy down to the date of its publication, 1851. He was also the leading newspaper-man of his time, and published the first daily paper in Pittsburgh.

On the 10th of July Brodhead informed the lieutenants of the counties of the western department of his intention to carry the war into the enemy's country; but told them at the same time that that matter must be kept a profound secret, and its execution must be made with dispatch. But it was much easier under the circumstances to plan an expedition than it was to carry the plan into execution, and Brodhead was not the first commander of the department to learn this unpleasant truth. An entire corps from Maryland that had been on duty guarding the frontier of Westmoreland county deserted in a body, in August; and, to embarrass the commander of the department still more, Washington informed him that he could furnish no soldiers for the expedition. The best that Brodhead could do in these adverse circumstances was to confine his efforts to what Washington termed "partisan strokes," to which the commander-in-chief encouraged him. The creation of the new county of Washington, March 28, 1781, which embraced the southwestern portion of Pennsylvania, and the organization of a body of militia there under James Marshall, the lieutenant of the county, increased the force in that part of the country, and afforded additional security to the settlers.

The strenuous efforts of the British at Detroit to win the Delawares, the only tribe that could be said to have remained faithful to the Americans, was in a measure successful about the close of the year 1780, and the beginning of the following year saw every tribe of the west up in arms against the frontier. Brodhead, still bent upon a movement into the Indian country, collected a small force in April, 1781, and, dropping down to Wheeling, was joined by David Shepherd, lieutenant of Ohio county, Va. He led the forces into the Indian country, took the savages at Coshocton completely by surprise, destroyed their town and a village just below, killed fifteen of their warriors and took twenty prisoners. Large quantities of peltry and stores were also destroyed, and about forty head of cattle killed. The expedition was a very decided success; the hostile Delawares fell back further to the west, and never

again occupied the territory from which they had been driven. The few remaining friendly Delawares placed themselves under the protection of Brodhead; and their assistance and the information they were able from time to time to afford of the movements of the hostile savages were of great service to the commander of the western department.

Early in 1781 Col. George Rogers Clarke arrived at Fort Pitt on his way down the Ohio, in command of an expedition against the Indians of the west, principally with a view of capturing the old French posts in the Illinois country now in the hands of the enemy. Brodhead, whose forces then consisted of not more than two hundred men, was directed by Washington to detach his field-pieces, howitzers and train to join him. At that time Fort Pitt was little better than a heap of ruins, while the garrison, ill fed and ill equipped, were in a very sorry condition to repel an enemy, should the Indians take Fort McIntosh and attack them. The militia were without proper organization, and, when called into service, destitute to a great extent of military knowledge and discipline. The civil government was even in a worse condition, on account of the excitement regarding the boundary dispute. Both sides before the war had asserted their claims to an organized jurisdiction over the disputed territory, and exercised them. As between the two commonwealths, the quarrel was virtually brought to an end in 1779; but bitter feelings still existed among the people, and the line was not yet run. As a consequence, having long contemned the authority of a neighboring state, many had come to open disrespect for their own. Hence there was a restlessness, bordering on insubordination, prevailing in many parts of the country, and a desire on the part of some to emigrate into the wilderness beyond the Ohio to form a new state.

Troubles between certain of the military officers added to the difficulties of the situation. Brodhead, who, according to his ability, was zealous for the advancement of the interests of his department, met with considerable opposition—so much so that on the 6th of October he wrote Gen. Washington: "Col. Gibson still continues to counteract me, and the officers who favor his claim reject my orders; others refuse his, and things are in the utmost confusion." These unfortunate circumstances rendered it necessary to send some other officer to take command of the department; but who this officer should be it was not easy to determine. To an unusual degree of prudence he must add proper firmness in order to restore discipline, while with these he must possess all the qualities necessary to deal with the hostile savages to the north and west. After mature deliberation Washington selected Gen. William Irvine. Congress confirmed the appointment, and the new commander set out for the field of his future operations, where he arrived early in November, 1781.

Before the arrival of Gen. Irvine, Brodhead had been superseded in the command of the western department by his rival, Col. Gibson, and his predecessor was submitted to a trial, mainly, it would appear, for his extravagant use or waste of the public stores. On this point Irvine wrote to Washington

under date of December, 1781: "The consumption of public stores, in my opinion, has been enormous, particularly military stores, and I fear the reason for it will not be justifiable, viz., that the militia would all fly if they had not powder and lead given them, not only when in service, but to keep at their homes. . . I find that nearly 2,000 lb. of lead and 4,000 lb. of powder have been issued to the militia since the dispute between Cols. Brodhead and Gibson, chiefly by orders of the former, besides arms, accouterments, etc., and not a man called into active service." He spoke at the same time of the manner in which he had re-formed the companies of soldiers at the fort, and also of the failure of Gen. Clarke's expedition, to which reference was made above. He further noted the encouragement the savages would feel in it, and the probability of an attack being made on the frontier, seconded by the British, who were still in possession of Detroit. In view of this he thought that the site of Pittsburgh was not the best for a fort, and that it should be at the mouth of Chartier's creek, below Pittsburgh, on the south side of the Ohio. He wrote to the commander-in-chief: "I have been viewing the country in this vicinity, and find no place equal for a post to the mouth of Chartier's creek, about four miles down the river. Capt. Hutchins pointed that place out to me before I left Philadelphia, and says there is no place equal to it anywhere within forty miles of Fort Pitt. I think it best calculated on many accounts. First, the ground is such that works may be constructed to contain any number of men from five hundred to a thousand. It is by nature almost inaccessible on three sides, and on the fourth no commanding ground within three thousand yards. Secondly, as it would effectually cover the settlements on Chartier's creek, the necessity for keeping a post at Fort McIntosh would, of course, cease. In case of making that the main post, Fort Pitt should be demolished, except the north bastion, on which a strong blockhouse should be erected. A small party on it would as effectually keep up communication with the settlements on the Monongahela as the whole garrison now does; for the necessary detachments at McIntosh, Wheeling, etc., so divide the troops that no one place can be held without a large body of troops. Indeed, if the enemy from Detroit should undertake to make us a visit, it would be an excellent place for them to take by surprise, whence they could send out Indians and other partisans and lay the whole country waste before we could dislodge them."

Few passages in all the correspondence relating to Western Pennsylvania contain more practical wisdom than this. The reader of our early annals will not fail to remember that the mouth of Chartier's creek was the very spot upon which the friendly Indians wanted the traders to build a fort for their protection, just before the breaking out of the French war, though Washington thought, at the end of 1753, that it was not so favorably situated as the forks; but then he had in view the protection of the mouth of the Monongahela against the French coming down the Allegheny. Still, it is plain to all that a

fort on the low ground between the confluence of the two rivers could at any time have been easily bombarded from any of the high surrounding hills, without its being able to make any effectual defense. And when Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of the English there were not wanting those who favored the building of a large fort upon what is now known as Boyd's hill, overlooking the Monongahela, which, from the name of the principal advocate of the measure, a Scotchman by the name of Ayres, was long known as Ayres' hill. In connection with this he would have a smaller fort on the hill overlooking the Allegheny. Viewing the matter from this distance only, we can not but believe that either this plan or that of Gen. Irvine was preferable to the one adopted, as Fort Pitt was utterly defenseless against artillery, had it been brought to bear upon it.

But brighter days were beginning to dawn for the country, although the west would be the last to reap the advantage. The surrender of Cornwallis effectually broke the power of the British in her former colonies, and sealed the independence of the United States. But Detroit, the instigator of the Indians against the western settlements, was for some time longer in her possession. Upon receiving intelligence of the surrender of the British forces Gen. Irvine issued the following order:

FORT PITT, November 6, 1781.

Parole—*General.* Countersign—*Joy.*

Gen. Irvine has the pleasure to congratulate the troops upon the great and glorious news. Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command, surrendered prisoners of war, on the 19th of October last, to the allied armies of America and France, under the immediate command of his exellency Gen. Washington. The prisoners amount to upward of five thousand regular troops, near two thousand tories, and as many negroes, besides a number of merchants and other followers.

Thirteen pieces of artillery will be fired this day at 10 o'clock, in the fort, at which time the troops will be under arms, with their colors displayed. The commissaries will issue a gill of whisky extraordinary, to the non-commissioned officers and privates, upon this joyful occasion.

At the beginning of the following year, Gen. Irvine retired for a time to Carlisle; but the threatening attitude of the savages on the frontier induced the commander-in-chief to write him, under date of March 8th, to hasten back to Fort Pitt. He reached it on the 25th to find the settlements in a state of alarm. The garrisons, too, of Forts Pitt and McIntosh were in a mutinous condition; but the firmness of the commander soon restored them to proper discipline, though not without the frequent application of "one hundred lashes well laid on," and the execution of two soldiers.

The settlers were anxious to be led against the Wyandots on the Sandusky river, to which measure the better judgment of Irvine made him opposed; but he finally consented, and did all in his power to insure the success of the expedition. The distance, however, was great, and led through the enemy's country for the most part, where the little army could be harassed continually, and

where the difficulty of carrying provisions would be an almost insurmountable obstacle to success. The expedition proved unsuccessful; fifty of the soldiers lost their lives; William Crawford, the commander, was taken prisoner, and afterward burned at the stake. But this unhappy issue of the expedition was felt still further in emboldening the savages and convincing them of the inability of the whites to protect themselves and their settlements. Notwithstanding this, Irvine contemplated another expedition against the same Indian towns, and made preparations for it. But on the assurance of the commander of the British forces that the savages had all been required to desist from hostilities, Gen. Washington directed him to abandon it.

The unprotected state of the northern portion of Westmoreland county, from which many of the soldiers had been withdrawn for the unsuccessful expedition into the west, proved too inviting for the savages to permit it to pass unprofited of. Accordingly a large war party, amounting to about three hundred, said to be in command of Kiashuta, crossed the Allegheny and proceeded to Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland county, which was situated on the old Forbes road, about thirty miles east of Pittsburgh and three northeast of Greensburg. They reached this point on the 13th of July, 1782. The laborers at work in the harvest field about a mile north of the town spied the foremost skulking about the fields. Some, seizing their guns, hurried back to the fort, and others carried the news throughout the country. Then all flocked together where best they might, and within a few hours the savages were around the village of Hannastown. Timely warning had been given to the villagers, and all had sought refuge in the fort. But its defenders, though brave, were few, its inmates being for the most part decrepit old men, women and children. Most of the men were out giving the alarm and assisting the helpless. Besides, they had few arms. When the savages came up the hill, north of the village, a loud yell indicated that they had been disappointed in their hopes of securing a rich harvest of scalps. They feared to attack the fort, but busied themselves in plundering and burning the village. Fears were entertained that the shower of sparks carried about by a strong wind blowing at the time would set fire to the fort, but a kind Providence averted them, and the garrison escaped the impending danger. While the flames were rising the savages held a consultation; a party of about sixty then broke off, and, while the rest danced around the burning houses, passed toward the south to attack the station at Miller's, about three miles distant. Here about a dozen families had collected, whom the Indians hoped to surprise. But brave hearts, regardless of danger to themselves, had spread the alarm; and no sooner were the savages seen to approach the edge of the clearing at the station than Capt. Matthew Jack was gathering the men in. But resistance against such a body of savages was vain, and those who were most familiar with Indian warfare did not resist for fear of bringing on an indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent women and children. The whole party

Alex. M. Clures

was bound and carried off toward where the rest of the savages were awaiting them. The Indians retired during the night, with their prisoners and booty, and were followed as far as the Kiskiminetas by a small body of men who had assembled from the surrounding settlements. This was the last serious attack made on the settlements east of the Allegheny, although alarms were frequent, and minor depredations occasionally took place for a few years longer.

The winter of 1782–83 was spent in comparative quiet by the settlements, the Indians being convinced by this time that the cause of the British, who had instigated and supported them, was hopelessly lost. Gen. Irvine, on the 1st of October, 1783, having furloughed his garrison, and turned over his command to a small continental force, took his final leave of the western department. Pennsylvania acknowledged her gratitude for his services by donating him a valuable tract of land on Lake Erie, below the city of the same name, which was afterward known as "Irvine's reserve."

The conclusion of the war with Great Britain gave a new impulse to settlement, weakened the confidence of the Indians, and left a body of trained soldiers ready at any time to march against them in case of an outbreak; and an altogether new era may be said to have dawned upon Western Pennsylvania, so long accustomed to war's alarms.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1784 TO THE ERECTION OF THE COUNTY.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS—PENNSYLVANIA'S LAST TREATY WITH THE NATIVES—"THE NEW PURCHASE"—SETTLEMENTS AND LAND-TITLES—DEPRECIATION AND RESERVATION LANDS—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—COURTHOUSES, JAILS, ETC.—ERECTION OF COUNTY—FIRST COUNTY OFFICERS, ETC.

THE claim of the Indians to the country west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio had not yet been extinguished, but both the natives and the whites saw that the time was at hand for such a move; the whites, because they were pushing constantly further west from the mountains, and would not be satisfied with small tracts of land, and the Indians, because they perceived that, as usual, the palefaces continued to encroach on their domain till they were no longer able to hold it. Nor could they rely, as formerly, on the English or the French, both of whom had to yield in their turn to the colonists; nor could they feel, as in former years, that the settlers were weak and they strong; for now they were sensible that their star was fast on the wane, while that of the settlers was on the ascendant. It was with feelings like these that both parties met in conference at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, the state of Penn-

sylvania being represented by commissioners appointed by the governor, and the tribes of the Six Nations being represented by their chiefs. The deed for all the territory west of the Allegheny was signed by the chiefs and commissioners on the 23d of October, and the claim of the aborigines to the soil of Pennsylvania was forever extinguished. This purchase was confirmed by the Wyandots and Delawares, at Fort McIntosh, by a deed executed January 21, 1785; for though these tribes were not independent of the Six Nations, whose will was their law, yet this formality was deemed advisable to prevent future cause of complaint. This was the last treaty which Pennsylvania had with the natives. She was now in possession of all the territory to which she was entitled; and however shallow the boast may be that she never occupied any of the territory of the aborigines without first purchasing it from them, she had it all now without any fear of serious molestation from them. This last extensive acquisition was long known as "the New Purchase." Further on an opportunity will be offered of treating of the divisions made of this new territory.

The Indians were loth to permit their vast hunting-grounds to become the farms of their enemies, and continued, though not so frequently as before, nor in such formidable bands, to infest the settlements and carry off an occasional prisoner or his scalp. Settlements began to multiply on the Ohio, and Indian depredations were restrained to a greater or less degree in that direction; but in the north and northwest the natives were very troublesome. It became necessary to build new posts on the headwaters of the Allegheny, or rather repair and garrison those which had long existed there, but which had for some years been evacuated. Accordingly we read in the "Military Journal" of Maj. Ebenezer Denny, under date of April 10, 1787, the following entry: "Fort Harmar, mouth of Muskingum river. . . . Capt. Heart ordered to proceed with his company to a place called Venango, on the Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles above Pittsburgh, there to erect a suitable work. This place had formerly been occupied by the French and English troops, but burnt down." The subjoined extracts from the same "Journal" will both explain the building of the fort at the mouth of French creek and give an interesting picture of the Allegheny at that time. "8th April, 1788.—It was the general's [Harmar's] intention to spend a day or two here [at Pittsburgh], and proceed up the Allegheny to Fort Franklin [formerly Venango], but a continuation of heavy rains and consequent high water induced him to delay for a more favorable time; but unwilling to be absent too long, we set out with high water, and rising. This day we passed seven islands, and gained fifteen miles. 18th.—Had severe thunder, with rain. Passed eight islands and several lodges of Indians near the Kiskiminetas. Lay five miles above the mouth of that river. 29th.—Clear and cold. River still rising. Passed seven islands, and encamped a mile above Mahoning. 30th.—Last night the contractor's boat, from Venango, passed down on its way back to Pitt; had a passage of fifteen days up. Very hard water to-day. Passed two islands; gained

twenty miles. May 1st.—Current this day very rapid. Passed Stump creek [Clarion] and six islands; made about twenty miles. 2d.— . . . Five islands this day, and rain from morning till night. 3d.—About 8 o'clock this morning, after passing one island, we entered the mouth of French creek. The fort stands half a mile up. Several miles below we were discovered by some Indians, who cut across and gave notice to Capt. Heart of our approach. The arrival of Gen. Harmar was announced with seven rounds of a six-pounder from the fort. Very kindly received by the captain and Lieut. Frothingham, at the head of their command. The company reviewed and dismissed. Spent the day in examining Capt. Heart's work, viewing the adjacent country and the old fortifications of the French and British. There is a fine flat of good land here, altogether on the lower side of French creek, but sufficient for several farms. The only flat land from Mahoning or Mohelboteetam up. . . . Capt. Heart's fort, or Fort Franklin, as it is called, is built precisely after the plan of the one which had been erected by the British, called Venango. It is a square redoubt, with a blockhouse, three stories high, in the center; stands better than half a mile up French creek, upon very good ground; but the situation, in my opinion, by no means so eligible as that of old Venango, built by the English. The last work stood upon a commanding ground pretty close to the bank of the Allegheny, half a mile below French creek, and a mile from Fort Franklin. The cellar wall and huge stack of chimneys of the blockhouse are of stone, and are yet quite entire. The parapet and some other parts remain perfect, and the whole work might have been rebuilt with half the labor and expense of that built by Heart. The only reason the captain could offer for taking new ground was the convenience of timber." This was the last fort built in the state of Pennsylvania, and, though a hundred and twenty-four miles from Pittsburgh, was yet in Allegheny county.

A sad change had already come over the Six Nations, the "Romans of America." The "Journal" continues with regard to the Senecas, at one time the most numerous tribe of the confederation: "We see a number of Senecas here. The Senecas who inhabit the banks of the Allegheny, some three or four days' journey above this, are frequently here. They bring their peltry and exchange it with the traders for such articles as suit them. We saw several families of them; all appeared indolent, dirty, inanimate creatures; most so of any Indians I had seen. 4th.—Left Fort Franklin at 5 o'clock. Allegheny river flowing brim full; current not less, perhaps, than six miles an hour. We worked twelve oars steadily. Had two extra hands that afforded some relief; and except about an hour, which was taken up in whole in eating, and a little time spent on an island, we lost no time. Arrived and landed at the fort on the Monongahela side precisely at 8 o'clock—fifteen hours' passage. . . . Old Kittanning a delightful place."

The subjoined extracts from the "Journal" seem in place here, as affording some idea of the scenes and state of affairs around Pittsburgh: "13th

[May].—Visited my uncle John McClure's family, nine miles above Fort Pitt, on the Monongahela; spent a very pleasant day. Two or three gentle acquaintances were along; they were formerly from Carlisle. A very respectable portion of the society of Pittsburgh are from that place, and this circumstance, no doubt, tends to attract and to create the social intercourse and very great harmony which prevail among them. 15th.—A Mr. White, a member of Congress, and some gentlemen from Pittsburgh, accompanied the general [Harmar] in the barge on a visit up the Monongahela to Braddock's Field. We viewed the battle-ground. Saw several small heaps of bones which had been collected, with a little brushwood thrown over them. The bones of the poor soldiers are still lying scattered through the woods, but the ground where the heaviest of the action was is now under cultivation."

The purchase of the Indian title to the land west of the Allegheny gave somewhat greater security to settlements east of that stream and south of the Ohio; although the natives were loth to leave their ancient domain, and continued to pay it occasional unfriendly visits. Another important body of men now appeared on the scene, the surveyors appointed by the state authorities to lay out the land preparatory to exposing it to sale. Apart from the difficulties of their position, owing to the fact that almost the entire country was still a wilderness, and the geography of it as to the particulars necessary to facilitate a survey in a great measure unknown, it was not unusual to find a lurking Indian in search of a scalp in some recess of the forest. The work, however, went on, although interrupted at times; and large tracts of country were taken up by emigrants from east of the mountains.

The large tract purchased from the Indians west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio rivers was divided east and west into two great sections, which were afterward surveyed into lots. Says Judge Agnew:* "The commonwealth, having become sovereign proprietor of all the lands within the state, and intending and anticipating the purchase of the Indian title, provided by an act of March 12, 1783, for the appropriation of all that portion of the purchase of 1784 and 1785 north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny river and the Conewango creek, by dividing the same into two large and separate sections. These were: 1. For the redemption of the certificates of depreciation, given to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, in pursuance of an act of 18th December, 1780, providing that the certificates should be equal to gold or silver, in payment of unlocated lands, if the owner should think proper to purchase such. 2. In fulfillment of the promise of the state, in a resolution of March 7, 1780, to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line to make them certain donations in lands, according to their rank in the service. The act of March 12, 1783, therefore divided this territory by a due west line, running from Mogulbughtiton creek on the Allegheny river above Kittanning (probably Pine creek),† to the western boundary of the state. The course of this

* "Settlements and Land Titles of Northwestern Pennsylvania." † It is Mahoning Creek.

line runs between seven and eight miles south of the present city of New Castle, which lies in the fork of the Shenango and Neshannock creeks. The land south of this boundary was appropriated to the redemption of the depreciation certificates, and became known as the 'depreciation lands.' Out of this section were reserved to the state two tracts of three thousand acres each, one at the mouth of the Allegheny, where the city of Allegheny now stands; the other at the mouth of the Big Beaver creek on both sides, including Fort McIntosh (now Beaver). The land north of the line above described was appropriated to donations to the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, for their services in the revolutionary war, and became known as the 'donation lands.' ''

The act of 1783, referred to above, required the ''depreciation lands'' to be laid out by the surveyor-general, under the direction of the supreme executive council of the state, into lots of not less than two hundred acres, and not more than three hundred and fifty acres, numbering them on the draft or plat of the country. As soon as the whole, or at least one hundred lots, should be surveyed, the surveyor-general, secretary of the land-office and receiver-general were required to proceed to sell, in numerical order, at such times and places and under such regulations as should be appointed by the supreme executive council; the full sum of each bid to be paid in gold or silver or in depreciation certificates. The surveyor was further directed to note on his map the courses and depths of the waters, places of mines, sites for towns, the quantity of each lot, and a precise description. But those employed in the survey were forbidden to give any information of the quantity and advantages of the lots, except in the return made to the council. It is generally admitted that there were not wanting those among the surveyors who took advantage of their knowledge of the country to secure good tracts for themselves.

The three thousand acres reserved to the state out of the depreciation lands opposite the town of Pittsburgh is deserving of more than a mere reference. The act provides for the ''reserving to the use of the state of three thousand acres, in an oblong of not less than one mile in depth from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and extending up and down the said rivers, from opposite Fort Pitt, so far as it may be necessary to include the same.'' ''This reservation was surveyed by Alexander McLean, in the month of April, 1785, in pursuance of an order to make the survey, before the other lands were surveyed. The northern boundary began on the right bank of the Ohio river, nearly opposite the mouth of Chartier's creek, and ran east nine hundred and seventy-two perches to a hickory tree, north eighty perches to a sassafras, east two hundred and twenty-nine and a half perches to a mulberry, north twenty-six perches to a post and stones on the bank of Girty's run, thence down Girty's run several courses—in all one hundred and three perches—to the Allegheny river. The two rivers constituted the remainding boundaries.''

The following remarks on this reservation, which were made by David Redick, then described as a man of mark in Western Pennsylvania, will be read

with interest and amusement. In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, the president of the executive council of the state, and dated February 19, 1788, he says, among other matters of minor importance in this connection: "On Tuesday last I went with several other gentlemen to fix on the spot for laying out the town opposite Pittsburgh, and at the same time took a general view of the tract, and find it far inferior to expectations, although I thought I had been no stranger to it. There is some pretty low ground on the rivers Ohio and Alleghenia, but there is but a small proportion of it dry land which appears any way valuable, either for timber or soil; but especially for soil; it abounds with high hills, deep hollows, almost inaccessible to a surveyor. I am of the opinion that if the inhabitants of the moon are capable of receiving the same advantages from the earth which we do from their world, I say, if it be so, this same far-famed tract of land would afford them a variety of beautiful lunar spots, not unworthy the eye of a philosopher. I can not think that ten-acre lots on such pits and hills will profitably meet with purchasers, unless, like a pig in a poke, it be kept out of view."

The following minor reservations are worthy of note in the legislation regarding the same tract: "The president or vice-president in council shall reserve out of the lots of the said town"—Allegheny—"for the use of the state, so much land as they shall deem necessary for a courthouse, jail and market-house, for places of public worship, and burying the dead; and without the said town one hundred acres for a common pasture; and the streets, lanes and alleys of the said town and outlots shall be common highways forever."

"A noticeable feature," says Judge Agnew, "indicating the views of that time, was the inclusion of houses of public worship and burial, as public uses. However singular this may appear to men of this generation, having looser notions, at that early day this reservation accorded decidedly with their stricter notions of religious practice, under a constitution which then required the members of the assembly to be sworn to a belief in God and in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, and which declared that all religious societies or bodies of men united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning or other pious or charitable purposes should be encouraged."

There were certain other reservations in the northern part of the new purchase, but, though they were then contained in Allegheny, they never figured prominently in her history.

With regard to the depreciation lands the following must be premised in order that the reader may have a correct understanding of the subject; the words of Judge Agnew are once more the most fitting terms in which to treat of this matter. Says the learned jurist: "In order to encourage enlistment, and to reward those who in the revolutionary war entered into the military service in the Pennsylvania line and in the state navy, the state promised to pay them in a sound currency, and also to secure to them donations of land. In pursuance of this patriotic purpose, and of the recommendation of Congress of the

15th of May, 1778, recited in the act, the state by the act of March 1, 1780, made provision for the state troops, and the officers and marines of the navy, and extended these provisions to the widows and children of those killed in battle." In the carrying out of the provisions of this act a number of other enactments were found necessary, which it is not necessary to treat of in detail.

The depreciation and donation lands were the twin progeny of patriotism and necessity. The northern portion of the lands of the New Purchase divided by the act of March 13, 1783, was appropriated to donations to be made to soldiers of the Pennsylvania line. The act provides that all of a certain tract beginning at the "mouth of Mogulbughtiton creek; thence up the Allegheny river to the mouth of the Cagnawaga creek (Conewango); thence due north to the northern boundary of this state; thence south by the western boundary of the state to the northwest corner of lands appropriated by this act for discharging the certificates therein mentioned; and thence by the same lands east to the place of beginning; which said tract of country shall be reserved and set apart for the only and sole use of fulfilling and carrying into execution the said resolve. . . . The comptroller-general was directed to make out lists of persons, stating their rank and quantity of land, to be laid before the council, that the surveyor-general might be able to instruct his deputies as to the number and contents of the lots. The lots were to be of four descriptions, viz., five hundred acres, three hundred acres, two hundred and fifty acres, and two hundred acres each; a quantity laid off in 500-acre lots, equal to what should be necessary for major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, captains and two-thirds of lieutenant-colonels; in 300-acre lots for regimental surgeons and mates, captains, majors and ensigns; in 250-acre lots for one-third of lieutenants, sergeants, sergeant-majors and quartermasters; and in 200-acre lots for lieutenants, corporals, drummers, fifers, drum-majors, fife-majors and privates. . . . A major-general was entitled to draw four 500-acre lots; a brigadier-general, three 500-acre lots; a colonel, two 500-acre lots; a lieutenant-colonel, one 500-acre lot and one 250-acre lot; a sergeant, chaplain or major, two 300-acre lots; a captain, one 500-acre lot; a lieutenant, two 200-acre lots; an ensign or regimental sergeant, one 300-acre lot; a sergeant, sergeant-major or quartermaster-sergeant, one 200-acre lot; and a drum-major, fife-major, fifer, corporal or private, one 200-acre lot." Such was the plan adopted by the state for the distribution of the lands of this section. It is not necessary to enter into a detailed account of the carelessness of the surveyors, nor the causes of it, and the lawsuits that followed in the course of time. It may be remarked, however, that the Indians still infested the country, and caused considerable fears in the surveyors and their aids, fears which were occasionally realized in the loss of some unfortunate man's scalp.

The placing of these two districts in the market had the effect of increasing the number of settlements west of the Allegheny, and rousing the ire of the natives, who soon renewed their depredations, till they were finally van-

quished by Gen. Wayne, in the battle of the Maumee, August 20, 1794. But the principal settlements were in the valley of the Monongahela, where the country was well occupied, owing to the fact that that stream had become the thoroughfare for persons going to the west, who reached it at Brownsville. The time had not come, however, for the development of the mineral resources, and people were intent on taking up as much land as possible; for by means of farming they could best satisfy their few and simple wants.

But, though the people were an industrious and hardy race, they had been so long accustomed to fight the Indians that they had become to a great extent reckless; the titles to lands were too often loosely constructed; and the boundary dispute had tended so much to complicate matters that frequent lawsuits varied the monotony of the life of the backwoodsmen. The inconvenience to which they were put in attending court was the principal reason for the erection of a new county, with the seat of justice at Pittsburgh. But it will be proper to cast a glance at the administration of justice in the district prior to that time. And first of the jurisdiction exercised by Virginia.

The Earl of Dunmore, while governor of Virginia, first organized the courts of the West Augusta district at Fort Pitt, in December, 1774; and the first court held there was convened February 21st of the following year, and the last on the 20th of November. A ducking-stool for the district, it may be remarked in passing, was erected at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, on the day following the opening of the court. In the meantime a primitive courthouse was built for Augusta county at Augusta Town, a prospective village about two miles west of the site of the present town of Washington. After the formation of Youghioghania county, the seat of justice was removed. The records of this county, which are still preserved, show that the first court for that county was held at Fort Pitt—now called Fort Dunmore—December 23, 1776, and that the courts continued to be held there until August 25, 1777. They were then held at the house of Andrew Heath for about two months, and after that time, until 1781, at the new courthouse "on the plantation of Andrew Heath." This plantation was on the west side of the Monongahela, a short distance above and in sight of the present town of Elizabeth. Mr. Creigh, in his "History of Washington County," gives the subjoined account of the selection of the site for this courthouse and the erection of the buildings, which will be read with interest at a time when the citizens of Allegheny county are yet flushed with honest pride at the completion and dedication of their magnificent temple of justice. The methods adopted by our forefathers and the results are thus given in the words of the writer named: "The electors were required to meet on the 8th of December, 1776, at the house of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela river, to choose the most convenient place for holding courts for the county of Youghioghenia. Notices of the election were to be given by the sheriff, ministers and rectors. . . . The law also provided that if prevented from holding the election on

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the day aforesaid by rain, snow or rise of waters, the sheriff was authorized to adjourn to that day week, or as often as so prevented. . . The electors met at the appointed time, and selected the farm of Andrew Heath as the most convenient place. . . The court directed Thomas Smallman, John Canon and John Gibson, or any two of them, to provide a house at the public expense for the use of holding the court, and that the sheriff contract with the workmen to put the same in repair. The original records show that the court directed Isaac Cox to contract with some person or persons to build a complete bar and other work in the inside of the courthouse, to be completed by the next court. On the 24th of November, 1778, Messrs. Kuykendall and Newall were authorized to contract with some person to chink and daub the courthouse and provide locks and bars for the doors of the jail, and to build an addition to the eastern end of the courthouse and jail sixteen feet square, and one story high, with good, sufficient logs, a good cobber roof, a good outside chimney, with convenient seats for the court and bar, with a sheriff's box, a good iron-pipe stove for the jail-room, and that they have a pair of stocks, whipping-post and pillory erected in the courtyard. . . The price paid for these articles was two thousand dollars, continental money, which amount was equivalent to three hundred and seven dollars."

The settlement of the boundary dispute put an end to the jurisdiction of Virginia, and from it we shall turn to the courts held by the authority of Pennsylvania.

The first court held under the authority of Pennsylvania, in which the settlers in the western part of the province were interested, was convened at Bedford, before the establishment of Westmoreland county, on the 16th of April, 1771. "The scattered settlers of the west," says Judge White, "were represented by George Wilson, William Crawford, Thomas Gist and Dorsey Pentecost, who were justices of the peace and judges of the court. The court divided the county into townships. Pitt township (including Pittsburgh) embraced the greater part of the present county of Allegheny, and portions of Beaver, Washington and Westmoreland, and had fifty-two land-owners, twenty tenants and thirteen single freemen." But with the erection of Westmoreland county, two years later, jurisdiction over all of the western part of the province was transferred to it. The location of the county seat was brought about in this way: Five trustees were named in the act (erecting the county) to locate the county seat and erect the county buildings. Robert Hanna and Joseph Erwin were two of them; Hanna rented his house to Erwin to be kept as a tavern, and got the majority of the trustees to recommend his place—where a few other cabins were speedily erected, and the place named Hannastown—for the county seat. Arthur St. Clair and a minority of the trustees recommended Pittsburgh. Here it was that justice was first dispensed west of the Allegheny mountains, April 6, or, as other authorities assert, April 16, 1773, by William Crawford. The town was burnt by the Indians, as was stated

above, July 13, 1782; but the house of Hanna, being near the fort, escaped. After the destruction of the town a committee was appointed to locate the county seat anew. After mature deliberation they fixed upon Greensburg, and to that point Pittsburghers and other settlers west of the mountains had to turn for redress of grievances. The first court was held there in January, 1787. But with the erection of Allegheny county relief came to the inhabitants of the western part of the state.

A petition was presented to the assembly asking for the erection of a new county out of the territory around the head of the Ohio, the principal reasons adduced being the increase of population and the difficulty of having to travel so far in quest of justice. The petition was favorably received and an act was passed September 24, 1788, erecting the county of Allegheny, but a far different Allegheny from the one with which the readers of this history are familiar, as the boundary lines will sufficiently demonstrate. On the 24th of September was passed "an act for the erecting of certain parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington into a separate county."

SECTION I. Whereas, the inhabitants of those parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington which lie most convenient to the town of Pittsburgh have by petition set forth that they have been long subject to many inconveniences, from their being situated at so great a distance from the seat of judicature in their respective counties, and that they conceive their interests and happiness would be greatly promoted by being erected into a separate county, comprehending the town of Pittsburgh; and, as it appears just that they should be relieved in the premises, and gratified in their reasonable request:

SECTION II. *Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same,* That all those parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington lying within the limits and bounds hereinafter described shall be and hereby are erected into a separate county: that is to say, Beginning at the mouth of Flaherty's run on the south side of the Ohio river, from thence by a straight line to the plantation on which Joseph Scott, Esq., now lives, on Mouture's run, to include the same; from thence by a straight line to the mouth of Miller's run on Chartier's creek, thence by a straight line to the mouth of Perry's Mill run, on the east side of the Monongahela river; thence up the said river to the mouth of Becket's run; thence by a straight line to the mouth of Sewickley creek, on the Youghiogheny river; thence down the said river to the mouth of Crawford's run; thence by a straight line to the mouth of Brush run, on Turtle creek; thence up Turtle creek to the main fork thereof; thence by a northerly line until it strikes Poketos creek; thence down the said creek to the Allegheny river; thence up the Allegheny river to the north boundary of the state; thence along the same to the western line of the state; thence along the same to the river Ohio; and thence up the same to the place of beginning. . . . To be henceforth known and called by the name of Allegheny county.

The other sections of the act relate to the offices, privileges, duties, etc., of the inhabitants of the newly formed county. It will be seen from these boundaries that Allegheny county at that time embraced all the territory north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, with a large tract also east and south of those streams. It may be remarked, in passing, that Benjamin Franklin was then president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, as the

chief executive officer was at that time called; but owing to his advanced age, and consequent infirmities, the business of the office devolved upon the vice-president, Peter Muhlenberger.

The boundaries of the county were still further extended by the annexation of a considerable tract from the northern part of Washington, which was authorized by an act bearing date September 17, 1789, the first section of which declares that, "Whereas, the inhabitants of that part of the county of Washington which is included in the boundaries hereinafter mentioned have by their petition represented to this house their remote situation from the seat of justice, and prayed to be annexed to the county of Allegheny, and the prayer of the petitioners appearing just and reasonable," it is enacted, by the second section, that the territory bounded by the following lines shall be included in Allegheny county, namely: "Beginning at the river Ohio, where the boundary line of the state crosses the said river; from thence in a straight line to White's mill, on Raccoon creek; from thence by a straight line to Armstrong's mill, on Miller's run; and from thence by a straight line to the Monongahela river, opposite the mouth of Perry's run." The fourth section of the act authorizes and directs Peter Kidd and John Beaver to survey and mark the line of the tract; for which they are to receive twenty-five shillings per day, "and no more," to be paid by Allegheny county.

The triangular piece of territory bordering on Lake Erie, consisting of 202,187 acres, was purchased from the United States, March 3, 1792, for the sum of $151,640.25, or 75 cents per acre, and annexed to Allegheny county. With this addition the county attained its maximum area, and embraced all the territory included in the counties now lying west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio rivers, parts of Armstrong, Venango, Forest and Warren lying within the same lines, and that portion of Beaver lying south of the Ohio. But by an act passed March 12, 1800, the county was reduced to its present limits of seven hundred and fifty square miles, by the formation of the counties lying, in whole or in part, west and north of the rivers. The location of the county seat will find a place in another chapter; but there are a few points in relation to the organization of the county which properly belong to this place.

The first officer named for the county was the prothonotary, James Bryson, who was elected the day after the erection of the county (September, 1788). On the 29th of the same September, Samuel Jones was commissioned the first register for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration and recording of deeds, and held the office from February, 1789, until February, 1818. He was at the same time appointed and commissioned a justice of the court of common pleas. The next day Gen. Richard Butler was chosen lieutenant. October 9th George Wallace was appointed president of the court of common pleas and quarter session of the peace, of jail delivery and of the orphans' court. With him were associated John Metzgar, Michael Hillman and Robert Richie, who were judges until the reorganization under the new

state constitution of 1790. On the 21st of November of the same year, 1788, John Johnston and Abraham Kirkpatrick were appointed and commissioned justices of the peace and of the court of common pleas; and at the same time Richard Butler and William Tilton were appointed justices of the court of common pleas.

The division of the county into townships for the better governing of the increasing population was a matter of the first importance, and early engaged the attention of the court. On the 18th of December, 1788, the court, consisting of George Wallace, president judge, and Joseph Scott, John Johnston and John Williams, justices, divided the county into the following seven townships —and it is remarkable that the custom of naming them after the judges of the county had not as yet come into vogue—namely: Moon, St. Clair, Mifflin, Elizabeth, Versailles, Plumb and Pitt. Their action was confirmed by the general assembly under Thomas Mifflin, president, September 4, 1789.

Of equal importance was the division of the territory into election districts. There having been only one at Pittsburgh, a second and third were established by an act of September 29, 1789, and a fourth was made by an act of September 3, 1791.

John Griffin was named collector of excise for Allegheny and Westmoreland counties; but the difficulties which culminated a little later in the whisky insurrection had already began to cast their shadow before, and he declined to serve. Robert Hunter was appointed in his stead September 16, 1789. James Morrison was appointed sheriff and David Watson coroner October 30th of the same year; and the county was fairly launched out into its career of extraordinary development and industrial success.

CHAPTER VIII.

PIONEER LIFE.

HIGHWAYS—EARLY PREACHING—"WHISKY PATH"—HOMES OF THE PIONEERS—CARAVANS—TAVERNS—SCARCITY OF MECHANICS—PRIMITIVE MILLS—SPORTS, WEDDINGS, ETC.—WITCHES AND WIZARDS—RELIGION AND EDUCATION—CONCLUSION.

THE impression that prevailed from the earliest times, that the forks of the Ohio were the key to the west, was strengthened rather than weakened with the lapse of time. If in the beginning it was the key to the Indian trade of the western tribes, and if later it was the great strategic point in the conflict of the colonies with the French for the possession of the Ohio, and during the revolutionary period the point from which the frontier had principally to be

defended against the border tribes, instigated by the English at Detroit, it retained its reputation with the beginning of active emigration to the west. A glance at the geography of the county will show this to have been not only natural but necessary. As yet wagon-roads were unknown in the western wilds, much less the better facilities for travel with which we are so familiar, and the water-courses were the much-prized means of intercommunication. Braddock's road led over the mountains and passed in the immediate vicinity of Brownsville, from which a road had been cut at a very early day. This served as the most convenient route for emigrants from Maryland and Virginia, as well as the southeastern parts of Pennsylvania. Once at Brownsville, the emigrants must of necessity pass through Pittsburgh, where a further delay might be rendered necessary by the low stage of water or the threatening attitude of the Indians, who might be prepared to attack a single emigrant boat, but would hesitate to assail a number of them. On the north Forbes' route was the other line of communication between the country east and that west of the mountains. Over this a considerable number were accustomed to pass, though not so many as over the other; but for both Pittsburgh was the veritable key of the west. It need not be wondered at that the amateur merchants of Pittsburgh, who had been trained in sharp dealing with the Indians, practiced their arts on the generally impecunious emigrants to the west in a manner that was most irritating. John Pope, who passed through the incipient town in the summer of 1790, and who was evidently either poor or parsimonious, or both, gives the following picture of the place, which will not be devoid of interest: "I viewed the fort and neighboring eminences of Pittsburgh, which will one day or other employ the historic pen as being replete with strange and melancholy events. The town at present is inhabited with only some few exceptions by mortals who act as if they were possessed of a charter of exclusive privilege to filch from, annoy and harass their fellow creatures, particularly the incautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from various parts to Kentucky can verify this charge; goods of every description are dearer in Pittsburgh than in Kentucky, which I attribute to a combination of pensioned scoundrels who infest the place."

Limestone, now Maysville, Ky., was the principal point to which emigrants to the west at that early day directed their course, though some wended their way to the Illinois country and other places. Not a few, also, stopped in the Monongahela valley and at Pittsburgh. To give an idea of the magnitude of this immigration—which, be it remembered, must be judged by the standard of those days, not of the present time—it may be said that in 1783 Kentucky alone received an addition to her population of eight thousand. In the year following ten thousand more came, and each floodtide of the Ohio bore striking evidence to the increasing rage for western emigration. In 1786 an observer at the mouth of the Big Miami noted the passage of thirty-four boats in thirty-nine days; another at Pittsburgh in the next year reported the depart-

ure of fifty flatboats from that point between the first of March and the beginning of April; and at Fort Harmar the adjutant recorded the number of boats passing that post between October, 1786, and May, 1787, at one hundred and seventy-seven, carrying two thousand seven hundred persons. In the year following it was estimated that not less than ten thousand persons emigrated west by Marietta, and in twelve months, comprising portions of the years 1788 and 1789, the official register at Fort Harmar showed that twenty thousand souls had descended the Ohio in eight hundred and fifty boats, which, moreover, contained six hundred wagons, seven thousand horses, three thousand cows and nine hundred head of sheep.

Pittsburgh has many historians, and its annals are well known, but few persons are acquainted with Brownsville and the important part it played in the early history of all the country west of the mountains; and it is no exaggeration to say that there was a time when it was a more important place than Pittsburgh. A brief glance at its history will be especially interesting to the inhabitants of Allegheny county, to which it may truly be said to have been at one time a feeder. The history briefly told is this: In 1759, Col. James Burd was sent with two hundred men to open a road from Braddock's line of march to the mouth of Dunlap's creek, where Brownsville now stands, as a means of facilitating communication with Fort Pitt. He also built a fort on the site of Redstone Old Fort, which he named Burd's Fort; but the name of Redstone was so deeply fixed in the minds of the pioneers that the two terms long disputed possession. The fort stood on the site of the present town, and may be said to have been the first formal step in taking possession. It was also the first fortification worthy of the name built by the English west of the mountains. But the work of building it was no easy matter, as might be naturally judged from the circumstances, and which appears clear from the notes kept by the commander. Among other entries he has the following: "I have kept the people constantly employed on the works since my arrival, although we have been for eight days past upon the small allowance of one pound of beef and half a pound of flour per man a day; and this day we begin upon one pound of beef, not having an ounce of flour left, and only three bullocks. I am therefore obliged to give over work until I receive some supplies." The supplies soon arrived, and he writes in his journal: "October 26th—Sunday—continue on the works; had sermon in the fort." The last entry is: "November 4th—Sunday—snowed to-day—no work. Sermon in the fort." As the fort was not designed to be a work of great strength, but merely an outpost, Burd garrisoned it with one officer and twenty-five men; but how long the garrison remained is not known with certainty. It would seem, however, to have been under some kind of military possession in 1774; and during the war of the Revolution and the frontier troubles with the Indians, it was used as a storehouse and a rallying point for defense, supplies and observation by the early settlers and traders. Among others Col. James Paul served here for a month in 1778, in a drafted militia company, in guarding continental stores.

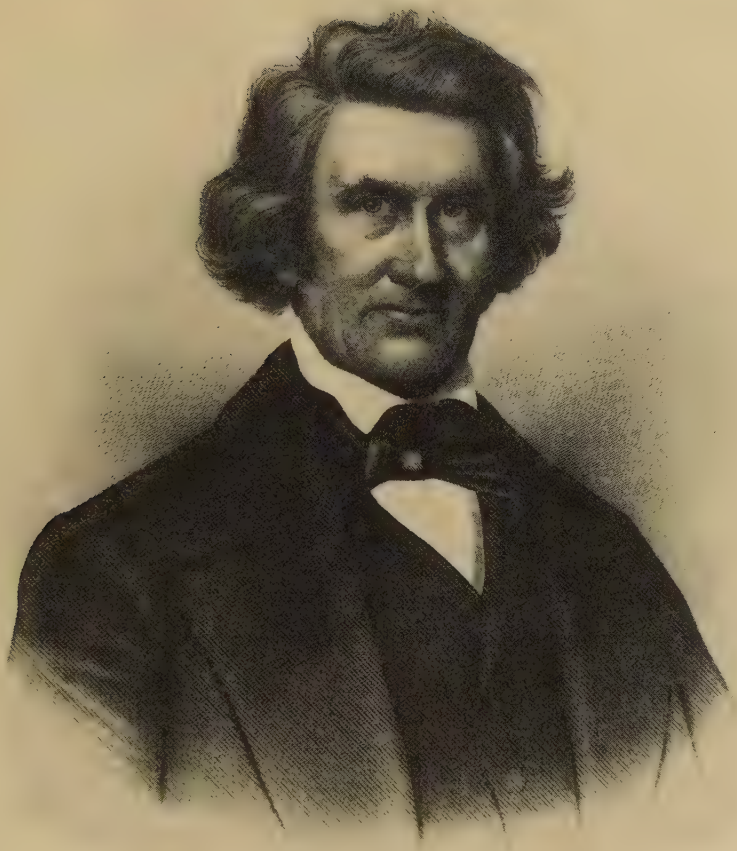
With the exception of a few squatters who clustered around the fort for the time, there can be no doubt that Michael Cresap was the first white settler on the spot where Brownsville now stands, although certain of the Browns, from whom the town derived its name, were in the vicinity before Cresap. The important role which Michael Cresap played in the early history of the Monongahela valley entitles him to a brief notice. He was a son of Thomas Cresap, of Old Town, Md., who had been connected with the operations of the Ohio Company as its agent, and who by that means became at an early day acquainted with the country west of the mountains. He was also with Col. Burd at the fort which the latter built. Michael appears to have come to the Monongahela as a trader about the year 1769, but the precise date of his arrival can not be stated with certainty. He became a noted pioneer, and by his knowledge of Indian intrigues was able to rescue the settlers on more than one occasion from an impending attack. He was quick in perceiving the importance to which the site at the mouth of Dunlap's creek was likely to attain as the rendezvous of emigrants to the west, especially to "the dark and bloody ground," as Kentucky was then called, and he accordingly secured a title to several hundred acres of land, including that upon which the fort stood, by what was then known as "tomakawk improvement." He also built a house with a shingle roof nailed on, which is believed to have been the first of its kind west of the mountains. Although the date of its erection is not known, it was built most probably about the year 1770. He also figured in the frontier Indian wars, and has been unjustly censured for his connection with Dunmore, and still more with regard to the murder of the relatives of Logan, the famous Mingo chief. But his character has been vindicated by John Jeremiah Jacob, who married his widow and wrote his life.

In process of time Thoma Brown bought Cresap's property, as well as that of certain other persons adjoining it, and commenced to make improvements in 1776. The tract was surveyed in 1785, and is described in the survey as being "situated on the dividing ridge between Redstone and Dunlap's creek." The tract was designated by the singular name of "The Whisky Path."

To this point it was that emigration now set in from the east of the mountains. The emigrants usually left their eastern homes in the latter part of the winter, both because the snow facilitated travel, especially in the mountain regions, and also because with the melting of it in the spring the river rose sufficiently to float their rude boats. But travel was beset with many trials, more particularly if the snow fell too deep; for then the unfortunate emigrants were in danger of being "snowed in;" and, though it was easy enough to procure wood to keep them warm there was serious danger of their provisions failing at points where it was impossible to procure more. At other times they would find the river too low to be navigated, and would be compelled to await a rise, thus causing serious drafts on both their provisions and their generally scant

supply of money. This constant stream of westward-bound travelers gave rise to a brisk trade in boatbuilding, though such of them as were able usually built their own craft. This gave an importance to the mouth of Dunlap's creek which induced Thomas Brown to lay out a town on his "Whisky Path." This he did in 1785, and named it Brownsville in honor of himself, a species of vanity which is not confined to the illustrious family of the Browns. An effort was made to have the new town named Washington, as is clear from a deed executed in 1787, in which the property is said to be "situated in Brownsville, *alias* Washington." The year after the foundation of the town it is said to have had a population of six hundred, which was more than Pittsburgh could boast of at the same time. Merchandise was at first brought over the mountains on packhorses. Says an early account of this means of transportation: "Two men could manage ten or fifteen horses, carrying each about two hundred pounds, by tying one to the other in single file; one of the men taking charge of the head horse to pioneer, and the other the hinder one to keep an eye on the proper adjustment of the loads, and stir up any that appeared to lag. Bells were indispensable accompaniments to the horses, by which their position could be easily ascertained in the morning when hunting up, preparatory to start. Some grass or leaves were inserted into the bell to prevent the clapper from operating during the travel of the day." But with the increase of travel and settlement of the country, the roads underwent a much-needed improvement, which had the effect of fitting them for heavy wagons, and which dispensed with the more laborious and expensive packhorses. The first wagon-load of merchandise brought over the mountains on the southern route, or that traversed later by the National road, was in 1789, and was for Jacob Bowman. The wagoner was John Hayden, a native of Fayette county, who drove four horses, and brought about twenty hundred pounds, for which he received three dollars per hundred. He was nearly a month in making the trip to and from Hagerstown, Md., a distance of about two hundred and forty miles.

However primitive may have been the houses, the dress and the manners of the emigrants in their eastern homes—and they were doubtless in many instances primitive enough—they were from sheer necessity much more so in their new homes beyond the mountains. A study of this portion of our county's history can not fail to be both interesting and instructive to a people who have, by one leap, as it were, placed themselves out of sight of the immediate past, and merged themselves so deeply in the concerns of the present as to regard the scenes through which their immediate ancestors passed as almost a myth. To others, who will take the time to pause and reflect on it, it will appear only a little less marvelous. Let the reader, however, try to forget the present for a few moments, and transport himself to the log cabin of his grandfather, with its curling smoke striving to make its way through the little break in the forest; let him contemplate his grandfather out in the "clearing" at work, or seated by the fire of a winter's evening with a family of far healthier



Thomas Liggett

children than he can boast of around him, and his wife with them, dressed in homespun, preparing the evening meal of the simplest articles over a fire whose unruly smoke is seriously affecting her vision, and perhaps her temper, too. The "big boys" have fed the cattle, and are making ax-handles or scrubbing-brooms around the fire, while the faithful dog by their side pricks his ears at every sound, as if placed on guard by the family. How interesting those early scenes! Why can we not pause in the hurly burly of busy life and contemplate them, if not for the instruction they afford, at least for the diversion they would give? Let us pause at the cradle of our marvelous county, and take a retrospective glance at those scenes of the days of other years; and no guide can be safer for us than Joseph Doddridge, from whose entertaining pages much of what follows will be freely taken.

The most important matter to attract the attention of our pioneer forefathers was to defend not only themselves, but also their wives and children, against the tomahawk of the savages, who spared neither age nor sex. Not only must each settlement be so arranged that there should be a central place of refuge, but every man's house must in the truest sense of the word be his castle, and all its inmates be trained to perform a part in its defense, if necessary. The "forts" of which we read in pioneer history were not merely places of defense, but settlements consisting of cabins, blockhouses and stockades. Says Mr. Doddridge: "A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors; the greater part were earthen." A puncheon floor, it may be remarked for the information of those who have never seen one, was a floor made of logs split in halves, smoothed off with an ax, and then laid with the flat surface up. Some of the early houses consisted of a story and a half; the upper part or "loft" being floored with straight saplings three or four inches in diameter, laid side by side. Windows were not unfrequently made of paper, greased to make it translucent. "The blockhouses were built at the angles of the fort, and projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimensions than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story, to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under their walls. In some forts, instead of blockhouses, the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins and blockhouse walls were furnished with portholes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet-proof. It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention, for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, and for this reason, such were not to be had. In some places less exposed, a single blockhouse, with a cabin or two, constituted

the whole fort. Such places of refuge may appear very trifling, but they answered the purpose, as the Indians had no artillery. They seldom attacked, and scarcely ever took one of them." In proportion to the extent of the settlement would the number of cabins on the farms around the fort be; and so attached to their own cabins were the families belonging to these forts that they seldom moved into the fort in the spring until compelled by some evidence of the immediate presence of the savages.

The backwoodsman had to suffer many privations, which extended not only to the luxuries, or comforts of life, but to its very necessaries. What his farm or the chase could not furnish must be procured from east of the mountains, and everyone must look out for himself, for in those early days there were no stores or other centers of supply. The acquisition of the indispensable articles of salt, iron, steel and castings presented great difficulties to the first settlers of the western country. So difficult was it to procure certain of these, that an instance is known of a man west of the Allegheny river giving his settler's right to two hundred acres of land for a set of plow-irons. Peltry and furs were their only stock in trade, before the settlers had time to raise cattle; and of these they had to make the most as a circulating medium. Every family collected whatever peltry and fur they could throughout the year for the purpose of sending them over the mountains for barter.

The departure to "east of the mountains," as the expression was, was an event in the settlements. For convenience and safety, at least in the earlier times, the men of a settlement, or perhaps several neighboring settlements, would set out together. Nor must those who were left at home be neglected. A certain number were obliged to remain to protect them against the lurking savages. "In the fall of the year, after seeding-time, every family formed an association with some of their neighbors for starting the little caravan. A master driver was selected from among them, who was assisted by one or more of the young men, and sometimes a boy or two. The horses were fitted out with pack-saddles, to the hinder part of each of which was fastened a pair of hobbles, made of hickory withes, and bells and collars ornamented their necks. The bags provided for the conveyance of the salt were filled with feed for the horses; on the journey a part of this feed was left at convenient stages on the way down, to support the return of the caravan; large wallets, well filled with bread, jerk"—meat dried in the sun—"boiled ham and cheese furnished provisions for the drivers. At night after feeding, the horses, whether put in pasture or turned out into the woods, were hobbled, and the bells—which had been stuffed with leaves during the day—were opened." The importance of these bells, not only for use, but also for ornament, was illustrated in a manner that will appear more amusing to the reader of these pages than it was to the actors in the scene. During the journey of one of these caravans to the east, they put up for the night at a certain lodging-house in the mountains. The landlord and his hired man, no doubt thinking it would be the cheapest way

to get articles so necessary as bells, stole two off the horses, and hid them away carefully. The drove had not gone far in the morning before the bells were missed; and, not doubting that they had been stolen, a detachment was immediately sent back to recover them. And it was no trifle to be accused by a party of men who were accustomed to make their own laws and enforce them, too, after their own fashion. The men were found reaping in the field, and were accused of the theft, which they denied, but to no purpose. The torture of "sweating," according to the custom of that time, that is, of suspension by the arms pinioned behind their backs, brought a confession. The bells were procured and hung around the necks of the thieves; and in this condition they were driven on foot before the detachment until they overtook the drove, which by this time had gone nine miles. A halt was called and a jury was selected to try the culprits. They were condemned to receive a certain number of lashes on the bare back from the hand of each drover. When it came the turn of one of the men who had lost a bell, and who felt his loss very keenly, he took the primitive hickory rod in his firm grasp, and cried, as he applied it to the thief: "Now, you infernal scoundrel, I'll work your jacket nineteen to the dozen; only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore without a bell on my horse!" And he was in earnest; for he had never seen horses used without bells, and thought them essential when a man appeared with one in an eastern city.

The purchases were first made at Baltimore; and later, as settlements and especially roads were opened further to the west, they came to be made at Frederick, Hagerstown, Oldtown and Fort Cumberland. The common price of a bushel of salt, at an early period, was a good cow and calf; and until weights were introduced, the salt was measured into the half-bushel by hand as lightly as possible. "No one," says Mr. Doddridge, "was permitted to walk heavily over the floor while the operation of measuring was going on."

The poverty of resources forced upon our ancestors the most rigid simplicity in furniture, and some of the older residents of the country may remember how the house-furnishing of their fathers differed from the present styles. Mr. Doddridge remarks that "the furniture for the table, for several years after the settlement of this country, consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons; but mostly of wooden bowls, trenchers and noggins. If these last were scarce, gourds and hard-shelled squashes made up for the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks were brought from the east side of the mountains along with salt and iron on packhorses. These articles of furniture corresponded very well with the articles of diet on which they were employed. 'Hog and hominy' were proverbial for the dish of which they were the component parts. Johnnycake and pone were, at the outset of the settlement of the country, the only forms of bread in use for breakfast and dinner. At supper milk and mush was the standard dish. When milk was not plenty, which was often the case, owing to the scarcity of cattle or the

want of proper pasture for them, the substantial dish of hominy had to supply the place of them; mush was frequently eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil or the gravy of fried meat. Every family, besides a little garden for the few vegetables which they cultivated, had another small enclosure containing from half an acre to an acre, which they called a truck patch, in which they raised corn for roasting-ears, pumpkins, squashes, beans and potatoes. These, in the latter part of the summer and fall, were cooked with their pork, venison and bear-meat for dinner, and made very wholesome and well-tasted dishes. The standard dinner dish for every log-rolling, house-raising and harvest-day was a potpie, or what in other countries is called a seapie. This, besides answering for dinner, served for a part of the supper also."

As for tea and coffee they were for many years unknown; and when introduced roasted rye-grains or bread-crusts were often used to adulterate the coffee, or perhaps take its place altogether. Mr. Doddridge's experience with his first cup of coffee is worth relating, as it was, doubtless, in many of its circumstances, that of many another person. He was a youth, and on his way to the east stopped at a tavern in Bedford. He continues: "The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stone house, and to make the change from the log cabin of the backwoods still more complete it was plastered in the inside, both as to the walls and the ceiling. On going into the dining-room I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea there was any house in the world which was not built of logs; but here I looked round the house and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hand of man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire anything about it. When supper came, my confusion was worse confounded. A little cup stood in a bigger one with some brownish-looking stuff in it which was neither milk, hominy nor broth; what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging to them I could not tell; and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them. . . I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink as the rest of the company did, with the tears streaming from my eyes, but when it was to end I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup bottom upward and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction the result as to my cup was the same." Tea and coffee were only slops in the opinion of the backwoodsmen—good enough for people of quality or for the sick, but not fit for men. In their language, they "did not stick to the ribs."

In a state of society like that of the first settlers, where the most necessary utensils were scarce, and were yet required by all, a great deal of borrowing and lending was customary; and, while those who borrowed an article did not always return it promptly, the owner, though annoyed, did not like to quarrel with his neighbor, for neighbors were scarce. When the season for killing the hogs, in the fall, came round, a large iron pot or kettle was very necessary to heat the water used in scalding them; and few of these were to be found. Still fewer copper kettles were seen, though so much needed in making apple butter. The owners of these must therefore expect to be beset with applications for them at certain times, and with the accustomed delays in returning them. As an illustration of the devices to which an ingenious mind can have recourse to avoid a quarrel with a neighbor, and yet teach him a salutary lesson, the following is very good: The owner of a copper kettle was greatly annoyed by one of his neighbors, who would borrow it on all occasions, and leave it to be sent for. Instead of sending one of the boys for it, the owner determined once to go himself; and as he approached the house he deliberately took out his jackknife and cut a large sprout from a stump in the clearing in sight of the house. He continued to trim the leaves off it till he reached the door, where the usual greeting of a thousand excuses for not returning the kettle was given, with the further declaration that John was just getting ready to take it home, and would have started in a few minutes. The man took the kettle without making many remarks, and, holding it up, began to whip it with the rod, enjoining on it the while to return promptly the next time it went away from home. On his way home, so long as he was in sight of the house, he would stop every few rods and give the kettle two or three more blows, with, "There! take that, and that. It's good for you. Now learn to come home." It is needless to say that the lesson was not forgotten.

The frontiersmen were obliged, owing to the scarcity of mechanics, and the lack of money to pay them, had they been found, to become in the true sense of the word jacks of all trades. They were constantly called upon to perform works of mechanical skill far beyond what a person enjoying all the advantages of civilization would expect from a population placed in such destitute circumstances. It is needless to say that their work would not have stood the scrutiny of an expert mechanic; but the people of that day were only too glad to have such work performed in any manner, however rude, if it answered the purpose. The first device required was some method of preparing the produce of the field, wheat, rye, and especially corn, for the table. In this there was a gradual ascent from the rudest methods to the present roller system. Says the writer from whom we have already quoted: "The hominy-block and hand-mill were in use in most of our houses. The first was made of a large block of wood about three feet long, with an excavation burned in one end, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, so that the action of the pestle on the bottom threw the corn up to the sides toward the top of it, whence it continually fell

into the center. In consequence of this movement the whole mass was pretty equally subjected to the strokes of the pestle. In the fall of the year, while the Indian corn was soft, the block and pestle did very well for making meal for johnnycake and mush, but were rather slow when the corn became hard.

"The sweep was sometimes used to lessen the toil of pounding grain into meal. This was a pole of some springy, elastic wood, thirty feet long or more; the butt end was placed under the side of a house or a large stump; this pole was supported by two forks, placed about one-third of its length from the butt end, so as to elevate the small end about fifteen feet from the ground; to this was attached, by a large mortise, a piece of sapling about five or six inches in diameter, and eight or ten feet long. The lower end of this was shaped so as to answer for a pestle. A pin of wood was put through it at a proper height, so that two persons could work at the sweep at once. This simple machine very much lessened the labor, and expedited the work. . . . A machine still more simple than the mortar and the pestle was used for making meal while the corn was too soft to be beaten. It was called a grater. This was a half-circular piece of tin, perforated with a punch from the concave side and nailed by its edges to a block of wood. The ears of corn were rubbed on the rough edges of the holes, while the meal fell through them. . . . The hand-mill was still better than the mortar and grater. It was made of two circular stones, the lower of which was called the bedstone, the upper one the runner. These were placed in a hoop, with a spout for discharging the meal. A staff was put into a hole in the upper surface of the runner, near the outer edge, and its upper end through a hole in a board fastened to a joist above, so that two persons could be employed in turning the mill at the same time. The grain was put into the opening in the runner by hand." Mills similar to these have been in use from time immemorial in many oriental countries.

But the country was rapidly developing, and the improved methods of the east of the mountains were fast taking the place of the simple backwoods systems. Horse-power was in time made to take the place of handwork in the grinding of grain; and soon this was supplanted by water-power. The first mills made were operated by a wheel known as the tub-mill, which in time gave place to the paddle-wheel, and then to the undershot and the overshot, which last was regarded as the acme of perfection. And here two remarks should be made which may not have occurred to those whose attention has not been called to the fact. The first is the important part the early mills played in fixing villages, and postoffices when the latter were first introduced. Everyone had occasion to go to the mill more frequently than to almost any other place. Hence it was convenient for the blacksmith to locate there, so as to shoe the horses while the grist was being ground. The tavern, with its bar, was sure to be patronized by a people who regarded whisky not as one of the luxuries, but as one of the necessaries of life. The storekeeper, too, when his

day arrived, found the vicinity of the mill a splendid place to ply his trade. The few loafers of the time found the millrace a good place for fishing, or the neighborhood of the blacksmith-shop the most convenient ground for pitching horseshoes. Here, too, the honored seignors would talk politics or argue religion. A shoemaker, tinker or spinningwheel-maker might add his mite to the prosperity of the little clump of cabins that constituted the town.

The other observation to be made with regard to the mill is the fact that streams which were sufficient to turn a millwheel in those early days are not sufficient to do so now. This is not, as many suppose, due to the fact that the mills required less water to produce the same power; for, though this is undoubtedly true in part, it is not sufficient to account for the evident inability of many of these streams to turn anything at present. The real reason is that with the clearing of the country far more of the moisture of the earth evaporates than formerly, when the rays of the sun could hardly find their way to the earth on the hundredth part of the surface of every acre; whereas now, that the land is in a great measure cleared, the greater part of the country's surface is exposed to the sun, and there is less foliage to cool the air and prevent reflection of the sun's rays.

It would fatigue the reader were we to pause to remark on the various ways in which the pioneers dispensed with the tanner, the fuller, the tailor, the shoemaker, and all those mechanics whose presence and skill are deemed so necessary for the prosperity and happiness of our contemporaries. What has been said of a few will apply equally to all. Yet the way was not wholly barred to the development of native genius. Although there might be no one at hand to guide it to great results, the circumstances were well calculated to develop it until it was checked by the rude hand of fate. Geniuses were met everywhere. "There was in almost every neighborhood someone whose natural ingenuity enabled him to do many things for himself and his neighbors, far above what could have been reasonably expected. With the few tools which they brought with them into the country, they certainly performed wonders. Their plows, harrows with their wooden teeth, and sleds were, in many instances, well made. Their cooper-ware, which comprehends everything for holding milk and water, was generally pretty well executed. The cedar-ware, by having alternately a white and red stave, was then thought beautiful. Many of their puncheon floors were very neat, their joints close and the top even and smooth. Their looms, though heavy, did very well. Those who could not exercise these mechanic arts were under the necessity of giving labor, or barter, to their neighbors in exchange for the use of them, so far as their necessities required."

The circumstances of the people required that they should help each other on certain occasions, where one man and his sons could not perform the work. Among these were log-rollings, where a man had cut down the trees on a tract of ground and burned the brush, but was not able to roll the logs or trunks of the trees together to burn; for in those times there was too great a plenty,

rather than a scarcity of wood, and the point was to get rid of it. The neighbors would assemble together and with handspikes roll the logs into heaps and set fire to them as fast as each heap was made. In this way a considerable field could be cleared off in a day. Probably the women would meet at the same time at a flax-break or a quilting. In the evening, after the supper, the young folks would have a dance. The black bottle was always invited in on these occasions, and was always welcome, too. But woe to the man who failed, without a good reason, to assist his neighbor; he was sure to "get the cold shoulder" in the hour of his need.

Another frequent gathering was that for a house-raising. If a couple were newly married, or a family moved into the settlement, and a house must be raised, invitations, in a style suited to the character of the people, were extended to the neighbors to come to the "raising" on a certain day, and in good time an encouraging assembly, with axes, was on the ground. Experienced hands were selected to notch the corners; bosses, as they would be called to-day, were chosen to superintend the work of selecting the logs and moving them to their places, and the work was soon under way. A goodly number of the women were likely on hand to help do the cooking, or help make something useful or necessary for the new house. The supper and dance invariably closed the day, though not, perhaps, till the next day had begun. Again it was a corn-husking or an apple-butter boiling that brought the people together, and this was generally at night. Here good singers or story-tellers were in demand, and speed in husking corn was a passport to the first place. When the hands had worked till 10 or 11 o'clock supper was announced; and here the men always tried to drink the cooks out of tea or coffee. But they often paid for their temerity, for water was used more freely than coffee or roasted rye, and the beverage was not unfrequently little else than warm water. The dance was next in order, and the sun might rise on the jovial company before their departure. Let us not be too hasty in condemning our forefathers, for, however rude their habits and their attire may have been, as men they were, beyond question, better specimens of physical humanity than we or our descendants can hope to be, while most probably their moral character possessed more of the reality and less of the show than ours. There was a simple, straightforward manliness about them that it would be well for their descendants if they possessed it.

A number of characters were necessary to complete the backwoods picture. Principal among these was the fiddler, who was always in demand upon the occasions narrated above, and who must be prepared to appear upon a moment's notice, so that "a fiddler's warning" became a proverbial expression. Then there was what was often called the "bully" of the locality, who was noted for his pugilistic qualities; but pioneer annals do not say that he followed the Marquis of Queensberry's rules, or any other but the rude customs of the forest home in which he was raised, with such variations as he himself saw fit

Hilary Bronot

to introduce with them. Others were noted for their pre-eminence in the labors or games of the frontier. But, as might be expected, and as was indeed both natural and necessary, the circumstances in which the people were placed gave a tone and coloring to whatever they did, whether of work or relaxation. "Many of the sports of the early settlers of this country," says our author, "were imitative of the stratagems of hunting and war. Boys were taught the use of the bow and arrow at an early age; but although they acquired considerable adroitness in the use of them, yet it appears to me that in the hands of white people the bow and arrow could not be depended upon for warfare or hunting, unless made and managed in a different manner from any specimens of them which I ever saw. . . . Firearms, wherever they could be obtained, soon put an end to the use of the bow and arrow."

"One important pastime of our boys," he continues, "was the imitating the noise of every bird and beast in the woods. This faculty was not merely a pastime, but a very necessary part of education, on account of its utility in certain circumstances. The imitation of the gobbling and other sounds of wild turkeys often brought those keen-eyed and ever-watchful tenants of the forest within the reach of the rifle. The bleating of the fawn brought its dam to her death in the same way. The hunter often collected a company of mopish owls to the trees about his camp, and amused himself with their hoarse screaming; his howl would raise and obtain responses from a pack of wolves, so as to inform him of their neighborhood, as well as guard him against their depredations. This imitative faculty was sometimes requisite as a measure of precaution in war. The Indians, when scattered about in a neighborhood, often collected together by imitating turkeys by day and wolves or owls by night. In similar situations, our people did the same. . . An early and correct use of this imitative faculty was considered as an indication that its possessor would become in due time a good hunter and a valiant warrior. . . Athletic sports of running, jumping and wrestling were the pastimes of boys, in common with the men. A well-grown boy, at the age of twelve or thirteen years, was furnished with a small rifle and shotpouch. He then became a fort soldier, and had his porthole assigned him. Hunting squirrels, turkeys and raccoons soon made him expert in the use of his gun. Dancing was the principal amusement of our young people of both sexes. . . . Shooting at a mark was a common diversion among the men, when their stock of ammunition would allow it; this, however, was far from being always the case."

A wedding has, from the beginning of the world, been celebrated as an occasion of joy and festivity; and among our forefathers the rule was to suffer no exception, although circumstances gave their impress to the rejoicing. Quoting once more from our author: "A description of a wedding from the beginning to the end will serve to show the manners of our forefathers, and mark the grade of civilization which has succeeded to their rude state of society in a few years. . . . In the first years of the settlement of this country,

a wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood; and the frolic was anticipated by old and young with eager expectation. This is not to be wondered at, when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log-rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.

"In the morning of the wedding-day the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials, which for certain must take place before dinner. Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor or mantuamaker within a hundred miles, and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen, dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggins, linsey hunting-shirts, and all home-made; the ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bedgowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles, they were relics of old times—family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and packsaddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them; a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

"The march, in double file, was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstruction of our horsepaths, as they were called, for we had no roads; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good and sometimes by the ill will of the neighbors, by falling trees and tying grapevines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was laid by the wayside, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding party with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge; the sudden spring of horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. . . .

"Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whisky began, which was at an early period. When the party were about a mile from the place of their destination two young men would single out to run for the bottle; the worse the path, the more logs, brush and deep hollows the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with the prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company. On approaching them he announced his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. At the head of the troop he gave the bottle first to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram; and then, putting the bottle in the bosom of his hunting-shirt, took his station in the company. The ceremony

always preceded the dinner. During the dinner the greatest hilarity always prevailed, although the table might be a large slab of timber, hewed out with a broadax, supported by four sticks set in auger-holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes and plates; the rest, wooden bowls and trenchers; a few pewter spoons, much battered about the edges, were to be seen at some tables. The rest were made of horns. If knives were scarce the deficiency was made up by the scalping-knives, which were carried in sheaths suspended from the belt of the hunting-shirt. After dinner the dancing commenced, and generally lasted till the next morning."

Both necessity and policy dictated that the dress, especially that of those who engaged much in hunting and scouting, should be rather simple, and as much as possible like that of the Indians. It was impossible, indeed, to have a very elaborate outfit; and if it had been possible it would have been out of place on the hunt; besides, it was advisable for the scouts to dress as nearly as might be after the Indian style. "The hunting-shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock reaching half-way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large, and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting-shirt itself. The bosom of this dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt, which was always tied behind, answered several purposes besides that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet-bag, occupied the front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping-knife, in its leathern sheath. The hunting-shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deerskins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers and leggins were the dress of the thighs and legs; a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. These were made of dressed deerskin. They were mostly made of a single piece with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, with gathers as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower parts of the leg by thongs of deerskin, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within the moccasin." The moccasins were easily made; every family had its awl for that purpose, with its buckhorn handle; and the evenings were as a rule given to this rude species of shoemaking. For socks, deer's hair or dry leaves were used, with which the moccasins were well stuffed, and the feet were kept passably comfortable; but in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was "a decent way of going barefooted," and such was the fact, owing to the spongy nature of the leather of which they were made.

A comparatively full account of the dress, customs, etc., of our forefathers should not be deemed out of place in a history such as this; for, though many are yet living who remember something of what is here described, or who have it from their immediate ancestors, these are few and are fast leaving the stage of this world, while the younger are too much engaged with the present to expend their energies in the study of the past. It is well, then, to put these matters on record, for the benefit of future generations who may have the disposition to turn aside a little to contemplate the beginnings of our great country. Further quotation shall, for that reason, be made from a writer who lived and acted in these scenes so different from ours; and the reader can peruse his writings with the consciousness that his statements have not been modified by modern ideas or notions. And if his pictures are even crude, it will be to the knowing a clearer evidence of their truth. Mr. Doddridge continues in his description of the first settlers' dress:

"In the latter years of the Indian war our young men became enamored of the Indian dress throughout, with the exception of the matchcoat. The drawers were laid aside and the leggins made longer, so as to reach the upper part of the thigh. The Indian breechclout was adopted. This was a piece of linen or cloth nearly a yard long, and eight or nine inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind, leaving the ends for flaps hanging before and behind over the belt. These flaps were sometimes ornamented with some coarse kind of embroidery-work. To the same belts which secured the breechclout strings which supported the long leggins were attached. When this belt, as was often the case, passed over the hunting-shirt, the upper part of the thighs and part of the hips were naked. The young warrior, instead of being abashed by this nudity, was proud of his Indian-like dress. In some few instances I have seen them go into places of public worship in this dress. . . .

"The linsey petticoat and bedgown, which were the universal dress of our women in early times, would make a strange figure in our days. A small home-made handkerchief, in point of elegance, would ill supply the place of that profusion of ruffles with which the necks of our ladies are now ornamented. They went barefooted in warm weather, and in cold their feet were clothed in moccasins, coarse shoes or shoepacks, which would make but a sorry figure beside the elegant morocco slippers, often embossed with bullion, which at present ornament the feet of their daughters and granddaughters. The coats and bedgowns of the women, as well as the hunting-shirts of the men, were hung in full display on wooden pegs round the walls of their cabins, so that while they answered in some degree the place of paper-hangings or tapestry, they announced to the stranger as well as to the neighbor the wealth or poverty of the family in the articles of clothing. This practice has not yet been wholly laid aside among the backwoods families." It is to be hoped that the good young ladies of these closing years of the nineteenth century will not be displeased at the subjoined observations of the truthful annalist

of those early days, whose remarks are more true of the present time than they were of his day. Perhaps they will find a consolation in comparing the present with the past, and thank their stars that they were not doomed, as doubtless they will put it, to see the light in those primeval days. Says our trusted narrator of the past: "The historian would say to the ladies of the present time, our ancestors of your sex knew nothing of the ruffles, leghorns, curls, combs, rings and jewels with which their fair daughters now decorate themselves. Such things were not then to be had. Many of the younger part of them were pretty well grown up before they ever saw the inside of a storeroom, or even knew there was such a thing in the world unless by hearsay, and indeed scarcely that. Instead of toilet they had to handle the distaff or shuttle, the sickle or weeding-hoe, contented if they could obtain their linsey clothing and cover their heads with a sunbonnet made of 600 or 700 linen."

The sort of life led by the pioneers had its effect on the diseases which they contracted, as well as on the other peculiarities of the backwoods life. Owing to the circumstances in which they lived their diseases were for the most part such as are due to exposure rather than those which are commonly regarded as contagious. The defective covering of their feet caused the greater number of the hunters and warriors to be afflicted with rheumatism. Of this disease they were all apprehensive in cold or wet weather, and therefore always slept with their feet to the fire to prevent or to cure it as well as they could. This practice had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples. The oil of rattlesnakes, geese, wolves, bears, raccoons, groundhogs and polecats was applied to swelled joints and bathed in before the fire.

The remedies were of the simplest kind, and were such, as we have just seen, as the backwoods afforded. A few more of them may be given here with advantage. The pleurisy was the only disease which was supposed to require blood-letting, a practice so common a few decades later, as many of our older citizens will remember; but, quite naturally, a doctor or other person capable of bleeding was not always at hand. Coughs and pulmonary consumptions, a species of ailment quite common owing to the kind of life led by the settlers, were treated with a great variety of syrups, the principal ingredients of which were commonly spikenard and elecampane. The people, too, as all people similarly circumstanced, were very superstitious, and resorted to a great variety of charms for the cure of diseases, as well as for other purposes. These charms were regarded as efficacious not only against diseases and burns—the latter of which charms is well known to have existed to a very great extent among the people even to a recent period—but also against bullets in battle, though many were found who preferred the protecting agency of a good-sized tree. Among a simple people it was natural to find these charms extended to everything, as they were derived from everything. Says Mr. Doddridge: "The erysipelas, St. Anthony's fire, was circumscribed by the blood of a black

cat. Hence there was scarcely a black cat to be seen, whose ears and tail had not been frequently cropped for contributions of blood." Similar superstitions existed in regard to many other diseases, as well as other matters. One species of superstition—witchcraft—is especially deserving of notice. "The belief in witchcraft was prevalent among the early settlers of the western country. To the witch was ascribed the tremendous power of inflicting strange and incurable diseases, particularly on children, of destroying cattle by shooting them down with hair balls, and a great variety of other means of destruction; of inflicting spells and curses on guns and other things, and, lastly, of changing men into horses, and after bridling and saddling them, riding them at full speed over hill and dale to their frolics and other places of rendezvous.

"Wizards were men supposed to possess the same mischievous powers as the witches; but these were seldom exercised for bad purposes. The powers of the wizards were exercised almost exclusively for the purpose of counteracting the malevolent influences of the witches of the other sex. I have known several of these witch-masters, as they were called, who made a public profession of curing the diseases inflicted by the influence of witches, and I have known respectable physicians who had no greater portion of business in the line of their profession than many of those witch-masters had in theirs.

"The diseases of children supposed to be inflicted by witchcraft were those of the internal organs, dropsy of the brain, and the rickets. . . Diseases which could neither be accounted for nor cured were usually ascribed to some supernatural agency of a malignant kind. For the cure of the diseases inflicted by witchcraft, the picture of the supposed witch was drawn on a stump or a piece of board and shot at with a bullet containing a little bit of silver. This silver bullet transferred a painful and sometimes a mortal spell on that part of the witch corresponding with the part of the portrait struck by the bullet." Other methods were adopted, equally novel, and supposed to be equally efficacious. "The witch had but one way of relieving herself of the spell inflicted on her in any way, which was that of borrowing something, no matter what, of the family to which the subject of the exercise of her witchcraft belonged. . . .

"When cattle or dogs were supposed to be under the influence of witchcraft they were burned on the forehead by a branding-iron, or when dead burned wholly to ashes. This inflicted a spell upon the witch which could only be removed by borrowing, as above stated. Witches were often said to milk the cows of their neighbors, which they did by fixing a new pin in a new towel for each cow intended to be milked. This towel was hung over her own door, and by means of certain incantations the milk was extracted from the fringes of the towel after the manner of milking a cow. The first German glass-blowers in this country drove the witches out of their furnaces by throwing living puppies into them." No nation is entirely free from superstitions of this kind, no matter how enlightened the people may be. Take two curious examples in our

day: that of breaking a bottle of wine on the prow of a newly launched vessel, and that of having a woman light the fire for the first time in a blast-furnace.

The following explanation of the origin of these superstitions may properly be appended here: "The greater or less amount of belief in witchcraft, necromancy and astrology," says the writer from whom the above extracts have been taken, "serves to show the relative amount of philosophical science in any country. Ignorance is always associated with superstition, which, presenting an endless variety of sources of hope and fear, with regard to the good or bad fortunes of life, keeps the benighted mind continually harassed with groundless and delusive, but strong and often deeply distressing, impressions of false faith. For this disease of the mind there is no cure but that of philosophy. This science shows to the enlightened reason of man that no effect whatever can be produced in the physical world without a corresponding cause."

In drawing this portion of the county's history to a close it may be remarked that of the inhabitants of Allegheny county, which as yet included all Western Pennsylvania, except the southwest corner, neither the descendants of the English cavaliers from Maryland and Virginia, who settled mostly along the rivers, nor the descendants of the Irish, who settled in the interior parts of the country, were remarkable for science or urbanity of manners. The former were mostly rude in their manners, and addicted to the exciting diversions of horse-racing, wrestling, jumping, shooting, dancing and similar amusements. These diversions often became serious and ended in quarrels, in which blows, kicks, biting, and the still more cruel custom of gouging were indulged in. This last consisted in forcing the eyeball out of its socket by means of the thumb, was extremely painful, and was only resorted to by the very roughest characters in a personal combat. The more common contest was what was designated the rough-and-tumble fight. Yet the people were industrious, enterprising according to the circumstances of their situations, generous in their hospitality, which was one of the noblest characteristics of the backwoodsman, and brave even to daring in their defense of the frontier against the savages. They formed a cordon on the frontier, advancing year by year further to the west, and forcing the aborigines before them. They were alternately soldiers, hunters and farmers, and possessed a remarkable faculty of adapting themselves to circumstances. With the exception of ailments that spring from exposure, they were fine specimens of physical development, and were noted for the determination with which they engaged in any enterprise and the tenacity with which they pursued it.

By this time a few small villages had begun to spring up, the people being attracted by some industry, as boat-building, as at Brownsville and Elizabeth, or because the spot was a place where the road crossed the river and necessitated a ferry, as McKeesport, or for some other cause that ministered to the necessities of the people. Many of these villages have grown to flourishing manufacturing towns, and will be noticed at length in their proper places.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances in which the pioneers of these parts were placed as regards their spiritual concerns, they were naturally a religious people. A large proportion of them were from the northern counties of Ireland, and belonged to the Presbyterian denomination; and these were noted for the uncompromising rigidity with which they held to the strictest interpretation of their religious formulas. These persons began at a very early day to form the nuclei of congregations, which have grown to importance in wealth and numbers, the histories of which will form interesting portions of this work. The members of other denominations were also found, but not in such numbers, nor with such strong adherence to their distinctive tenets. Although many of the people of that day were noted for their disregard of the disciplinary laws of the church to which they belonged, there was not the religious indifference at that time that there is in our day; and when men violated a rule they felt they were doing wrong. Scoffing at religion, at the idea of the supernatural and of man's duty to God were recognized as wrong, if not in all cases avoided.

Outside Pittsburgh the cause of education could not, under the circumstances, receive much, if indeed any, attention. Those who were able, and their number was extremely small, might send their sons and daughters east of the mountains to some of the schools of the cities, there to receive a training; but for the great majority of the people there was nothing left but to give the children such rudiments of education as the parents themselves were capable of imparting, or allow them to grow up in utter ignorance. Little learning was necessary to transact the simple business of the backwoods, and little time was left for reading, if books or papers could have been obtained; hence people did not feel the need of learning as it is felt and as it has become a necessity in our day. The itinerant pedagog, that crystallization of tyranny, had not as yet appeared on the scene, though the day of his advent was dawning apace. But the advancement of the population was steadily going on, as could be seen in various ways. The days of alarms from the Indians may be said to have gone forever; the people began to be better settled in their homes, the comforts of life were now becoming for many a matter of study; and, all things considered, there was evidence that the people were entering into a new period of existence. The trades were not all firmly established, so that a man could go to a skilled person to have a work done in any branch, as at present; but a few of the more necessary were beginning to appear on the scene, especially those who ministered to the personal appearance of the people; and the extreme rudeness and half-savage appearance of the inhabitants began to give place to a more civilized aspect. Foremost among the useful trades were the shoemakers and tailors; not up to the standard of the present day, it is true, but far in advance of what the country had before known. And if they could not open their own shops or places of business, it mattered little. They were journeymen who traveled from house to

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house, as they might be engaged, and made shoes or clothes in the same room, perhaps, where their meal was cooked and eaten. But the journeyman was perhaps more important in helping the appearance of the young backwoodsman when he felt disposed to visit some of the girls of the neighborhood, and when he wanted to appear at his best of an evening at a dance; for there were dudes and mashers in those days as well as in the present. Nor did the tailor escape the suspicions of cabbaging from the cloth of his customers, who were the more suspicious as their web was no longer than the number of those to be clothed demanded. And the poet's picture is not, perhaps, overdrawn; certainly it was not in the estimation of many a frontiersman:

"He cutteth well ye rich man's coate,
And with unseemlie pride
He sees ye little waistcoate in
Ye cabbage bye his side."

Such were the trials through which our forefathers passed in the early years of western life; such the social position to which they attained; and such the promise made of the better times that we witness, at the period of the formation of Allegheny county.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION.

CONDITION OF THINGS IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1791—SURPLUS PRODUCE—DISTILLERIES—TAX ON SPIRITS—PUBLIC MEETINGS—CONDITION OF AFFAIRS FROM 1792 TO 1794—THE REVOLT—ARRIVAL OF TROOPS—ELECTIONS—RETROSPECT.

ALMOST coincident with the establishment of the first western mail, and while Gen. Wayne was advancing from Fort Greenville to the Maumee, the whisky insurrection broke out at and near Pittsburgh. All governments, we suppose, have to go through this experience of local resistance to their laws, and they occur, mostly, when the government is young and before it has been able to make the power of its hands felt. Shay's rebellion, in Massachusetts, grew out of the derangement and depreciation of the currency, and was, if we understand it, an attempt to cure the evil by new issues of currency. The whisky insurrection grew, primarily, out of the want of a market for the products of the soil. The western part of Pennsylvania, after the capture of Fort Duquesne in 1758 and the termination of French rule in 1763, filled up rapidly with settlers, who cleared off the lands and began cultivating the soil. So long as settlers were few the local demand absorbed all they had to sell, at

least within a considerable circle around Pittsburgh. This is shown by the correspondence of Col. Brodhead,* who was stationed at Pittsburgh in 1780 and 1781. In a letter to Gen. Washington, dated October 17, 1780, he writes: "I have sent out parties to take cattle and grain from the inhabitants, and expect to get a considerable supply of flour as the mills begin to grind. But the inhabitants disappoint us of beef by driving their cattle into the mountains [hills]; we have neither bread nor meat at present." This was short commons for the troops, and a resort to the "help-yourself" policy was justifiable; but the fact shows that either the inhabitants had little or nothing to spare or found the government a poor paymaster—probably both. The driving of the cattle into the hills, to get them beyond the reach of seizure by the government, affords us a rare glimpse into the real condition of this country then. The settlers had but little ground cleared, and none of it fenced except the clearings. The cattle ran at large in the woods, and could easily be hid in the hills from the troops, when a raid was apprehended; and if Col. Brodhead's letters are a fair index of a quarrelsome man, the explosion of his wrath, when foiled by the settlers, must have been something fearful. In a letter to the quartermaster, Col. Ephraim Blaine,† November 3, 1780, he writes: "It is clear to everybody that a sufficient supply of meat for half the present consumption can not be had here, even for money." Certainly not, for continental money. In another letter to Rev. D. Zeisberger, December 2, 1780, he notes a proposal from that missionary among the Indians in what is now Coshocton county, Ohio, to send fifteen or twenty best [Indian] hunters to Little Kanawha, to kill buffalo, elks and bears, to be salted down for the use of the troops. To Richard Peters, December 7, 1780, he writes: "For a long time past I have had two parties, commanded by field officers, in the country, to impress cattle." To Col. Blaine, December 16, 1780, he writes: "The troops have not tasted meat at this post for six days past, and I hear of none that we can purchase or procure by our compulsory means." In a letter to Gov. Reed, of the colony of Pennsylvania, he says that he had contracted with a man named William Wilson for one hundred head of cattle, which Wilson had procured in Virginia, but was confronted by a law of that colony prohibiting the exportation of cattle. He adds: "As the United States in general, and our state in particular, are immediately interested in retaining in this district all the grain that has been raised in it, it might appear inimical in me were I to remain silent respecting certain instructions lately sent by Gov. Jefferson for the purchase

* There is an old ford on Chartier's creek, at the point where the old Steubenville turnpike crossed that creek, called Brodhead's ford, and a postoffice afterward placed there was called Brodhead. Was this called so after Col. Brodhead, or after some settler of that name in that neighborhood? The impression that it was called after the colonel has somehow been left on my mind, but I can give no reason why.

† Col. Ephraim Blaine was the grandfather of the distinguished James G. Blaine, now of Maine. The colonel settled at or near Brownsville. His son was elected prothonotary of Washington county in 1840, and the family was living in the town of Washington, Pa., when James G. graduated at Washington College. The father of James G. married a Miss Gillespie, and thus the family became related to Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, and Gen. W. T. Sherman.

of two hundred thousand rations on this side of the mountains, for the use of the troops under Col. Clarke, for which purpose he has already advanced three hundred thousand pounds,* and promised to furnish, on the first notice, any further sum that may be necessary to complete the payment of that purchase. Because this contract, together with the consumption of multitudes of emigrants arrived and expected in this district (chiefly to avoid military duty and taxes), will scarcely leave a pound of flour for the regular or other troops which it may be necessary to employ." He adds, further, that he has notified Gov. [Thomas] Jefferson that he will not allow these rations to be taken out of this district. In a letter of March 10, 1781, to Gen. Washington, he complains that the troops under his command had been at half allowance of meat since December 20, 1780, and had frequently been without any for several days together.

From all this it appears that in 1780 and 1781 the western part of Pennsylvania was unable to supply the current demand for provisions, the troops at Fort Pitt, as well as the emigrants, consuming all the surplus that was to be had. Col. Brodhead hints that most of these emigrants were skedaddlers — men who had run away to escape military duty and taxes; but whether or not, they were bread-eaters and nearly as destructive as the caterpillar and the palmer-worm. This horde of emigrants scattered into out-of-the-way nooks, in all directions, and in a few years became themselves producers, until, in 1791, the complaint was just the opposite of what it was in Col. Brodhead's time. From a land of scarcity it had become a land of plenty. There was no longer any need for the Virginia law prohibiting the exportation of cattle. The problem was to know how and where to export the surplus. Everything the farmer had to sell was nearly worthless — flour one dollar a barrel and grain at scarcely a quotable price; while everything the farmer had to buy was enormously high. The farmer, in such a condition of things, could not sell enough to buy what he needed. There was no way of shipping produce east, except on packhorses, and that was impracticable. One way remained open — the rivers; but their outlet to the sea was closed to our commerce by the foreign possession of Louisiana and the Mississippi below Cairo. Gov. Jefferson, whom Col. Brodhead circumvented in the matter of the two hundred thousand rations, was not yet president, and nothing had yet been done toward opening the navigation of the Mississippi. If the lower rivers had been open in 1791 all the surplus grain of the west would have found shipment to the eastern seacoast by way of New Orleans, as was afterward done when the new century began and Louisiana had been purchased. A free highway to the ocean was the great want of the close of the last century, and was clamored for as loudly in Kentucky and Tennessee as in Western Pennsylvania. But in 1791, the time of which we are writing, this clamor had produced no effect, and the farmers of Western Pennsylvania, then mostly within easy hail of Pitts-

* Continental money.

burgh, and confined mainly to the counties of Allegheny, Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington, were reduced to financial distress by want of a market for their surplus produce. In this condition of things one door of relief stood promisingly open. If they could not sell their grain and flour they could convert them into whisky. A keg of whisky was much easier to transport than the grain it took to make it under the process then used for distillation. They could condense their grain, as it were, into much smaller bulk by converting it into spirits. And then, the demand for whisky was much more active than that for grain. They were certain of a market for one, and could find no market for the other. Why should they not convert their produce into the only shape in which it was marketable? There were no temperance societies in those days. Everyone, high and low, great and small, rich and poor, male and female, clergy and laity, made free use of whisky, and it was as common a supply upon the sideboard as bread and meat. No one thought it criminal to use it, and there was, apparently, much less abuse of it than now. But only because there were fewer people here then, and the practice of its use being common to all, the abuse was not specially noted. At any rate, the demand for it was active, and the settlers, finding this to be the only open market for them, turned their attention generally to its manufacture. So general was the resort to its distillation that it has been said of Washington county that one could not stand anywhere, in the settled country, and look around, without seeing the smoke of a distiller's chimney. The grain was probably ground for distilling by horse mills. There were then no steam mills, and no water mills except on large streams. Craig & Bayard put up a distillery at the point, in this city, in 1784, and justified the use of horse mills in grinding on the ground that they were more to be depended on than either wind or water mills. Horse mills were in use in Kentucky, in the back country, as late as 1837, and, water mills being not very plenty here in 1794, the substitution of horse mills by small distillers would save much time and labor that would otherwise be lost in transportation to and from the water mills.

This was the condition of things here when the whisky insurrection broke out. As to what led up to it, let us go back a little, and bring up the history from the start. "In December, 1790," says Craig's history, "when Congress assembled, the nation was burdened with the debt contracted during the seven years' struggle for independence; the country was involved in war with some of the western Indians; Harmar had just returned from his fruitless expedition against them; the expenses of the government were necessarily large and the revenue but small, so that additional taxes became indispensable. No tax seemed more proper than upon spirits, both foreign and domestic. A memorial from the college of physicians at Philadelphia advocated such a tax as desirable both to the morals and health of the people. Such a bill was reported in the house of representatives in January, 1791, in conformity with the suggestions of Alexander Hamilton, as advocated by James Madison, and

passed. It imposed a tax of from nine to twenty-five cents a gallon, according to their strength, upon spirits distilled from grain. To secure the collection of these duties suitable regulations were made. Inspection districts were established, one or more in each state, and an inspector appointed for each. Distillers to furnish, at the nearest inspection-office, full descriptions of their buildings, which were always subject to examination, by a person appointed for that purpose, who was to gauge and brand the casks. Duties were to be paid before removal. But to save trouble to small distillers not in any town or village, they were allowed to pay an annual tax of sixty cents per gallon on the capacity of the still."

Such was the act of 1791. Of course a tax upon a product in such common use could not fail of being unpopular; but no one seemed to anticipate that it would lead to civil war. John Neville was appointed inspector for Western Pennsylvania. He lived, at that time, in a house on the road to Washington, Pa., from Pittsburgh, about seven or eight miles out. The estate was called Woodville (all estates had names at that time), and facing the house, on the opposite side of Chartier's creek, was the estate of Bower Hill. The present county home for the poor of the county is just behind the old Neville house, now known as the Wrenshall house, and the station on the Chartiers railroad nearest the old Neville mansion is called Woodville, while the one just beyond it is called Bower Hill. So that all the old names are still retained, except that of the mansion. The present mansion, known as the Wrenshall house, stands on the site of the old Neville mansion, which was burned down by the insurrectionists, as we shall see further along.

To those who have comprehended our sketch of the condition of things in Western Pennsylvania at that time it will not seem strange that the new law was regarded with much disfavor. Shut out from all accessible markets for their produce, and finding that they could realize something on it by converting it into whisky, it is not to be wondered at that this first act of the new national government, laying a tax upon their only article of commerce, should seem to them not merely an unfriendly act, but one ruinous to them. The study of political economy had not entered into their education, and hence they had not learned the lesson that an internal tax comes off the consumer and not off the producer, nor had they had any experience to teach them that safe conclusion. They regarded it, foolishly enough, as a tax to be borne by themselves exclusively, and consequently prohibitory in its nature. They reasoned like children, but according to the best lights they then had. Money, too, was so scarce as to make it very hard to get enough to pay the tax.

The first public meeting in opposition to the law was held at Old Redstone Fort (Brownsville), July 27, 1791, when it was arranged that county committees should be convened at the different county seats of Allegheny, Fayette, Washington and Westmoreland counties. On the 23d of August one of these committees met at Washington, Pa., and passed some very intemperate resolutions.

Among the resolutions was one strongly condemning the excise law, and declaring that anyone who accepted office under it was inimical to the best interests of the country, and recommending the citizens to treat all such officers with contempt, to refuse to have any intercourse with them, and to withhold from them aid and comfort. The meeting also arranged for the appointment of three delegates from each of the four counties to a meeting to be held at Pittsburgh on the first Tuesday in September. This meeting took place at the time and place named, Albert Gallatin being present and acting as secretary.

In the same month of September, 1791, a party of armed men, in disguise, met at a place on Pigeon creek, Washington county, and securing the person of Robert Johnson, collector for that county, cut off his hair, tarred and feathered him, deprived him of his horse, and then compelled him, in that condition, to travel a considerable distance on foot. Process against three of the men engaged in this act was at once issued, and the United States marshal, Clement Biddle, in October, intrusted the writs to his deputy, Joseph Fox, to serve them. Upon arriving at Pittsburgh, he was so terrified by the accounts given him that he was afraid to risk his personal safety in serving them, and adopted the expedient of sending the writs by a private messenger under enclosures. The messenger sent with the writs was whipped, tarred and feathered, and his money and horse taken from him. He was then blindfolded, tied and left in the woods, where he remained for five hours. Mr. Wells, collector for Westmoreland and Fayette counties, was ill treated at Greensburg and Uniontown, and several other instances of violence took place. In the meantime the government, having no legal power then to use the army to enforce judicial process, was powerless to take any further steps.

Congress assembled in October, 1791, and by an act approved May 8, 1792, reduced the excise rate, allowed monthly instead of yearly payments by the distiller, and made other modifications to obviate various objections to the law. But it did not remove Gallatin's main objection to the law, that it made violations of the law national instead of state offenses, and compelled offenders to go to Philadelphia to be tried. This feature of the law was afterward removed, but for the time being the objections to it were urged with great warmth and the people kept in a continuous state of hostility to the law. That a direct tax should be imposed at all was the main and the real objection to the law. The power of Congress to impose it was not denied, but the expediency of it was seriously questioned.

On the 21st of August, 1792, agreeable to previous notice, a number of persons, styling themselves "a meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania," assembled in Pittsburgh and passed a series of resolutions denouncing all taxes on spirituous liquors, and declaring that they considered it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in the use of every other legal measure that might obstruct the operation of the law. It also adopted the resolution passed at the Washington meeting of 1791, as follows:

WHEREAS, Some men may be found among us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country as to accept offices for the collection of the duty,

Resolved, therefore, That in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship; have no intercourse or dealings with them; withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that, as men and fellow-citizens, we owe to each other; and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct toward them.

"These resolutions," says Mr. John Austin Stevens, in his "Life of Albert Gallatin," "were signed by Mr. Gallatin as clerk, and made public through the press. Resolutions of this character, if not criminal, reach the utmost limit of indiscretion, and political indiscretion is quite as dangerous as crime. The petition to Congress, subscribed by the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania, was drawn by Gallatin; while explicit in terms it was moderate in tone. It represented the unequal operation of the act. 'A duty laid on the common drink of a nation, instead of taxing the citizens in proportion to their property, falls as heavy on the poorest class as on the rich;' and it ingeniously pointed out that the distance of the inhabitants of the western counties from market prevented their bringing the produce of their lands to sale, either in grain or meal. 'We are therefore distillers through necessity, not choice, that we may comprehend the greatest value in the smallest size and weight.'"

In 1795, when Mr. Gallatin made his speech "on the western elections," in the house of representatives at Harrisburg, he made the following allusions to the Pittsburgh resolutions of 1792:

I might say that those resolutions did not originate at Pittsburgh, as they were almost a transcript of the resolutions adopted at Washington the preceding year, and I might even add that they were not introduced by me at the meeting. But I wish not to exculpate myself where I feel I have been to blame. The sentiments then expressed were not illegal or criminal; yet I will freely acknowledge that they were violent, intemperate and reprehensible. For by attempting to render the office contemptible, they tended to diminish that respect for the execution of the laws which is essential to the maintenance of a free government; but while I feel regret at the remembrance, though no hesitation in this open confession of that, my only political sin, let me add that the blame ought to fall where it is deserved.

And did it not fall where it was deserved when it fell on him? His was not all the blame; but as he was *particeps criminis* with his colleagues, he can not escape from his share of the blame because others partook of it with him.

On September 16, 1792, the president of the United States, George Washington, issued his proclamation earnestly exhorting and admonishing all persons to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatever, having for their object or tending to obstruct the operation of the excise law, inasmuch as lawful measures would be put in operation to bring to justice the infractors thereof, and for enforcing obedience to the same, and moreover charging and requiring all courts, magistrates and officers, according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively invested

by law for the purposes aforesaid; also enjoining all persons to be aiding and assisting therein, according to law.

The United States court was held at York in October, 1792. George Clymer, supervisor of the revenue, reported who composed the Pittsburgh meeting of August 21, 1792, and the names of two persons engaged in the outrage upon Faulkner. The attorney-general, Edmund Randolph, doubted whether the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting constituted an indictable offense, but instituted proceedings against the men reported as engaged in the Faulkner affair. They ended in nothing, as it was discovered that they really had no part in the outrage.

On the night of November 22, 1792, a party of men, armed and disguised, called at the house of the collector of Fayette county, compelled him to surrender his books to them, and extorted from him a promise to resign his office.

In 1793 the law seemed to be growing in favor, and several distillers complied with it; but in 1794 the inspector at Pittsburgh reports, February 27th, that persons living near the line of Allegheny and Washington counties had made threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and burning his distillery, also that they would not leave a house standing in Allegheny county owned by a person complying with the law. On making a personal supervision to find out who were engaged in making these threats, he was pursued by a disorderly crowd, which, on their way, called at the house of James Kiddoo, another complying distiller, and scattered fire over and about his stillhouse. This violence was repeated in May and June, Kiddoo having a part of his gristmill carried away. Cochran, also, had his still destroyed and his saw- and grist-mill injured; several similiar outrages were reported.

On June 5, 1794, Congress passed an additional act, to render the law more effective and secure obedience to its provisions; but no modification of the law had any effect on the opposition. The national administration accordingly determined upon more active measures. Processes were issued against a number of non-complying distillers in Allegheny and Fayette, including writs against two of the rioters who had attacked the house of a collector in Fayette. The United States marshal, under some local discouragement, executed the Fayette writs; but on attempting to execute those for Allegheny offenders he was assaulted, July 15, 1794, by a mob of thirty or forty, and fired upon. On the 16th the inspector, John Neville, who had just had his horse brought to the door for a ride into Pittsburgh, saw a mob of about one hundred men approaching the house with hostile intent. He returned his horse to the stable, withdrew within doors, and barricaded the house at every point. The mob made a vigorous attack, but, finding the defense more resolute than was expected, withdrew for a season. Neville, dreading another attack, made application to the judges, the sheriff and the general of the militia for protection. Gen. Gibson and John Wilkins, a magistrate, expressed their own willingness to help, but declared their inability to use the law or the force at their command for

his protection. So general was the feeling of disaffection, they declared, that even the *posse comitatus*, if ordered out, would be found unavailable. Maj. Butler, the commandant at Fort Fayette, when appealed to, furnished a detachment of eleven men to aid the inspector. These were joined by Maj. Abram Kirkpatrick, whose wife was a sister-in-law of the inspector. The rest of the story, as follows, is quoted from Hildreth's "History of the United States:"

The next morning, July 17th, the assailants reappeared five hundred strong, led on by one John Holcroft, who, under the assumed name of "Tom the Tinker," had been deeply concerned in stirring up previous outrages against officers who attempted to enforce the law and distillers who were disposed to submit to it. On the approach of this force, Neville escaped from the house, leaving his kinsman, Maj. Kirkpatrick, with the soldiers to make such defense or capitulation as might seem expedient. The assailants had appointed a committee of three as directors of the enterprise, and they had chosen as commander one McFarland, formerly a lieutenant in the continental service. The surrender of Neville was demanded, and, on information that he was gone, the admission of six men men to search the house for the papers connected with his office was claimed. This being refused, a flag was sent for the women to leave the house, soon after which an attack was commenced. McFarland was killed, and several other of the assailants were wounded, but they succeeded in setting fire to the outhouses, and, as the flames threatened to spread, the garrison, three of whom had been wounded, found themselves obliged to surrender. The men were dismissed without injury, but all the buildings were burned to the ground. The marshal and inspector's son, who came up just after the surrender, also Maj. Craig and Ensign Sample, were made prisoners. The marshal was subjected to a good deal of abuse, and was only dismissed after a promise, extorted by threats of instant death, and guaranteed by young Neville, not to attempt to serve any more processes west of the mountains. The next day a message was sent to Pittsburgh, where the inspector and marshal had taken refuge, requiring the one to resign his office and the other to give up the warrants in his possession. This they refused to do. The means of protection at Pittsburgh were small, and as the roads eastward would most likely be guarded, as the only means of escape they embarked on the Ohio, descended as far as Marietta, and thence set out by land for Philadelphia, the greater part of the way through a wilderness.

The next decided step seems to have been a public meeting, held at Mingo Creek meeting-house, July 23, in the neighborhood of which most of the late rioters resided. Bradford* and Marshall were both present, also Brackenridge, a lawyer of Pittsburgh, and who attended, according to his own account, by special invitation of Col. Neville, son of the inspector. Bradford was for making common cause with the rioters. Brackenridge suggested that, however justifiable in itself, their conduct was nevertheless illegal and that it was bad policy to draw into the same position those who might otherwise act as mediators. It was finally agreed to call a convention of delegates from all the townships west of the mountains, and from the adjoining counties of Maryland and Virginia, to meet in three weeks, August 14th, at Parkinson's Ferry,† on the Monongahela.

Two or three days after this preliminary meeting, anxious to ascertain how the late proceedings had been represented, Bradford caused the mail from Pittsburgh to Philadel-

* Bradford assumed the boldest front and made the most noise of any of the leaders of this insurrection, and yet was the first to run off when he knew it was a failure. Stevens, in his "Life of Gallatin," says: "When they went up to the legislature in the winter of (1792-93), Bradford and Smilie accompanied him; Smilie to take his seat in the state senate and Bradford to represent Washington county in the house, where he 'cut a poor figure.' Gallatin despised him, and characterized him as a 'tenth-rate lawyer and an empty drum.'"

† Parkinson's Ferry was afterward known as Williamsport, and is now known as Monongahela City. Possibly Bradford lived here, as it was the center, the very heart, of the insurrection

phia to be intercepted. Letters were found in it from young Neville and others, giving accounts, by no means satisfactory to the parties concerned, of the burning of the inspector's house and of the late meeting at Mingo creek. Without waiting for the proposed convention, a circular* signed by Bradford, Marshall,† and four or five others, was forthwith addressed to the officers of the militia of the western counties, stating that, by the interception of the mail, important secrets had been discovered, which made necessary an expression of sentiment, not by words but by actions. The officers were therefore called upon to muster as many volunteers as they could to assemble on the 1st of August, at the usual place of rendezvous, at Braddock's Field on the Monongahela, with arms and accouterments, and provisions for four days.‡

Meanwhile the mail, with its contents, except the intercepted letters, was sent back to Pittsburgh, and the citizens of that town, to pacify the excitement, went through the form of expelling the obnoxious letter-writers.

The summons to the militia, though it had only three days to circulate, and that among a population scattered over a wide extent of country, drew together not less than seven thousand armed men.§ Many afterward alleged that they went out of curiosity,

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* Issued from Cannonsburg, Pa.

† This Marshall is stated, in Stevens' "Life of Gallatin," to have been "the same who opposed the ratification of the Federal Constitution." He was a representative of Washington county in the legislature in 1791–92.

‡ It closed in these words: "Here is an expedition proposed in which you will have an opportunity for displaying your military talents and of rendering service to your country." Nothing less was contemplated by the more extreme of these men than an attack upon Fort Pitt and the sack of Pittsburgh. Thoroughly aroused at last, the moderate men of Washington determined to breast the storm. A meeting was held; James Ross, of the United States senate, made an earnest appeal, and was supported by Scott, of the house of representatives, and Stokely, of the senate of Pennsylvania. Marshall and Bradford yielded, and consented to countermand the order of rendezvous. But the excited population poured into the town from all quarters, and Bradford, who found that he had gone too far to retreat, again took the lead of the movements, already beyond restraint.—Stevens' "Life of Gallatin," p. 72.

§ This is Brackenridge's estimate, never very trustworthy at best. Gallatin says from fifteen hundred to two thousand, which is more likely. Stevens gives some additional particulars, not mentioned by Hildreth. He says:

"There was great alarm in Pittsburgh. A meeting was held there, Thursday evening, July 31st, at which a message from the Washington county insurgents was read, violent resolutions adopted, and the 9th of August appointed as the day for a town-meeting for election of delegates to a general convention of the counties at Parkinson's Ferry. Judge Brackenridge, a man of education, influence and infinite jest and humor, was present at this meeting. Of Scotch-Irish birth himself, his sympathies of race were with his countrymen, but in political sentiments he was not in harmony with their leaders. They were nearly all republicans [democrats], while he had sided with the federalists in the convention which adopted the new constitution of the United States. He was a man of peace, and of too much sagacity not to foresee the inevitable ruin upon which they were rushing. At Mingo creek he had thwarted the plans of immediate revolution. The evident policy of moderate men was to prevent any violence before the convention at Parkinson's Ferry should meet, and to bend all their energies to control the deliberations of that body. The people of Pittsburgh were intensely excited by the armed gathering almost at their doors.

"Brackenridge felt that the only safe issue from the situation was to take part in and shape the action of that gathering. Under his lead a committee from the Pittsburgh meeting, followed by a large body of the citizens, went out to the rendezvous. Here they found a motley assemblage, arrayed in the picturesque campaign costume which the mountaineers wore when they equipped themselves to meet the Indians—yellow hunting-shirts, handkerchiefs tied about their heads, and rifles on their shoulders; the militia were on foot, and the light-horse of the counties were in military dress. Conspicuous about the field, 'haughty and pompous,' as Gallatin described him in the legislature, was David Bradford, who had assumed the office of major-general. Brackenridge draws a lifelike picture of him, as, mounted on a superb horse in splendid trappings, arrayed in ful uniform, with plume floating in the air and sword drawn, he rode over the ground, gave orders to the military, and harangued the multitude. On the historic ground, where Washington plucked his first military laurels, were gathered about seven thousand men, of whom two thousand militia were armed and accoutered as for a campaign—a formidable and remarkable assemblage, when it is considered that the entire male population of sixteen years of age and upward of the four counties did not exceed sixteen thousand, and was scattered over a wide and unsettled country. This is Brackenridge's estimate of the numbers. Later, Gallatin, on comparison

and others that their sole intention was to prevent mischief, and this was certainly the case with some who were present, among whom was Ross, the United States senator. But the very fact of this prompt obedience to their orders could not but inspire the leaders with a high idea of their power and influence, while it tended also to increase the mischief by giving the impression to the public at large of a general unanimity of sentiment. Col. Cook, one of the judges of Fayette county, a member of the first popular convention held in Pennsylvania at the commencement of the Revolution, distinguished for his opposition to the excise, having repeatedly presided at the public meetings called to protest against it, was chosen president of this armed assembly. Bradford, to whom everybody cringed, assumed the character of major-general and reviewed the troops. A committee to whom matters of business were referred resolved that two more citizens of Pittsburgh should be expelled. The troops then marched into the town [of Pittsburgh], and after receiving refreshments, which the terrified inhabitants hastened to furnish, the greater part marched on again. The more orderly dispersed, but several parties kept together, one of which destroyed a barn belonging to Maj. Kirkpatrick, and another attempted, but without success, to burn his house in Pittsburgh.

It was Bradford's design, in calling this armed body together, to get possession of Fort Pitt and the arms and ammunition deposited in it; but finding most of the militia officers unwilling to coöperate, that design was abandoned.* Immediately after this armed assembly, the remaining excise officers were expelled even from those districts in which the opposition had hitherto been less violent. Many outrages were committed, some of the officers being cruelly treated, and their houses burned. The same spirit began to spread into the bordering counties of Virginia, and as the day for the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry approached things assumed a very threatening aspect. However opposition to the excise law might have been countenanced by the great body of the population, including the principal political leaders, the measures† of actual resistance to it had been

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of the best obtainable information, estimated the whole body at from fifteen hundred to two thousand men. Whatever violence Bradford may have intended, none was accomplished. That he read aloud the Pittsburgh letters, taken from the mail, shows his purpose to influence the people to vindictive violence. He was accused by contemporary authorities of imitation of the methods of the French Jacobins, which were fresh examples of revolutionary vigor. But the mass was not persuaded. After desultory conversation and discussion, the angry turn of which was at times threatening to the moderate leaders, the meeting broke up on August 2d; about one-third dispersed for their homes, and the remainder, marching to Pittsburgh, paraded through the streets, and finally, crossing the river, in their turn scattered. They did no damage to the town beyond the burning of a farm-building belonging to Maj Kirkpatrick of the garrison. The taverns were all closed, but the citizens brought whisky to their doors. Judge Brackenridge reports that his sacrifice to peace on this occasion cost him four barrels of his best old rye."

*Stevens as well as Hildreth speaks of the fort here referred to as Fort Pitt; but the fort then occupied was Fort Fayette. The road from Braddock's Field entered Pittsburgh by Fourth avenue, and Fort Fayette was on the corner of Penn street and Garrison alley. By turning to the left, from Fourth to the Monongahela, the militia gave Fort Fayette the needed wide berth.

†No mention is made in any of the authorities (except H. M. Brackenridge) to party lines, as having any bearing on the questions involved in the whisky insurrection, but it is plain to all who can read between the lines that the newly developing party inclinations had much to do with determining the part which prominent men took in it. The new constitution of the United States was just going into operation, as this insurrection was in the first term of the administration of Washington. Those who were for a strict construction of the constitution were known as democratic republicans, while those who favored a liberal construction were called federal republicans, and for short were called democrats and federals. Washington and Hamilton, his secretary of the treasury, were federals, and the excise law was a pet measure of Hamilton's. Gallatin, on the other hand, was a democrat, and he disliked all such exercise of the taxing power conferred by the constitution. Bradford and Marshall were both democrats, and so was Hugh H. Brackenridge, although he had sided with the federals in advocating the adoption of the constitution. Gov. Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, who was very tardy in calling out the militia to put down the insurrection, was also a democrat. The excise law was not, in any sense, a party measure; but it was a strong measure, based upon a liberal construction of the constitution, and it naturally stirred up the hostility of such men as Gallatin, who deprecated any use of the taxing power that had to be backed up by force and was unequal and partial in its operation. This natural bent of the prevalent political ideas of the four western counties of Pennsylvania, combined with their anomalous commercial condition, can

chiefly in the hands of a few violent and reckless individuals, who, sometimes by outrages and sometimes by threats, had kept in awe not only the excise officers, but such of the distillers also as were disposed to submit to the payment of the tax. This reign of terror was now extended and completely established. No one dared utter a word against the recent proceedings for fear of banishment, personal violence or the destruction of his property.

News of the burning of Neville's house, of the meeting at Mingo creek, and of the robbery of the mail soon reached Philadelphia. In the eyes of the president and his cabinet these incidents assumed a very serious character.

In the present inflammatory state of the public mind the resistance to the laws in Western Pennsylvania, if not immediately checked, might find many imitators. Hamilton, Knox and Bradford, attorney-general, advised that the militia be called out at once. But upon a suggestion to Gov. Mifflin to that effect, he expressed apprehension that a resort to force might influence and augment the existing opposition and, by connecting with it other causes of complaint, might produce such an excitement as to make it necessary to call in aid from the neighboring states—a step by which jealousy and discontent would be still further aggravated. He even questioned whether the militia would "pay a passive obedience to the mandates of the government." He doubted also his own authority to make a call; for whatever might be the case with the federal judiciary, it did not yet appear that the ordinary course of the state law was not able to punish the rioters and to maintain order. He was therefore disposed to be content for the present with a circular letter already dispatched to the state officers of the western counties expressive of his indignation at the recent occurrence, and requiring the exertion of their utmost authority to suppress the tumults and to punish the offenders.*

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easily be understood as impelling such men as Gallatin into open opposition to the law, and the people would readily follow any bold lead in the direction of their own inclinations; but opposition to the law, to its origin, design and policy, was one thing, and armed opposition was entirely another. The political instincts of such men as Brackenridge and Gallatin must, as it did, make them opponents of the law; but when this opposition took the form of insurrection, they drew off.

* As there were no "state" officers, at that time, the governor must have alluded to the "county" officers all of whom were appointed by the governor, under the old constitution, down to 1839, except the sheriff, the only county officer chosen by the people. Of these, the only proper peace officer was the sheriff, and, practically, the circular of the governor would be confined to the sheriffs of the several counties. The only force of the sheriffs, beyond their immediate deputies, would be the *posse comitatus*, or the body of the people of the county, and the sheriffs of the four western counties, in calling upon this posse, would be calling upon the insurrectionists themselves to put down and suppress their own violence. The circular of the governor, therefore, while legally correct and proper, was practically a nullity. The sheriffs of the four western counties were as powerless as men tied hand and foot. And so are the sheriffs of to-day, under circumstances in any way similar. I have never known an instance in which a reliance upon the *posse comitatus* was not trusting to a broken reed. In the riots of 1877, in this city, every man that could be put into the posse was sure to have some friends in the mob he was loth to attack, and in any event service in the posse was so disreputable that everybody avoided it. It was the same with the local militia; they could not be brought to fire upon their personal friends in the ranks of the mob.

The sheriff, while nominally, both here and in England, the governor or ruler of the shire or county, is, in reality, but the principal executive officer of the courts to serve process and collect debts. His power to call out the *posse comitatus* remains, but practically his police power is gone. He is still a reserve police force, for extreme contingencies, but one it would be foolish to depend on. The old-time lawyers used to pronounce the name of the office sher-*reef*, the accent on the second syllable, a remnant of the original name of the office—*shire-reeve*. Stormouth says that *reeve* is from the Anglo-Saxon *gerefa*, from *rof*, active, excellent; Icelandic, *greifi*, a governor; Dutch, *graef*, German, *graf*, count, a steward or governor. The shire-reeve was therefore the governor of the shire, and such, in theory, he is yet; but in fact he is merely the chief court officer. In a popular government a sheriff, elected by the people, can not be counted on as a power to put down the people when they rise in insurrection. A popular outbreak can not be put down by those engaged in it. The force for its suppression must come from the outside. Hence the fallacy of the governor's reasoning in this instance. It was not yet actually demonstrated that "the ordinary course of the state law was not able to punish the rioters and to maintain order," but he knew it, nevertheless, and knew also that in calling upon the sheriffs to use "their utmost authority to suppress the tumult, and to punish the offenders," he was calling upon men utterly unable to do what he asked them to do.

Mifflin's refusal removed all pretense for alleging that opportunity had not been afforded to the state of Pennsylvania to vindicate the authority of the laws by her own means. As the case seemed to require immediate interference, Washington resolved to take the responsibility on himself, and to act with vigor. A certificate was obtained, as the statute required, from a judge of the supreme court, that in the counties of Washington and Allegheny the execution of the laws of the United States was obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. A proclamation was put forth August 7, 1794, requiring these opposers of the laws to desist, and a requisition was issued to the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia for a body of thirteen thousand men, afterward raised to fifteen thousand. The insurgent counties could bring into the field about sixteen thousand fighting men.* It was judged expedient to send a force such as would quite discourage any resistance.

This calling out of the militia was not entirely approved by Randolph, the secretary of state. He seemed to apprehend, with Mifflin, that an attempt to enforce the authority of the government might lead to a general convulsion.

The movement of the troops was fixed for the 1st of September. Meanwhile, three commissioners appointed by the president, Senator Ross, the attorney-general, Bradford, and Judge Yeates, of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, were dispatched to the insurgent counties, with discretionary authority to arrange, if possible, any time prior to the 14th of September, an effectual submission to the laws. Chief-Justice McKean and Gen. William Irvine were appointed commissioners on the part of the state. Simultaneously with this appointment Mifflin issued two proclamations, one calling the legislature together and the other requiring the rioters to submit, and announcing his determination to obey the president's call for militia.

The two boards of commissioners crossed the mountains together, and on arriving in the disturbed district found the convention called by the meeting at Mingo creek already (August 14th) in session at Parkinson's Ferry. It consisted of upward of two hundred† delegates, including two from that part of Bedford county west of the mountains and three from Ohio county, in Virginia. Almost all the townships of the four western counties were fully represented. Cook was chairman and Gallatin, secretary. The delegates were convened on an eminence, under the shade of trees, surrounded by a collection of spectators, some of them armed. Near by stood a liberty-pole, with the motto, "Liberty and no excise! No asylum for cowards and traitors!" A series of resolutions was offered by Marshall, of which the first, against taking citizens out of the vicinity for trial, passed without objection.

The second resolution proposed the appointment of a committee of public safety, empowered "to call forth the resources of the western country to repel any hostile attempts against the citizens." After a speech‡ in which he denied any danger of hostilities, the only danger being that of legal coercion, Gallatin proposed to refer this resolution to a select committee. But though there were many persons present whose chief object, like

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* The male population over sixteen years, in the four counties, was sixteen thousand; but to bring sixteen thousand fighting men into the field would have been, literally, to rob both the cradle and the grave. It was practically an impossibility. The fighting force, the force willing to fight, could not have exceeded five thousand.

† The real number was two hundred and twenty-six, of whom ninety-three were from Washington, forty-nine from Westmoreland, forty-three from Allegheny, thirty-three from Fayette, two from Bedford and five from Ohio county, Va

‡ Bradford also made a speech in which he advocated the formation of a new state. At the raising of the liberty-pole at the Parkinson's Ferry meeting, the people with the greatest difficulty had been dissuaded from hoisting a flag with six stripes—emblematic of the six counties represented in the committee. The flag was made, but set aside for the fifteen stripes with reluctance. This is Findley's recollection, but Brackenridge says it was a flag of seven stars, for the four western counties, Bedford and the two counties of Virginia. This, he adds, was the first manifestation of a desire to separate from the Union.

Gallatin's, was to extricate the people from a disastrous consequence of a violent opposition to the laws, which they themselves had done much to stimulate, no one dared to second the motion. Marshall, however, already began to waver; and he presently offered to withdraw the proposition provided a committee of sixty was appointed, with power to call another meeting. This was readily agreed to, as was also the appointment of a sub-committee of fifteen to confer with the federal and state commissioners. For the purpose of being remodeled, the resolutions were referred to a committee, consisting of Bradford, Gallatin, Brackenridge and Herman Husbands, then a very old man, a leader formerly among the North Carolina regulators. The determination expressed in one of the resolutions, not to submit to the excise, was struck out on Gallatin's motion. But neither he nor anyone else went so far as to advocate obedience to it. A promise to submit to the state laws was, however, inserted. This business being disposed of, the exercise of some address secured a dissolution of the meeting, the assembly of the committee of sixty being fixed for September 2d.

A few days after (August 20th), as had been arranged, the committee of fifteen met the commissioners at Pitsburgh. Among the members of this committee were Bradford, Marshall, Cook, Gallatin and Brackenridge, the whole, except Bradford, being inclined to an accommodation. Brackenridge was well aware of the folly and hopelessness of their cause, and at bottom not less anxious than Gallatin to escape out of the present dilemma. The demands of the commissioners were exceedingly moderate. They required from the committee of sixty an explicit declaration of their determination to submit to the laws, and a recommendation to the citizens at large to submit also, and to abstain from all opposition, direct or indirect, and especially from violence or threats against the excise officers or the complying distillers. Primary meetings were required to be held to test the sense of the citizens in these particulars. Should satisfactory assurances be given on or before the 14th of September the commissioners promised a suspension till the next July of all prosecutions for offenses prior in date to this arrangement; and in case the law, during that interval, should be generally complied with, in good faith, a final pardon and oblivion of all such offenses.

The committee of fifteen pronounced these terms reasonable; and to give more time to carry out the arrangement they agreed to anticipate by four days the calling together of the committee of sixty. Meanwhile a report spread that the conferrees had been bribed; indeed that charge was made in express terms in a letter of "Tom the Tinker" to the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, which the printer, as was the case with other communications of that anonymous personage, did not dare to omit to publish. While the members of the committee of sixty were collecting at Brownsville (August 28th), the place appointed for the meeting, an armed party of horse and foot entered the town with drums beating. The friends of submission were so intimidated that, but for Gallatin, they would have abandoned all thoughts of urging an accommodation. Bradford insisted on taking the question at once; but, by the exercise of some address, the matter was postponed till the next day, and meanwhile the armed party were persuaded to return to their homes.

Gallatin opened the business the next morning in a speech in which the motives to submission were judiciously urged. He was followed by Brackenridge, who now came out strongly on the same side. Bradford, in an extravagant harangue, urged continued resistance and the organization of an independent state. Not daring to expose themselves by an open vote, the friends of submission had prevailed that the decision should be by secret ballot. They were then enabled to carry, by a very lean majority,* a resolution that it would be for the interests of the people to accede to the terms offered by the

*Gallatin's account is fuller. "Gallatin now demanded a vote, but the twelve conferrees alone supported him. He then proposed an informal vote, but without result. Finally a secret ballot was proposed by a member. A hat was passed, and when the slips of paper were taken out there were thirty-four yeas and twenty-three nays."

commissioners. But they did not dare to propose what the commissioners had demanded, a pledge from the members of the committee themselves to submit to the law, and arrangements for obtaining, in primary meetings, a like pledge from the individual citizens. After appointing a new committee of conference, the committee of sixty adjourned without day.

The new conferrees asked of the commissioners further delay till the 10th of October, to ascertain the sense of the people, but this was declined as being beyond their authority. They now required that meetings should be held in the several townships on September 11th, any two or more members of the late committee of sixty, or any justice of the peace, to preside, at which the citizens should vote yea or nay on the question of submitting to and supporting the law, all those voting in the affirmative to sign a declaration to that effect, which was to secure them an amnesty as to past offenses. The third day after the vote the presiding officers were to assemble in their respective county courthouses, to ascertain the number of votes both ways, and to declare their opinion in writing whether the submission was so general that excise inspection-offices could be re-established with safety; all the papers to be forwarded to the commissioners at Uniontown by the 16th of the month.

Meetings were held under this arrangement in many of the townships, but the result, on the whole, was quite unsatisfactory. Most of the more intelligent leaders were careful to provide for their own safety by signing the required submission, but many of those who had taken no active part in resisting the law refused to attend or to pledge themselves to obedience. As they had committed no offense, such was their argument, they ought not to be required to submit, as if winking at the violation of the law and neglecting to assist in its enforcement were not among the greatest of offenses. In some townships the meetings were violently broken up and the papers torn to pieces. Such was the case in the town in which Findley resided, who, it seems, was personally insulted on the occasion. From Allegheny county no returns were received. The judges of the vote in Westmoreland expressed the opinion that excise inspection-offices could not be safely established in that county. In the other two counties the expression of any direct opinion was avoided;* but these counties had always been more violent than Westmoreland. The better disposed part of the population had begun to form associations for mutual defense, and the opinion among them was quite universal that the presence of the troops was absolutely necessary.

Notwithstanding the timidity and alarm of Randolph and others, real or pretended, the president's call for militia, as on the former appeal to the people in the case of Genet, had been responded to with a spirit that gave new strength and confidence to the government. The Pennsylvanians at first were rather backward, and a draft ordered by Mifflin seemed likely, by reason, it was said, of defects in the militia laws, to prove a failure. But the legislature, on coming together, having first denounced the insurgents in strong terms, to save the delays attendant on drafting authorized the government to accept volunteers, to whom a bounty was offered. As if to make up for his former hesitation, and with a military sensibility to the disgrace of failing to meet the requisition, Mifflin, in a tour through the lower counties, as in several cases during the revolutionary struggle, by the influence of his extraordinary popular eloquence soon caused the ranks to be filled up. As a further stimulus subscriptions were opened to support the wives and children of the volunteers during their absence. The quotas of the other states were promptly furnished, composed in a large part of volunteers. The troops of Virginia, led by Morgan, and those of Maryland by Smith, the Baltimore member of congress, forming together the left wing, assembled at Cumberland, thence to march across the mountains by Braddock's road; those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, led by Govs. Mif-

* Gallatin says that Fayette submitted, which is undoubtedly true, but not in the manner prescribed by the commissioners, nor was any opinion expressed, such as the commissioners asked. They submitted to have the law enforced, and advised the other counties to do the same, but seemed more anxious to vindicate what was done in the past than to make promises for the future.

flin and Howell in person, and forming the right wing, had their rendezvous at Bedford, to cross the mountains by the northern or Pennsylvania route. The command in chief of the expedition was given to Gov. Lee, of Virginia.

The commissioners having returned to Philadelphia September 24th, and made their report, the president the next day (September 25th) issued a new proclamation giving notice of the advance of the troops—which, in anticipation of the failure of the mission, had already been put in motion—and commanding submission to the laws. There was the more need of decisive measures, as the spirit of disaffection was evidently spreading. At Greensburg, in Westmoreland county, a house in which the state commissioners lodged on their way home had been assailed by a mob, who demanded entrance, broke the windows, and were only driven away by threats of being fired upon. The same feeling had also spread to the east side of the mountains. At Carlisle, while on their way home, Judges McKean and Yeates had required bonds of certain persons charged with seditious practices in erecting whisky- or liberty-poles. Hardly had they left town when two hundred armed men marched in, and, being disappointed in seizing the judges, burned them in effigy and committed other outrages. There were also signs of similar disturbances in the neighboring counties of Maryland; but these were soon suppressed by a party of horse, who made more than a hundred prisoners, most of whom were committed to Hagerstown jail.

Calmer thoughts, and the news that the troops were marching against them, soon produced a change of feeling in the western counties. Bradford and others of the more violent fled the country to Louisiana, then under Spain. Encouraged by these symptoms of returning reason, the better disposed caused a new convention to be held at Parkinson's Ferry. Resolutions of submission were passed and a declaration was agreed to that the late failure in obtaining written pledges was principally owing to the want of time and information, to a prevailing sense of innocence, and to the idea that to sign the pledge required would imply a confession of guilt. Findley at last had mustered courage to take a decided part on the side of order; and he was dispatched, with one Redick, to convey these resolutions to the president, and to stop, if possible, the march of the troops. At Carlisle these commissioners encountered the advance of the right wing, five or six thousand strong. Findley, who has left us a very labored apology for himself and his political friends, under the title of a "History of the Insurrection," found the troops, as he tells us, in a high state of excitement against the rebels. Two persons had been killed already; a man run through the body by a soldier, whose bayonet he had seized when ordered to arrest him for insulting an officer, and a boy, accidentally shot by one of a party of light horse sent to arrest those concerned in the late riot at Carlisle. But in both these cases, and this was the only blood shed during the expedition, the parties concerned had been delivered over to the civil authorities for trial, and every effort was made by the president and secretary of the treasury, both of whom had followed the troops to Carlisle, to preserve the strictest discipline and to impress the necessity of avoiding all unnecessary violence and harshness. Findley, however, who was just beginning to recover from the terror of having his buildings burned, or being himself tarred and feathered by men whose violence he found it much easier to stimulate than to control, seems to have been not a little frightened, on the other hand, at the swagger, bluster and loud words of some of the militia officers against the whisky rebels, whose insolent resistance to the laws had made necessary so long and fatiguing a march.

The president treated Findley and his brother embassador with courtesy, and admitted them to several interviews; but did not see fit, from any evidence which they exhibited, to countermand the march of the troops. They hastened back, therefore, to procure more general and unequivocal assurances, which they hoped to transmit to Bedford, where Washington was again to meet the right wing, after inspecting the troops on the left. The Parkinson Ferry convention, augmented by many discreet citizens, was again called together for the third time. Resolutions were passed declaring the compe-

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tency of the civil authorities to enforce the laws, recommending all delinquents who had not already secured an indemnity to surrender for trial, and expressing the conviction that offices of inspection might be opened with safety, and that the excise duties would be paid. Findley hastened back with these resolutions, but before he reached the army the president had already returned to Philadelphia. Hamilton, however, remained behind, and was believed to act as the president's deputy. The troops crossed the Alleghenies in a heavy rain, up to their knees in mud, and not without severe suffering, which occasioned in the end a good many deaths. The two wings formed a junction at Uniontown, and as they advanced into the disaffected counties the re-establishment of the authority of the law became complete. Having arrived at Parkinson's Ferry, Lee issued a proclamation confirming the amnesty to those who had entitled themselves to it, and calling upon all the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the United States.

A few days after, arrangements having previously been made for it, there was a general seizure, by parties detached for that purpose, of persons supposed to be criminally concerned in the late transactions. But as those against whom the strongest evidence existed had either fled the country or taken advantage of the amnesty, this seizure fell principally on persons who, without taking an active part, had been content with encouraging and stimulating others. Many were dismissed at once for want of evidence; and of those who were bound over for trial at Philadelphia, the greater part were afterward acquitted. Among those thus bound over Brackenridge was one; but instead of being tried he was used as a witness against the others. These people complained loudly of the inconvenience to which they had been put, and of the harsh treatment which in some few cases had been experienced at the hands of the military parties by whom the arrests had been made. But such evils were only the natural consequence of lying quietly by and allowing resistance to the laws to aggravate itself into rebellion.

Shortly after the seizure of prisoners the greater part of the troops were withdrawn; but a body of 2,500 men under Morgan remained through the winter, encamped in the district. The advances necessary to sustain the troops in the field had been made out of a sum in the treasury of about $800,000, the unexpended balance of the foreign loans, Congress being trusted to for making good the deficiency.*

About the time that the troops entered the disaffected counties an election had taken place, at which were chosen not only members of the state assembly, but members of Congress also. When the legislature of Pennsylvania met, a question was raised as to the validity of these elections. Of those returned to the assembly, Gallatin was one, and he had the greater interest in the question, since he had been elected at the same time a member of the IVth Congress, and that body might be influenced, perhaps, by the example of the Pennsylvania assembly. In the course of an able speech Gallatin confessed his "political sin" in having been concerned in the preparation and adoption of the Pittsburgh resolutions of August 24, 1792, which, though not illegal, he admitted to have been "violent, intemperate and reprehensible;" but all the rest of the opposition made to the excise law, by means of public meetings, he was inclined to justify, and to shift off the blame of the whole affair upon a few obscure rioters. Order, he maintained, had been substantially re-established before the elections took place. The assembly, however, judged differently, and a new election was ordered.†

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*Stevens says that the disbursement of this sum by the expenditures of the troops made money plenty and enabled the people to pay the excise taxes. They were thus saved from bankruptcy by the money spent in subduing them.

†One thing puzzles us about Gallatin's election in 1794. He was elected to the legislature from Washington county, and to Congress from the district composed of Allegheny and Washington, while he was not a resident of either, but of New Geneva, in Fayette county. Fayette was erected in 1783, so that this could not have been under an apportionment including Fayette or part of another county. The election was declared void, because the district was in a state of insurrection at the time it was held. When a new election was ordered, Gallatin wrote to his friend Badollet, at Greensboro, opposite New Geneva, that an attempt would be made to

Of all the prisoners tried before the circuit court at Philadelphia only two were found guilty of capital offenses—one of arson and the other of robbing the mail, both of whom, from some palliating circumstances, were ultimately pardoned by the president. According to Findley, Hamilton made great efforts to obtain evidence against himself, Smilie and Gallatin. But, however reprehensible their conduct might have been in encouraging and stimulating the original opposition to the excise, the late outbreak, as Gallatin maintained in his speech, and Findley afterward at great length in his history, seems to have been a sudden, unpremeditated and, in its particular circumstances, an accidental thing, with which they had no immediate concern.* They had only prepared the combustibles to which others set the torch; and they seem to have exerted themselves with good faith, and Gallatin at some personal risk, and with a good deal of courage, in quenching the flame when actually kindled.

The vigor, energy, promptitude and decision with which the federal authority had been vindicated; the general rally in its support, even on the part of many who had leaned more or less to the opposition; the reprobation everywhere expressed against violent resistance to the law, and the subdued tone, made a great addition to the strength of the government. The federalists exulted in this energetic display of authority, and Hamilton declared that proof at last had been given of the capacity of the government to sustain itself. In that point of view both he and Washington considered the outbreak, however much to be lamented, in other respects as a fortunate occurrence.

Stevens, in his life of Gallatin, says the $800,000 disbursed to the troops who put down the insurrection made money so plenty as to revive business and enable the distillers to pay the excise tax; and Mr. Craig mentions the fact that among the volunteers who came out to suppress the insurrection were many young, enterprising mechanics, young men just passing out of their apprenticeships and on the lookout for homes. Many of them were well pleased with Pittsburgh or the country around, and large numbers of our citizens are the descendants of persons who made their first visits here as volunteers in this bloodless war. So that, although the insurrection bade fair to be a terrible calamity, it turned out to be a great advantage to Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania.

The story of the whisky insurrection, like all stories, has two sides to it, and the absolute truth probably lies on the side of neither. It has been foolishly magnified by dignifying it with the title of "insurrection;" there was, really, no "insurrection." For three years the mob spirit had free sway, and per-

disaffect that assembly district "because none of the representatives whose seats had been vacated were residents of it. Fall not into the snare; take up nobody from your own district; re-elect unanimously the same members." This advice was followed. All the old members were re-elected but one, who declined, in spite of their non-residence. This may have been legal, under the old constitution; but it is queer that Washington county should go beyond its own bounds to get its representatives, when it had good material at home.

*Gallatin appears to have excited Hamilton's opposition from having been an active and leading democrat, or democratic-republican, as they were then called. Gallatin was a Swiss, with an inborn hatred of despotism in any form, and his great dislike of "strong" governments, which the federals advocated, naturally drove him into the democratic ranks when he came to this country. Like the democrats who framed and passed the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, he believed in curbing and restricting the national government within narrow bounds, and the excise law of 1791 seemed to him an unwarrantable exercise of congressional power. He opposed it from the start, denouncing it in its inception, and his political bias carried him into opposition to its enforcement. He probably took hold early of this opposition in the hope of forcing its repeal; but when the movement took the form of violence, he abandoned it. The part of his conduct that was wrong he acknowledged, and Hamilton, if he tried, never found any evidence to incriminate Gallatin.

sonal outrages, together with arson and robbing the mail, took place; but while there was an undoubted insurrectionary spirit, as was shown in the military gathering at Braddock's Field, there was no military outbreak and no overt acts of rebellion. The military demonstration made by Washington was necessary as a demonstration of the power of the government to make itself felt and respected, and it is plain that nothing less would have subdued the stubborn opposition to the excise law; but as a force to put down armed resistance to the government, it was totally unnecessary. It found no armed resistance anywhere, and before it arrived on the ground all opposition to the law was "played out." But for what went before it, the march of fifteen thousand men from the seaboard to the western wilds to put down an insurrection that had no existence would have seemed ridiculous.

There are various accounts of this insurrection in print—those of Hugh H. Brackenridge and his son Henry M. in extenuation of it; that of Findley in his own vindication, and that of Stevens in his life of Gallatin of the same order. On the other side we have the government version from Hamilton's hands; Craig's version in his history of Pittsburgh, and the account given by Hildreth in his "History of the United States." All of these are in some sense partial and one-sided. The account of the two Brackenridges and that of Findley are violent, full of personal abuse, and tedious from their extreme length; that of Stevens is fair, but not impartial; that of Hamilton is also fair, but tinged with the party feeling of his day; Hildreth's account follows that of Hamilton, in temper and spirit; while Craig's is, like the Brackenridges', personal and bitter, and intended more to vindicate the Nevilles than to contribute to the treasures of history. The true account, without bias, abundantly vindicates the Nevilles, and does not, in our judgment, in any way incriminate Brackenridge.

Excluding the political bias, the account of Hamilton appears the coolest and the truest. It is brief, and recites the facts succinctly. The government was very young in his day, and such outbreaks, seen through the mists that surrounded them, doubtless loomed up in awful proportions before him. Seen in the clearer light of our day they become dwarfed to much smaller proportions. It was a good thing for the government that it had an opportunity, at such an early day, to make a show of the supremacy of its force, but beyond that the "incident," as the French say, was a mere local, but turbulent, outbreak.

The passage of the excise law necessarily developed a great deal of party bitterness. Hamilton, in his financial policy, had forced the assumption by the federal government of the debts of the thirteen states, and this assumption made more revenue necessary. To get the revenue, recourse was had to the passage of an excise law. In all this he had been backed up by the federalists and opposed by the democrats, so that when the law came to be put in operation the democrats were hostile to its policy and provisions. In

Virginia and North Carolina there were local outbreaks against it, which were soon subdued; but in the four western counties of Pennsylvania the opposition was more stubborn. Their desperate condition for want of a market for their produce has been before alluded to, and the open door of relief afforded by distilling whisky. In their financial poverty and distress the levy of an excise tax by the government seemed to them an act of great oppression. In this temper of mind nothing was more natural than that the democratic leaders, men like Gallatin and Brackenridge,* should take quick hold and strive to mold this hostility to their party benefit. Neither of them had any idea of resorting to violent means to oppose the law, and neither of them ever countenanced or justified such resort. It is true that the Nevilles were federalists, and that Brackenridge took great pleasure in opposing and thwarting them; but he always kept within the law. It was Bradford and Marshall, and perhaps Findley in the earlier stages, who stimulated the people to violence; but Bradford and Marshall were both cowards, and as vainglorious as peacocks, and it was well that such cool heads as those of Gallatin and Brackenridge were to the fore to prevent such demagogs from leading the people into rebellion. That they both did this the record fully shows. Of the two, Gallatin was the greatest. He was a man of genius, of strong will, and an intense partisan, but upright of purpose throughout. Brackenridge was a genial fellow, full of fun, but while a man of talents he lacked that concentration of ideas and purpose characteristic of Gallatin. It is not to be wondered at that the man of genius rather than the man of talent had the most influence; but it is due to both of them to say that they rendered essential service in holding the people back from disgracing themselves utterly.

But why did either go into the movement? To be able to turn it to party account; perhaps we may be permitted to add that either or both may have hoped to reap political advantage from it. Brackenridge heartily denies this; but many a man has been led by such a motive without realizing it. If they had kept out of it the thing would have been robbed of the appearance of respectability, and in that event it is likely that Bradford would have precipitated it much earlier into its final catastrophe.

The motive of such men as Gallatin and Brackenridge was, by formal meetings of influential individuals, to render the excise law odious and to intimidate individuals from accepting and executing offices under the law. So far they were within legal bounds; it was only when the passions of the populace had been inflamed that they found the movement getting beyond them. It was then, and not till then, that they remained in it solely to keep it from going wrong.

The movement of Bradford to establish a new state here in the west could

*We cite Brackenridge as a democrat because he really was one, but not so ultra as Gallatin. He had, it is true, advocated the adoption of the constitution, along with the federalists, but so had Madison in conjunction with Hamilton; but that did not make a federalist of Brackenridge.

have had no motive except to erect a separate state independent of the United States government. The new flag with six stripes or with seven stars was a plain evidence of this. We imagine it must have cost Brackenridge all his eloquence to save these people from that folly. Their persistence in it would have utterly ruined him. Nothing could have saved him from the effects of being *particeps criminis*.

So far as to these men. As to the general government its action throughout seems to have been well advised and creditable; but one event remains to disgrace it. We refer to the action of the troops after they reached Monongahela City. Both Hildreth and Stevens pass it over with a few words, and Hamilton makes no mention of it. The party that was sent out from there to make arrests among those who had not formally submitted performed its part in a very cruel manner. It arrested from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men in a needlessly brutal way, treated every one with sharp indignity, huddled the prisoners, tied back to back, into a dark and damp cellar, on a cold night, without fire or extra clothing, and denied them every little comfort. The next day they were marched to Washington, Pa., no regard being paid to age or condition, and when they were judicially heard there no case could be made out against the great bulk of them. They were, of course, discharged; and of those held to bail only two were convicted, and both of these were soon after pardoned. So that no object was accomplished by this wholesale arrest, and scores of really innocent people were treated worse than if they had been beasts. No apology or excuse will wipe off the taint of this criminal procedure. The troops, it is true, were incensed at being marched over three hundred miles for nothing, and were thus tempted to vent their spleen on these poor people; but it was not a soldierly act, and was totally unworthy of men wearing the United States uniform. The policy of the government was to conciliate, not exasperate, these people, even if nominally guilty; and this action really gave more good reason for an "insurrection" than ever had existed before. The really guilty people had run away; it was their victims who were made to suffer this indignity. The United States army, in this instance, was made to cut a very poor figure.

CHAPTER X.

THE WAR OF 1812.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE STRUGGLE—ALLEGHENY COUNTY IN THE WAR—THE PITTSBURGH BLUES—BRIGADE OF MILITIA AT PITTSBURGH—RIGGING FOR PERRY'S FLEET.

DURING twenty-nine years the United States submitted to a train of galling annoyances and indignities from the government of Great Britain, till finally war was declared on the 18th of June, 1812. The immediate causes which led to the war were the interference with American trade by the blockade system of England, the search of American vessels and the impressment of American seamen, and the persistent incitement and encouragement of Indians in their hostilities and barbarities.

At the outbreak of the war the advantage was all on the side of Great Britain, especially along the northern and western frontier. The Canadian territory bordering on the lakes and the St. Lawrence was far in advance of that on the south side of these boundaries in population, commerce and agriculture. The British were also much better prepared for war, having long maintained a chain of military posts from Niagara to Sault Ste. Marie, which were well supplied with men, arms and provisions; and they were provided with a provincial navy, which gave them the mastery of the lakes. They had cultivated the friendship of the Indians on both sides of the boundary, and they artfully managed to retain, during the continuance of the war, the cooperation of these savages, whose well-known character for cruelty kept the people on the frontier in a constant state of alarm and terror whenever their hostile bands were known or supposed to be in the vicinity.

On the American side the population was sparse. The settlements were small and widely separated, and the military posts were few, weak and either insufficiently defended or without defense of any kind.

There was no navy or regular army. The militia of the several states were poorly organized and without suitable equipments; and the Indians were everywhere hostile, and ready at a signal to combine for the purpose of driving the white men out of the country.

Allegheny county was situated at such a distance from the frontier that it was not the theater of active hostilities during the war. Its citizen soldiery, however, were early in the field. A company of volunteers known as the Pittsburgh Blues, consisting of between fifty and sixty men, commanded by Capt. James R. Butler, and another of about the same number under com-

mand of Capt. Jeremiah Ferree, went out in 1812. Of the movements of the latter no record can be found. It may have constituted a portion of the force of volunteers that had its rendezvous at Pittsburgh and Meadville. This force was called out by a proclamation of Gov. Snyder under the date of August 25, 1812. Gen. Adamson Tannehill was made commander, and on the 25th of October three regiments departed from Meadville for Niagara. They were joined on the way by another regiment from Southwestern Pennsylvania under Col. Purviance, and the whole force proceeded to Niagara river, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to cross and attack the enemy.

Early in the campaign of 1812 the Pittsburgh Blues, under Capt. Butler, joined the army of Gen. Harrison. Late in the month of November a detachment of six hundred men, of which the Blues constituted a part, under command of Lieut.-Col. John B. Campbell, was ordered to march from the headquarters at Franklintown and destroy the Indian towns on Mississinewa river, one of the tributaries of the Wabash. They encountered great hardships in passing through the wilderness, and reached the Mississinewa about the middle of December. They passed down the river till they arrived within twenty miles of the first Indian town, and then a council of war, which was held, decided to march all night and surprise the enemy. Says Albach: "Just as they were entering the town one of the Kentuckians gave an Indian yell, which gave the alarm and prevented the surprise. Notwithstanding this, eight warriors were killed and forty-two men, women and children taken prisoners. Pressing onward, they destroyed three towns lower down, and returned to the site of the first. At this place, on the 18th of December, at 5 o'clock in the morning, they were attacked by several hundred Indians, who were concealed in the edge of the forest behind some fallen timber, and who opened a heavy fire on them.

"They at once sprang to their arms. The battle raged till daylight; the dragoons, however, being instantly aided by the Blues, finally dislodged the enemy, who were repulsed with great slaughter and driven into the woods. A number of dead Indians were left on the battle-ground, but the greatest number of the dead were probably carried off, according to the practice of the Indians. The Americans had twelve killed and about thirty wounded. They had also lost a great many horses; for, it being quite dark when the attack was first made, so that they could not distinctly see the enemy, they stood behind their horses till daylight, so that these were unavoidably sacrificed as the means of saving the lives of many soldiers.

"The inclemency of the weather was now so great, and the troops were laboring under so many disadvantages, being cumbered with the wounded and their prisoners, and short of horses and provisions, besides being apprehensive of an attack in the rear from the infuriated savages, that they were obliged to return without being able to reach or break up the principal Indian town. Carrying their wounded on litters, they proceeded as quickly as possible to

Greenville, which they reached on the 24th of December, and thence by easy marches by way of Dayton, Ohio, to winter quarters.

"Their suffering had been very great; the roads were much impaired by frost and snow, the weather was very cold, and provisions were scarce. No less than one hundred and eighty men were more or less frost-bitten."

The Pittsburgh Blues constituted a portion of the force that made the valiant and successful defense of Fort Stevenson, at Lower Sandusky, on the 31st of July, 1813.

The garrison of the little fort was composed of one hundred and fifty men, under a commander (Maj. Croghan) just past his twenty-first year, and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumseh's Indians, was, it is said, three thousand three hundred strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones.

"Proctor demanded a surrender, and told the unvarying story of the danger of provoking a general massacre by the savages unless the fort was yielded, to all of which the representative of young Croghan replied that the Indians would have none left to massacre if the British conquered; for every man of the garrison would have died at his post. Proctor, upon this, opened his fire, which, being concentrated on the northwest angle of the fort, led the commander to think it was meant to make a breach there and carry the works by assault; he therefore proceeded to strengthen that point by bags of sand and flour; while, under cover of the night, he placed his single six-pounder, manned by a sergeant and six of the Pittsburgh Blues, to rake the angle threatened, and then, having charged his infant battery with slugs, and hidden it from the view of the enemy, he awaited the event. During the night of the 1st of August, and till late in the evening of the 2d, the firing on the devoted northwest corner continued; then, under cover of the smoke and gathering darkness, a column of three hundred and fifty men approached, unseen, to within twenty paces of the walls. The musketry opened on them, but with little effect; the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men; at that instant the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant and so directed as to sweep the ditch, was unmasked and fired, killing at once twenty-seven of the assailants. The effect was decisive. The column recoiled, and the little fort was saved with the loss of one man. On the next morning the British and their allies, having the fear of Harrison before their eyes, were gone, leaving behind them in their haste guns, stores and clothing."

The Pittsburgh Blues were at the siege of Fort Meigs, where, as Thurston states, the following incident occurred, which is given in the language of the one who related it:

"I had been in attendance on Capt. Butler, lying sick in one of the block-houses of Fort Meigs during its siege, and starting out one morning to procure some breakfast, saw Sergt. Trovillo cooking coffee over some coals. I told him my errand, and he told me to wait a few minutes and he would divide his

O Mutiny

coffee with me. I took a seat, and in a minute or two afterward heard the peculiar singing of an Indian bullet that entered the ground a short distance from where we were sitting. 'Hurrah!' said I; 'Sergeant, what does that mean?' He pointed to a tree at considerable distance from the pickets, where I observed an Indian perched on one of the branches. He said, with great good humor: 'That rascal, George, has been firing at me ever since I commenced cooking my breakfast.' I swallowed my tin cup of coffee pretty expeditiously, during which, however, I think he fired once or twice, and told Trovillo I was not going to remain a target for the yellow-skins."

In the autumn of 1812 a brigade of militia was raised in Western Pennsylvania, and had its rendezvous at Pittsburgh, where it was under the command of Gen. Crooks, early in October of that year. They were made a part of the force of Gen. Harrison, and went to the Upper Sandusky, where, with other troops, they were engaged in the construction of fortifications. From that point they went to the rapids of the Maumee, where they remained till the expiration of their term of service.

In the summer of 1813 Commodore Perry was at Presqu' Isle (now Erie), building the ships with which, on the 10th of September, he achieved his celebrated victory on Lake Erie. At that time the northern frontier was a wilderness, and the timber for the larger vessels was cut from the neighboring forests. It is stated in the "Annals of the West:" "The rigging for all the fleet was brought from Pittsburgh, where Commodore Perry contracted for it in person with John Irwin and Boyle Irwin, who carried on ropemaking separately at that place.

"The Allegheny river this year continued in good keelboat order till August, a circumstance so unusual that it seems providential, and thus the means were afforded for the conveyance of the manufactured rigging to Erie, while if the river had receded as low as usual, the fleet could not have been rigged in time for the glorious victory which followed."

CHAPTER XI.

MEXICAN WAR.

SOLDIERS FROM ALLEGHENY COUNTY—SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ—BATTLE OF PLAN DEL RIO—CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF MEXICO—PEACE PROCLAIMED—RETURN OF THE TROOPS—LOSSES.

IN 1846 the quiet and peaceful citizens of Allegheny county were called on, for the first time, to take part in the threatened war between Mexico and the United States. The feeling of patriotism was intensified by the appearance

on the streets in Pittsburgh of heavy siege guns, mortars and the various munitions of war that were being hauled from the Allegheny arsenal to the wharf for transportation to the seat of war. These movements roused the military spirit of the citizens; many companies were organized, and their services were proffered to the government; but only one regiment was required from Pennsylvania, and this was rapidly filled. Two companies from Allegheny county were accepted: Company A, Capt. Alexander Hay, and Company K, Capt. John Herron. These were the only two companies accepted. They were mustered in and forwarded to New Orleans in December, 1846, but before they departed for the seat of war another regiment from Pennsylvania was called for and immediately filled. The only company from Allegheny county accepted in this regiment was Company I, Capt. Robert Porter, which was mustered in in January, 1847. It must not be supposed that these three companies alone represented Allegheny county, for many had enlisted in companies from other counties. These two regiments organized by electing the following officers: First regiment, colonel, F. M. Wynkoop; lieutenant-colonel, S. W. Black; major, —— Bowman. Second regiment, colonel, William B. Roberts; lieutenant-colonel, John W. Geary; major, William Brindle.

The two regiments came together at New Orleans, and encamped on the old battle-ground six miles below the city—Camp Jackson—where they received transportation for Lobos island; Gen. Scott's idea being to concentrate his army there previous to his attack on Vera Cruz and the invincible castle of San Juan de Uloa. On the 9th of March the island was evacuated, and the troops were conveyed by the fleet to Anton Lizardo, in sight of Vera Cruz, where they disembarked and proceeded immediately to invest the city, and they were busily engaged day and night making preparations for the bombardment. The change of climate and bad water caused many of our men, unaccustomed to such a life, to break down.

Gen. Worth having his batteries and mortars in position ready to commence his bombardment, Gen. Scott demanded a surrender of the city and castle, as he did not wish to jeopardize the lives and property of the citizens. This was refused by the authorities in command, and the order was given to commence the bombardment, which was begun on the afternoon of the 22d, and was continued day and night, accompanied with great destruction of life and property. On the 24th the Mexicans begged for a cessation of hostilities in order to give them an opportunity to bury their dead. A battery of Paixhan guns was manned by a squad of sailors and marines, and did most effective work. On the 27th the city and castle were both surrendered to the Americans. The Pennsylvania troops were well and ably represented in this siege.

After the surrender of the city a number of sick and disabled of the regiments were either discharged or resigned, among whom were Capt. Alexander Hay and Lieut. Thomas A. Rowley, of Company A, First regiment, and Lieut. Trovillo, of Company K. Gen. Scott remained here completing arrange-

ments until the 7th of April, and then took up the line of march for the interior.

On the evening of the 12th they arrived at Plan del Rio, at the base of Cerro Gordo, where the Mexican army, under Gen. Santa Anna was strongly intrenched. General reconnoissance out of position was made, and on the 17th the enemy was attacked and an important position gained. On the 18th the attack was continued, and resulted in the complete rout of the Mexican army, the capture of many prisoners, five thousand stand of small arms and all their siege guns; Santa Anna narrowly escaping on a mule, leaving his cork leg and a large amount of silver behind. Gen. Scott immediately advanced his army to the city of Jalapa. Three companies of the Second Pennsylvania regiment, under command of Lieut.-Col. John W. Geary, had been left at quarantine on Lobos island on account of smallpox. These three companies now joined their regiment, and after remaining at Jalapa until about the middle of June they were advanced to the city of Puebla. It was necessary for Gen. Scott to keep his line of communication with Vera Cruz open, and additional troops were needed. Two other companies from Allegheny county were accepted, and credited to Maryland and the District of Columbia. These were raised and commanded by Capts. P. N. Guthrie and Thomas A. Rowley, who joined the main army at Puebla in July. This made five full companies of Allegheny county troops: Company A, Pittsburgh Blues, Capt. Hay, Lieuts. Thomas A. Rowley, James O'H. Denny and William Charlton; Company K, Duquesne Greys, Capt. John Herron, Lieuts. William Ankrim, William Trovillo and John W. Hague; Company I, Second regiment, Hibernia Greens, Capt. Robert Porter, Lieuts. William Rankin, James Kane and William P. Skelly. Gen. Scott, after remaining in Puebla holding out the olive branch of peace in vain, ordered an advance of his army, and on the 8th of August moved for the city of Mexico, leaving the First regiment in the city of Puebla. Here the two regiments were separated for the first time. Several of the First regiment, not relishing this order to remain in the city of Puebla, and desirous of participating in the capture of the city of Mexico, secured positions on detached service and accompanied the Second regiment, among whom were O. H. Rippey (late colonel), killed in the rebellion; John Hamilton, Esq., and others. On the morning of the 7th of August, an excessively hot day, Gen. Scott commenced the advance of his army. About sunrise on the 11th, at a bend in the road, the beautiful valley of Mexico suddenly burst upon their view. It was at this point where the hearts of Cortez and his followers three hundred years ago were cheered in their search for the city of Mexico and its untold wealth. On the evening of the 12th the army encamped at the hacienda called Buena Vista, when a careful reconnoissance of the enemy's position showed they were strongly intrenched on the national road, and a council of war was held by Gen. Scott and his subalterns, and it was decided by a majority to enter and attack the city by the Elpinal, which was a very strong fort. Gen. Scott vetoed this decision,

feeling that he could successfully reduce the fort and take the city, but he was not willing to make the sacrifice of life which would ensue; and how would he hold a city of two hundred thousand inhabitants with an army of twelve thousand, which was his numerical strength at this time? He made a feint of attacking the Elpinal by means of floating batteries on Lake Chalco. He next countermarched and made a detour to the left, passing around Lake Chalco over a rough pedrigal road. After overcoming most formidable obstacles, he found the enemy strongly intrenched at Contratres, and early on the morning of the 19th he attacked them, drove them from their trenches, capturing many prisoners and munitions of war. The next day he attacked them in their strong defenses at Cherubusco.

He was again victorious, capturing many prisoners. The Mexicans were somewhat discouraged and disheartened, and asked for an armistice, which was agreed to. This armistice remained in force from August 22d to September 8th. When Gen. Scott discovered they were violating the terms of the armistice and were strengthening themselves to renew hostilities, he ordered Gen. Worth to attack Molino del Rey, where they were engaged in making cannons and balls from the church bells. On the 8th of September, after a hard and bitter contest, Worth captured the fort. The next point of attack was the castle of Chepultepec, which protected the city. This castle was a military college, situated on a rocky eminence, formed perhaps by a volcanic eruption. On the 11th it was bombarded by our batteries, and on the morning of the 12th a general charge was made, and was successful. The army, following up the advantage, pressed forward to the city, distant about three miles, and after a bitter conflict, which lasted all the afternoon, Gen. Quitman effected an entrance through the walls of the city by the Garita de Bellen, and Gen. Worth's division fought its way by Garita Sancosme. On the morning of the 13th of September, 1847, the American army was in possession of the city and its castles, and dictating terms of peace to the vanquished in the famous halls of Montezuma. We may now pause and take a retrospect of what had been done by Gen. Scott and his victorious army. He had entered a hostile country by capturing a fort that was considered impregnable, made his way into the interior some three hundred miles, captured all their strong forts, this with an army of twelve thousand. This was unparalleled in the history of war. When he entered the valley of Mexico, in August, his army comprised four divisions, commanded by Gens. Worth, Quitman, Twiggs and Pillow, making a total of twelve thousand men. The Mexican army fought in their own country, at points of their own selection, and were well acquainted with the topography of the region; Gen Scott did not lose a battle. The army remained in the city of Mexico for nine months, till the treaty of peace was signed at Guadelupe Hidalgo, and received orders for marching home May 29, 1848. They returned by the same route they went, but the ranks of these two regiments were sadly depleted. Many of the men died at Vera Cruz, Jalapa, Perrote and

Puebla, among them Col. William B. Roberts, of the Second, who died a few days after the capture of the city. His remains were brought home by Lieut. Kane, of Pittsburgh. B. Alwood and Hugh Bateman, of the First regiment, died at Vera Cruz. More died from sickness than casualties in battle. James Sample, of Allegheny, lost a leg at Chepultepec, and St. Lenox Rey lost a leg at Molino del Rey. Everyone was happy and rejoicing at the thought of starting for home in a few days, and congratulations between comrades were many; preparations for the journey were at once commenced.

It was designed by the members of the regiments to bring home the remains of a number of their comrades. Robert D. Nicholson and Joseph Berk, of Company I, Second regiment, were detailed to go to Puebla, and prepare the bodies of some comrades to be taken to Pittsburgh. They left the camp at San Angel on the 1st of June, two days previous to the marching of the regiment. They went away in good spirits, expecting to rejoin their regiment in a few days at Puebla. This was the last seen or heard of these two men. A number of our men had been assassinated by the guerrillas who still infested the mountains and passes, and it is supposed these two were murdered, as no tidings were heard of them when the regiments reached Puebla. There was still a hope that something could be heard or known of them at Jalapa or Vera Cruz, but all efforts failed to reveal anything of their fate. The widowed mother of Joseph Berk, when she heard of the return of the regiment, hastened to Wheeling to meet her son, and was overwhelmed with grief in not finding him among the returned. Her grief was so great she lost her mind. The widow of Robert D. Nicholson and her son of the same name still reside in the Sixth ward of Pittsburgh.

The regiment, on account of the hot weather, after leaving Puebla, rested through the day and marched at night. On the 20th of June the regiment embarked on the steamer Mary Kingsland for New Orleans; some idea of the depletion of the regiment may be formed, when it is remembered that one steamer was required to transport two companies on leaving Pittsburgh, but on the return one steamer was sufficient for the entire regiment landed at New Orleans. This regiment was taken on the steamer Taglioni to Pittsburgh, where they landed on the 10th of July, 1848. Company I left Pittsburgh for the seat of war with eighty-six men for duty, and returned with but thirty. This would be a safe standard by which to judge of the fatalities of the other companies. The regiment was mustered out of the service on the 18th of July, 1848.

CHAPTER XII.

WAR OF THE REBELLION.

REGIMENTS FROM ALLEGHENY—RELIEF AND OTHER COMMITTEES—MILITARY SUPPLIES—THE 1863 "SCARE"—DEFENSE OF PITTSBURGH—SKETCHES OF REGIMENTS.

WITH the political events which led to the great rebellion every student of American history is familiar; it is not necessary to speak here in detail of the great war which followed the secession of a portion of the states from the Union, a war which severely tested the cohesive force of the government, and by means of which was accomplished the enfranchisement of four millions of negro slaves.

The brilliant record in that war of Allegheny county, and of the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, claims a closer attention.

When it was rumored on the 24th of December, 1860, that an order for the removal of seven hundred tons of arms and war material from the arsenal at Lawrenceville to New Orleans had been received, the people of Allegheny county were wild with excitement. In the afternoon of the 25th a meeting of influential citizens was held at the comptroller's office, and a committee was appointed to confer with the officers of the arsenal and request a suspension of the execution of the order till communication could be had with the authorities at Washington. It was learned that the order for the shipment of the guns had been received, and that the steamer Silver Wave was then lying at the wharf ready to receive them.

More than fifty of the first citizens of Pittsburgh signed a request to the mayor for the calling of a meeting of the citizens of the city and vicinity, "for the purpose of expressing their opinions upon the act of the war department in ordering the available ordnance in the arsenal at this city to be forwarded to southern ports, also to take such action in the premises, either by memorializing the president on the subject, or otherwise, as the exigencies seem to require."

The meeting was held on the 27th, and was the largest that had ever assembled in Pittsburgh. A series of resolutions, entirely peaceful in their character, were adopted. They set forth that the people had learned with surprise and indignation that the ordnance was to be removed to points where it was not needed, and where it would be exposed to seizure by those who were in actual or threatened revolt against the government; that, notwithstanding the fact that the rulers were disarming the friends to strengthen the ene-

mies of the government, they had confidence in their ability to sustain the constitution and the laws; that they deprecated any unlawful interference with the shipment of the arms, as such interference would imply the same want of respect for the laws manifested by the citizens of the seceding states; that they deplored the existence of such a condition of things as to have shaken the confidence of the people in the just administration of affairs at the seat of government; that in their opinion the president should purge his cabinet of everyone who was giving aid and comfort to those in actual or apprehended revolt, and calling on him, as a citizen of Pennsylvania, to see to it that the republic received no detriment while in his hands.

Notwithstanding the pacific tone of these resolutions, there was among the people an intense feeling of opposition to the shipment of the guns, and threats were made of violent resistance to such shipment.

A meeting was called on the 30th, and while this was in session a detachment of troops moved from the arsenal in charge of a train of guns that were to be taken to the Silver Wave for shipment. By the exertions of influential citizens the train was halted to allow time to obtain a communication from the government countermanding the order for removal. Messages had for several days been passing between Pittsburgh and Washington, with the view of obtaining the countermand; but red tape stood in the way of a prompt transmission of the order. At this critical moment such a message was received from Edwin M. Stanton, then attorney-general, as enabled a committee from the meeting to allay the excitement of the people and prevent acts of violence. The cannon were conveyed to the wharf, and some of them were placed on the steamer; but no more were taken there, and three days later the order for their shipment was countermanded.

"This was the first decided action anywhere in the north against the rebellion. The movement was in the hands of men fully as determined as Adams and his coadjutors, and the public feeling, while awaiting the countermanding of the order, was quite as intense as that which pervaded Faneuil Hall."

On the 12th of April, 1861, the news was received in Pittsburgh that the bombardment of Fort Sumter was commenced. As in all parts of the north, intense excitement was occasioned by the news. At the theater that night the play was interrupted by the outburst of applause on the reception of the news that the fort was returning the fire, and the excitement could with difficulty be allayed so as to allow the performance to proceed. At the request of more than one hundred and fifty citizens the mayor issued a call for a public meeting on the evening of the 15th. On the 14th the situation was the engrossing subject of thought and conversation, and before the time of the meeting on the 15th nearly every military company in the county had tendered its services to the government.

The enthusiasm at the meeting on the 15th was greater than had ever before been witnessed. Stirring speeches were made and ringing resolutions

were adopted, and the different military organizations vied with each other in their alacrity to place themselves in readiness for service.

By the 17th orders were received by Gen. Negley, the officer in command here, to forward two regiments to Washington, which was done as soon as practicable, the first detachment starting that evening.

At the suggestion of many prominent citizens a committee of public safety, consisting of some one hundred and fifty, was appointed, and on the 18th it first met for organization. Sub-committees were appointed for various departments of its work, and it at once entered on its efficient and useful labors. A relief committee was appointed, and in this the work in the different wards was assigned to different members. This committee did good service in dispensing relief to the families of those who had gone forth to fight the battles of their country.

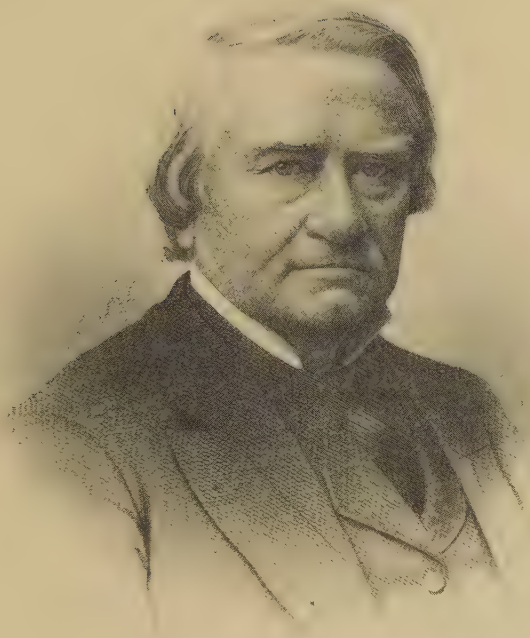
The ladies exhibited no lack of promptitude in tendering such services as they could render, as will be seen by the following, which was published on the 22d of April, addressed to Gov. Johnson, chairman of the executive committee of public safety:

DEAR SIR—The undersigned tender to your committee their services in making bandages, supplying lint and nursing the sick of the volunteers from Pennsylvania or other states. We are willing to go where and when called on. Our neighbors, relatives and friends are in the ranks, and we are anxious to be useful, as far as we can, to serve the cause of our country and humanity.

This was signed by about one hundred ladies. Their services were accepted, and the hope was expressed that similar organizations would be formed throughout the country.

The same alacrity which was shown in Pittsburgh was exhibited throughout the county, and within ten days from the outbreak of hostilities notice was received that no more troops were wanted under the original call for seventy-five thousand.

The position of Pittsburgh at the head of navigation on the Ohio river, and its great railroad facilities, made it the point through which more troops passed in their movements between the east and west than through any other. Early in the summer of 1861 the fact became known that a regiment from the west had complained loudly of hunger during its passage through the city. The patriotic feeling of the citizens would not permit a repetition of this, and a subsistence committee was established for the purpose of furnishing meals to troops as they passed through the city. The first regiment was regaled by that committee in the latter part of July, 1861; and from that time till 1866 refreshments were offered to every body of troops that passed through the city, whether by night or day. More than four hundred thousand soldiers were furnished with meals or midnight lunches by this committee. The expense of thus feeding the defenders of the country was defrayed by voluntary contributions.



John Harper

In the spring and summer of 1864 preparations were made for holding an immense sanitary fair, the character and purposes of which were indicated by its name. Extensive buildings were constructed in Allegheny City park, covering an aggregate of about one hundred thousand square feet of space. Contributions poured in from all quarters, and on the 1st of June the fair was opened, and for the month of its existence it was crowded by thousands of people who were anxious to contribute to the fund which it was proposed to raise. A sum amounting to more than $360,000 was realized, of which $200,000 remained unexpended at the close of the war. This sum was given as an endowment to the Western Pennsylvania hospital, which had during the war been used as a government military hospital.

An equally good work was done here after the battle of Shiloh. Two steamboats were fitted out here to go to Shiloh, carrying with them physicians and surgeons and hospital supplies to that battle-field, to gather up the wounded and bring them to Pittsburgh for restoration to health. They gathered up full loads for the two boats, and as the steamers passed up the Ohio those who desired it were left at cities and landings as near their homes as possible. Fifty-four were brought on to this city. Of these, eight died in the hospital; the rest recovered, and were sent home as soon as able to travel.

It may here be said that the manufacturing facilities of Pittsburgh were, during the entire period of the war, utilized by the government for furnishing military supplies; shot, shell, cannon, armor-plates, saddles, harness, wagons, gun-carriages, caissons, clothing, accouterments and munitions of war were produced here on an extensive scale, and the mills and manufactories wore the appearance of departments of an extensive arsenal. This condition of things, and the almost constant passage of troops through the streets, gave to the place more the appearance of an immense arsenal or camp than of a city.

The reverse which the Union troops encountered at the first Bull run battle caused in Allegheny county, as in all parts of the loyal north, an intense excitement, but it was of a character different from that produced by the attack on Fort Sumter. The people awoke to the fact that they were to face the realities of grim-visaged war; that the rebellion was more than a mere scare, and that those who enlisted in the army were to go forth to fight a determined foe, and possibly to lay down their lives in the effort to maintain the Union. The patriotism of the people, however, did not diminish, but became more intense and determined in its character as the gravity of the situation became more apparent. If the reverses which had overtaken the Union forces emboldened those who were secretly in sympathy with the rebels to give even cautious expressions to their disloyal sentiments, they also intensified the loyal feeling of unionists.

At the first meeting of the committee of public safety the organization of home guards was resolved on, and a sub-committee on such organization was appointed. Within three weeks sixty-four companies, with an average of

seventy members each, were organized, and the banks of Pittsburgh, through the efforts of the venerable John Harper, Esq., president of the Bank of Pittsburgh, contributed a fund for the purchase of the arms and equipments of these companies. Although these "stay-at-home soldiers" were sometimes made the subjects of unkind jeers, they proved to be the source whence were derived many recruits. "There was not one of the companies that did not contribute largely of its members, already well drilled in arms, from time to time, to the various companies and regiments that under the several calls for troops entered active service, while not only regimental commanders, but able general officers as well, were furnished from this school of soldiers."

In 1863 occurred the great "scare" in this county. Some time prior to the arrival of Lee in Pennsylvania, in June, 1863, raids of the rebel forces were made into Southern Pennsylvania, and rebel scouts came as far inland as Mount Union, on the Juniata. Some troops even penetrated as far as McConnellsburg, in Fulton county, and small bodies of soldiers were as near to us as Morgantown, on the upper Monongahela. Before all this happened, however, the authorities at Washington became infected with the "scare." On Sunday evening, June 14, 1863, dispatches were received by Maj.-Gen. Brooks, then commanding the department of the Monongahela, from Secretary Stanton and Maj.-Gen. Halleck, stating that the city was in danger from the rebel forces, and advising that this city be put at once into a state of defense. A meeting was at once called of the prominent citizens, by Gen. Brooks, for consultation. It being Sunday evening, most of the citizens were at church, but messengers routed them out in a hurry. The meeting lasted till midnight. It was determined that the workshops should all be closed, and the men be employed in throwing up earthworks around the city, under the superintendence of government engineers. This course was pursued, and the work lasted for two weeks. The intrenchments extended from Saw Mill run, on the south side, along the top of Coal hill to a point opposite Four Mile run; thence across the country from the Monongahela to the Allegheny, and on the Allegheny side, along the Ohio river. Parts of these works are still discernible, but they are gradually disappearing. The work was well done, and would have been serviceable, if ever needed; but no enemy ever appeared. It is probable that, if such a design was ever entertained by the rebel leaders, the news of this preparation for them deterred them from even trying to carry their designs into execution. But no good evidence, beyond the fears of Stanton and Halleck, has ever been produced to show that any such design was seriously formed. It may have been cherished as a favorite idea by some dreamer, and even canvassed carefully; but it remains to be shown that it was ever seriously thought of. It is true that Pittsburgh, as a point for manufacturing guns and other munitions of war, would be of great value to the rebels, if they could take it and hold it, and Pittsburghers were fond of thinking of the place as essential, for such purposes, to the rebel leaders; but we doubt if the rebel leaders ever gave as much

importance to it in regard to these matters as our own people did; and certainly its defensible condition was too clear, and its distance from their base of action too great, to warrant them in thinking either its capture or retention possible. The people showed their willingness and ability to defend themselves, and that was a lesson as good for them as it was conclusive to the rebels; nevertheless, the "scare" of Stanton and Halleck seems to have been without good foundation.

Altogether, the military record of Allegheny county is one its citizens may justly be proud of. They did their duty manfully in 1812 and 1846; and when the unusual circumstances of 1861 made extraordinary demands upon them, they responded heartily, and turned out what was equivalent to a small army in defense of the government. And the soldiers furnished were all good, efficient men, not mere militia nor camp-followers. The city prospered, it is true, while they were away, but not because they were away, and it contributed liberally and manfully to their comfort, welcomed them home when all was over, and soon absorbed them as a part of itself, as if they had never been away. Thousands of strangers came in to take the places they left, yet they all found places when they returned, thus demonstrating its ability not merely to furnish an army to the government from among its population, but to rehabilitate all who returned as if their places had specially been reserved for them. Beyond the annual Grand Army parade, and an occasional halting step on the pavement, or an armless sleeve, and quarter-day at the pension-office, there is nothing to show that there ever was any war, or that the city ever had sent out the eighth of its citizens as soldiers for the defense of the republic.

It has already been stated that of the three-months volunteers Allegheny county furnished its full quota, and that many offered themselves who could not be accepted. Twenty-four companies went from this county, one in the Third regiment, three in the Fifth, five in the Seventh, six in the Twelfth, eight in the Thirteenth and one in the Fourteenth. Of these regiments only the Seventh was in any engagement. On the 25th of June, 1861, they were attacked by rebel cavalry, but the latter were repulsed with the loss of six men and three horses. The regiment crossed the Potomac on the 2d of July, marched to Martinsburg, captured a quantity of flour, and seized and destroyed a hundred and fifty barrels of whisky. A detachment afterward captured three of the enemy's pickets. The soldiers in these regiments passed their terms of enlistment in drilling, guard, picket and fatigue duty, and the bloodless service to which they were subjected became to many of them exceedingly irksome. Many if not most of these volunteers re-enlisted after the expiration of their three-months terms, and able and efficient officers were furnished from among them.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Of the three-years regiments the Eleventh had one company from Alle-

gheny county. Most of the men of this regiment had been three-months volunteers, and re-enlisted. Their first winter was passed at Annapolis, Md., where they were engaged in guard and fatigue duty. In the summer of 1862 they were engaged at Cedar Mountain, at Graveyard hill, on the Rappahannock, at Thoroughfare gap, second Bull run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam and Fredericksburg. In 1863 the regiment was in action at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

A large portion of the regiment re-enlisted early in 1864, and from that time until the surrender near Appomattox, it was actively engaged in the operations of the Army of the Potomac, and bore its part in the hardships and battles of that army.

TWENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

The Twenty-eighth, which was uniformed and equipped at the expense of Col. Geary, had three companies from Allegheny county, and from surplus recruits Knap's battery was formed. In August, 1861, the regiment entered active service in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and was engaged in several minor actions during the summer. In October a severe battle was fought at Bolivar Heights, and in the same month another at Ball's Bluff and Nolan's Ferry. During the winter of 1861–62 they frequently skirmished with the enemy, and in March, 1862, they assisted in dislodging the enemy from London Heights and Leesburg, and occupied the latter from that time till midsummer. They had an active part in the operations of the army in Virginia. They were engaged in the severe battles of the unfortunate campaign under Gen. Pope, and also in those of the Antietam campaign under Gen. McClellan. They were at the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and in that of Gettysburg in July, 1863. In all these campaigns they were constantly on active duty.

In the autumn of 1863 the corps of which the Twenty-eighth formed a part was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, and in the campaigns of the west and south, and in the "march to the sea," it was constantly active. It was said of it that during its four years of service its casualties were equal to its original muster; that it served in twelve different states, and was engaged in as many skirmishes and battles as any regiment in the United States army.

THIRTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT, EIGHTH RESERVE.

What were known as the reserve regiments were recruited under a state law authorizing the raising of fifteen regiments to meet what was then supposed to be a threatened emergency. These regiments were afterward mustered into the service of the United States as Pennsylvania volunteers, but they also retained their designation as reserves.

The Thirty-seventh had three companies from Allegheny county. It went to Washington late in July, 1861, and soon afterward went into camp at Ten-

nallytown. In October it moved to Langley, Va., and established its winter quarters there.

In the spring of 1862 it broke camp and started for the peninsula, where it participated in the operations of Gen. McClellan's army. It was in action at Mechanicsville, Gaines' mill, White Oak swamp and other places in the peninsular campaign.

In August, 1862, it joined the army of Gen. Pope, and had part in the second Bull run campaign. The campaign in Maryland followed, and on the 14th of September the Thirty-seventh was fiercely engaged at South Mountain, and again at Antietam on the 17th. The next severe action was at Fredericksburg, where it lost heavily. In February, 1863, the regiment, with other troops, was ordered to the defenses of Washington, where it remained, engaged in various duties, till the spring of 1864. In April of that year it started for the Wilderness, where it arrived on the 4th of May, and was engaged in the actions there and at Spottsylvania. On the 17th, the term of the regiment having expired, it was relieved from duty at the front. The veterans and recruits were transferred to the One Hundred and Ninety-first regiment, and the rest of the men returned to Pittsburgh, where the regiment was mustered out of service on the 24th of May.

THIRTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT, NINTH RESERVE.

Eight of the companies composing this regiment were recruited in Allegheny county. It was organized on the 28th of June, 1861, and left Pittsburgh for Washington on the 23d of July, and was mustered into the United States service on the 28th. At Washington it was engaged in camp, picket and fatigue duty till the 9th of October, when it moved into Virginia and established winter quarters near Langley. On the 9th of November a detachment went on a reconnoissance to Hunter's mills, and on the 20th of December the regiment went with its brigade to Dranesville, where it participated in a spirited engagement. It returned to its quarters, and remained till the middle of March. It then broke camp, and after several marches and campings embarked for the peninsula, where it arrived on the 19th of June. On the 26th it took part in the battle of Mechanicsville, and soon afterward was engaged at Gaines' mill. For several days it bore an active part in the fighting in that vicinity.

On the 16th of August the regiment embarked for the Army of Northern Virginia under Gen. Pope. It landed at Acquia creek, and after a forced march of five days it met the enemy at Groveton on the 29th. On the 31st it was engaged at Chantilly. After a brief rest it went forward, and met the enemy again at South Mountain on the 14th of September, and on the 17th it participated in the battle of Antietam. It was engaged at Fredericksburg on the 12th of December, where, as at South Mountain and Antietam, it did excellent service.

After the "mud" march the regiment was ordered to Washington, to reor-

ganize and recruit. In June, 1863, it again entered on active service in the movements which culminated in the battle of Gettysburg, in which it was engaged, and after which it joined in the pursuit of Gen. Lee.

It entered on the spring campaign of 1864, after resting and recruiting during the winter, but while standing in the line ready for action at the Wilderness, it was ordered to Washington. Its term of service had expired, and on the 4th of May it started for Pittsburgh, where it arrived on the 8th, and it was mustered out of the service on the 13th.

FORTY-FOURTH REGIMENT, FIRST CAVALRY.

Company K of this regiment was recruited in part in Allegheny county, and joined the regiment in Washington in August, 1861. The regiment was organized as the Fifteenth of the reserve corps. The balance of the summer of 1861 was passed in drilling and perfecting the organization of the regiment. Late in November it entered on active service, and scouted the country toward Dranesville, and in the battle at that place a portion was engaged.

On the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1862 it moved with the army toward Manassas. In May it entered on the campaign in the Shenandoah valley, and was constantly engaged in scouting and skirmishing. Late in June it returned to Manassas, where it rested two weeks. It then joined in the advance of Gen. Pope, and participated in the operations which culminated in the second battle of Bull run. In these operations it performed the usual service of cavalry, scouting, skirmishing and striking the enemy wherever a weak point could be discovered.

During the campaign in Maryland the regiment picketed the approaches to Washington, and sent out occasional detachments. On the close of that campaign it resumed active duty, which it continued till the battle of Fredericksburg, in which it participated. It then moved to Belle Main landing, where it went into winter quarters. During the winter it did picket duty along the Rappahannock and sent out occasional scouting-parties. On the 12th of April, 1863, it entered on the spring campaign, and during the entire summer it was on active duty, taking part in several engagements.

During the winter of 1863-64 there was little rest for cavalry. Scouts and raids into the enemy's lines kept the men almost constantly on duty. Of scarcely four hundred men present for duty it furnished a daily aggregate of ninety-five for picket duty, with nearly an equal number for scouts, guards and other details.

The spring campaign of 1864 commenced in the latter part of April, and from that time till the close of its term of service the First was constantly on duty. Of sixty-one days that passed after the commencement of Grant's grand campaign against Richmond fifty-four were spent by the cavalry in either marching, scouting, picketing or fighting. It took part in several severe actions, and lost heavily.

The term of service of the regiment expired in August, 1864. The veterans and recruits, numbering four hundred, organized in a battalion, and afterward formed a part of the Second Provisional cavalry. The balance of the men were mustered out at Philadelphia on the 9th of September.

FORTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

Companies B and F of this regiment were recruited in Allegheny county. It was organized on the 1st of September, 1861, and soon afterward joined the command of Gen. Banks on the upper Potomac. It passed the winter of 1861–62 in drill and camp duty, and in the spring of 1862 entered on the campaign of the Shenandoah valley. Three companies of the regiment were engaged with the enemy near Kernstown. The entire regiment was engaged at the battle of Winchester, and did good service during the retreat from the valley.

The regiment was next engaged at the battle of Cedar Mountain, where it fought bravely and suffered severely, losing seventy killed, wounded and prisoners. It was next in action at Antietam, where its loss was comparatively slight. It passed the winter of 1862–63 at Harper's Ferry, Fairfax Station and Stafford Court House. It was engaged at Chancellorsville early in May, and in that campaign lost four killed and several wounded. It was next engaged, July 3d, at Gettysburg, where its loss was not great.

In the autumn of 1863 the Forty-sixth, with its corps, was transferred to Tennessee, and spent some time in guarding the Nashville & Chattanooga railroad, which was subject to frequent attacks from guerrillas.

A large proportion of the regiment re-enlisted early in 1864, and received a veteran furlough, from which they returned with ranks recruited.

Early in May the Forty-sixth, with Gen. Sherman's army, entered on the memorable Atlanta campaign. It participated in the engagements at Dallas, Pine Knob, Kenesaw mountain and Marietta, and in all these actions its loss was fourteen killed and about thirty wounded. It was again in action at Peach Tree creek, where it lost ten killed and twenty-two wounded; and in the last battle between Sherman and Hood it lost six killed and several wounded.

The regiment was in Gen. Sherman's army on its "march to the sea," which was reached on the 21st of December. It then turned northward, and was mustered out near Alexandria, Va., July 16, 1865.

FORTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

Company K of this regiment was recruited in Pittsburgh. On the 11th of January, 1863, it was consolidated with other companies and became Company B.

The regiment was organized September 14, 1861, and moved to Washington on the 22d of the same month.

On the 10th of March it broke camp and went forward, and on the 4th of

May it encountered the enemy at Williamsburg, Va. It was again in action on the 27th and 28th on Garnett's hill and at Golding's farm. It moved to Harrison's Landing, where it suffered much from sickness.

In August it went to the scene of Gen. Pope's retreat, but did not arrive in season to participate in the fighting there. Early in September it started on the Maryland campaign. It was in action at Crampton's gap on the 14th, and was present, though not engaged, at the battle of Antietam on the 17th. It was again under fire, though not engaged, at Fredericksburg December 13th. It also went on the "mud march." It was again in action near Fredericksburg about the 1st of May, 1863. It was under fire, but not actively engaged, at Gettysburg, and participated in the pursuit of Gen. Lee. At Rappahannock Station the brigade of which the Forty-ninth was a part captured four guns and caissons, a pontoon, eight battle-flags, two thousand stand of arms and sixteen hundred prisoners.

A portion of the regiment re-enlisted, received a veteran furlough, and returned with ranks recruited. It entered on the Wilderness campaign in May, 1864, and was in action on the 4th and 5th. It was again engaged on the 9th, with a loss of sixty-four killed. On the 12th it was again engaged at Spottsylvania Court House, with heavy loss. It was again in action at Cold Harbor, and participated in operations before Petersburg.

It was with Gen. Sheridan in his Shenandoah valley campaign, and had an honorable part in the battle of Winchester. It returned to the trenches in front of Petersburg, and went into winter quarters at Fort Wadsworth.

It entered on its last campaign April 1, 1865. Its last fight was at Little Sailor's creek, where a large force of the enemy was captured. It was mustered out on the 15th of July, 1865.

FIFTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Companies C and E of this regiment were recruited partly in Allegheny county. On the 14th of December, 1861, they moved from Camp Curtin to Washington, and encamped during the winter. In February, 1862, they joined the Army of the Potomac, and in March went to Fortress Monroe. In April they went to Yorktown, where during a month they labored and slept in the mud, and engaged in one sharp skirmish. Early in May they went to Williamsburg, arriving too late for the battle there, but on the 31st of that month they were hotly engaged at Fair Oaks, losing seven killed and forty-nine wounded. On the 30th of June they were in action near Charles City cross-roads, and lost seven killed and fifty-six wounded. The next day they were in action at Malvern Hill.

In August they joined the army of Gen. Pope in Northern Virginia, and participated in the actions of second Bull run and Chantilly. They were next in action at Fredericksburg, where they lost twenty-one killed, seventy-six wounded and seventy-eight missing.

Albert M. Harper

In the latter part of April, 1863, they left their winter quarters, and on the 3d of May were engaged at Chancellorsville. After a month's rest they started on the Gettysburg campaign, and took part in that battle and the pursuit of Gen. Lee. They were engaged at Auburn creek October 13th, at Kelley's Ford November 7th and at Locust Grove November 12th.

They went into winter quarters at Culpeper, and in January, 1864, two-thirds of their number re-enlisted, and received a veteran furlough. They returned with recruited ranks, and in May resumed active operations. They were severely engaged on the 4th of May, losing twenty-two killed and one hundred and twenty-eight wounded. They were again in action on the 12th, but with less of a loss. From that time on through the summer and autumn of 1864 they were in active service, marching, fighting, establishing new lines and erecting fortifications.

In January, 1865, they were consolidated with the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania. In the spring they entered on the final campaign of the war, in which they took an active part up to the time of the surrender of Lee's army. They were mustered out at Alexandria on the 22d of June.

SIXTIETH REGIMENT, THIRD CAVALRY.

This regiment, Company G of which was from Allegheny county, assembled at Washington in August, 1861. It passed the balance of the summer in drilling, and wintered at Camp Marcy, three miles from Chain bridge.

On the 10th of March, 1862, it started with the army of Gen. McClellan, and was actively engaged in scouting, picketing, skirmishing and fighting through the peninsular campaign.

The Third was actively employed in the Maryland campaign, discharging the usual duties of cavalry, protecting the flanks of columns and repelling attacks from hostile cavalry. The winter of 1862–63 was passed in scouting and picketing in the vicinity of Warrenton and the Rappahannock river. It made a brilliant dash across the river at Kelley's Ford on the 16th of March, 1863, and scattered the forces of Fitz Lee and Stuart. In April it went on a cavalry raid through Southern Virginia, in which much rebel property was destroyed.

The Third bore a prominent part in the maneuvering and skirmishing during the invasion of Pennsylvania by Lee, and at the battle of Gettysburg it was engaged in a fierce hand-to-hand fight with the cavalry of the enemy. It aided in harassing the army of Gen. Lee on its retreat from Pennsylvania, and during the rest of the summer and autumn it was kept constantly on the move, sometimes scouting, sometimes disputing the passage of fords, sometimes fighting guerrillas, and several times it was engaged in severe battles.

In December it went into winter quarters near Warrenton, Va., but its service during the winter of 1863–64 was more severe than its campaign of the preceding summer. The re-enlistment of veteran volunteers took place during

the winter, and so great had been the suffering of the men in their arduous duties, with poor supplies, that only seventy-five were willing to re-enlist.

In May, 1864, the regiment entered on the Wilderness campaign, in all of which it was on active duty. In July the original term of service expired, and the two portions of the regiment separated, one part going to Philadelphia, where it arrived on the 20th of August, and was soon mustered out. The veteran battalion remained, and was in active service during the rest of the summer and autumn.

In May, 1865, it went to Richmond, and was there engaged in provost duty till it gradually drifted out of the service.

SIXTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

This was recruited in the summer of 1861, at Pittsburgh, and six of the companies were raised mostly in Allegheny county. Before its ranks were full it went to Washington, and for a time was engaged in building a fort south of the Potomac. Late in March, 1862, it proceeded by transports to Fortress Monroe. It marched to Yorktown, and thence, through mud and rain, to Williamsburg, arriving too late for the battle at that place. It marched up the peninsula, making two reconnoissances on the way, and arrived at Seven Pines, where it went into action on the 31st of May. In this severe engagement the casualties of the regiment amounted to eleven officers and two hundred and sixty-nine men killed, wounded or missing. It was in action at Turkey Bend, and the next day it was in the sanguinary battle of Malvern Hill, where its loss was two officers and thirty-two men. July 2d it went to Harrison's Landing, and thence, August 16th, via Williamsburg to Yorktown, whence it soon moved by transports to Alexandria. It went on the Maryland campaign, did picket duty along the Potomac, and reached the Antietam battle-field on the evening of the 17th—after the battle. It went thence to Williamsport, to Downsville, and to the vicinity of Warrenton, where it remained till the opening of the Fredericksburg campaign. It was engaged in that battle, but did not lose heavily.

Early in May, 1863, it went with other troops to Marye's Heights, which were carried by storm, and soon afterward it was in action at Salem Heights. On the 13th of June it marched for Pennsylvania, and arrived on the field of Gettysburg in the midst of the battle. Its loss there was not severe.

After the pursuit of Lee was abandoned the regiment, as a part of a corps of observation, made various marches. On the 7th of November it participated in a brilliant action at Rappahannock Station, and soon afterward it went into winter quarters at Brandy Station.

During the winter of 1863–64 its numbers were considerably strengthened, and on May 4th of the latter year it entered on the Wilderness campaign. It was engaged on the 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th and 17th. In these actions, and the skirmishing which followed during several days, the loss of the regi-

ment aggregated about thirty officers and four hundred enlisted men. On the 13th of June it marched to the neighborhood of Petersburg, where during four weeks it was engaged in the operations of the siege.

On the 9th of July the regiment started for Washington, where it arrived and marched through the city on the 11th, and on the 12th it was engaged in a sanguinary battle at Fort Stevens, losing thirty-three men killed and wounded. It pursued the enemy some distance and returned, and during a month it marched and countermarched through Maryland and the Shenandoah valley. On the 21st of August it was in action near Charlestown, Va., losing six killed and sixteen wounded.

On the 3d of September the men whose term of service had expired proceeded to Philadelphia and were mustered out. The veterans and recruits were consolidated in five companies, known as the battalion of the Sixty-first regiment. On the 19th of September it went, under Sheridan, toward Winchester, and was in the battle of Opequan, where it lost twenty-two killed and wounded. Following the enemy, it fought again at Fisher's Hill on the 22d. On the 19th of October it was in the battle of Cedar creek, which commenced with "Sheridan twenty miles away." Its loss here was sixteen killed and wounded.

After this battle it received some accessions to its ranks, and early in December took its place in front of Petersburg, where it remained to the end of the siege.

In March, 1865, two companies were added to the command, and on the 25th of that month it was in action, losing eighteen. Its last fight was at Sailor's creek, three days prior to the surrender at Appomattox. It afterward marched to Danville, returned to Richmond, then to Washington, where it participated in the "great review." It was mustered out of the service on the 28th of June, and on its return to Pittsburgh was entertained at a grand banquet.

SIXTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

This was first the Thirty-third Independent regiment, but afterward the Sixty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers. Six of the companies—A, B, F, G, K and L—were raised in Allegheny county. In August, 1861, the regiment, with full ranks, went to Washington, and encamped in the suburbs of the city. After several moves and much fatigue duty it established its winter quarters at Minor's hill. Here a rigid system of discipline and drill was established and continued through the winter. On the 10th of March, 1862, it moved to Manassas, then to Alexandria, whence it went on transports to Fortress Monroe, and thence, on the 3d of April, to Yorktown, where it was first under fire. On the 8th of May it moved up the York river, and on the 27th was in action at Hanover Court House. A month was spent in picket duty and constructing bridges and roads. On the 26th of June it was under fire at Beaver Dam creek, but was not actively engaged. At Gaines' mill it was hotly engaged, and its

colonel, S. W. Black, was killed. On the 31st it was in the battle of Malvern Hill, suffering severely. Its entire loss in the engagements on the peninsula was two hundred and ninety-eight killed, wounded and missing.

In the middle of August the Sixty-second left the peninsula, marched to Newport News, embarked on transports for Acquia creek, and entered on the second Bull run campaign. It was slightly engaged at Gainesville on the 27th. The Maryland campaign followed, and the regiment was in the battle of Antietam. It was next in action in December, at Fredericksburg, but its loss there was not heavy. It participated in the "mud" campaign, and was at the battle of Chancellorsville, but was not largely engaged. It participated in the Gettysburg campaign, and lost heavily in the battle at that place. It took part in the "campaign of maneuvers" in the autumn of 1863, and went into winter quarters at Licking run.

With ranks recruited the regiment, on the 1st of May, 1864, entered on the Wilderness campaign. It was first engaged on the 5th, and during the rest of the month was more or less heavily engaged. At the battle of Bethesda church its losses were very heavy.

On the 16th of June it arrived in front of Petersburg, and on the 18th had a sharp fight near the Norfolk & Petersburg railroad. It was again engaged on the 21st at Jerusalem plank-road with small loss. It then did picket and fatigue duty till July 3d, when the term of service of the original companies expired. In one month of this campaign it lost one officer and twenty-eight men killed, eleven officers and two hundred and twenty-seven men wounded, and one officer and thirty men missing, It started for Pittsburgh on the 4th of July, and was mustered out of service on its arrival.

SIXTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Companies A, B, D, E, H, I and K of this regiment were recruited mostly in Allegheny county. Alexander Hays, a graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican war, was the colonel. The regiment went in detachments to Washington during the summer of 1861, and early in October it crossed the Potomac and went into camp on the road between Alexandria and Mount Vernon, where it remained during the entire winter engaged in picket duty and drill. A very thorough system of instruction was adopted and enforced, and to this the subsequent excellence and good reputation of the regiment were largely due.

At the siege of Yorktown the regiment was posted some two miles from the town, in an unhealthful location, and many died from disease. It reached Williamsburg May 5th, too late to be engaged. At Fair Oaks it was severely engaged and lost heavily. At Charles City cross-roads it was again in action, and fought gallantly. At Malvern Hill the Sixty-third was engaged, but its part was not so prominent. It went into camp at Harrison's Landing and remained till ordered to the support of Pope, on the Rappahannock. At the

second battle of Bull run it was fiercely engaged, lost very heavily, and covered itself with glory. On the 1st of September it was at the battle of Chantilly, after which it went into the defenses of Washington and remained till after the battle of Antietam. On the 13th of December the regiment was in action at Fredericksburg, and exhibited its usual gallantry. On the 3d of May, 1863, it went into action at Chancellorsville, and in that fight lost, in killed, wounded and missing, one hundred and twenty.

On the 11th of June, 1863, the Sixty-third started on the Gettysburg campaign, and arrived on the battle-ground July 1st. Its loss in this battle was slight, considering its exposed position. The regiment joined in the pursuit of the retreating foe, and remained at Culpeper till the opening of the fall campaign, in which it participated. It fought at Auburn Mills, at Kelley's Ford, and in two skirmishes at Locust Grove. Winter quarters were established at Brandy Station, and during the winter of 1863–64 the regiment was engaged in guard and picket duty, and it went with its division on one reconnoissance.

On the 3d of May, 1864, it moved toward the Wilderness, and on the 5th and 6th was heavily engaged, losing in the two days one hundred and eighty-six killed and wounded. On the 7th it again fought sharply, but with smaller loss. The regiment was also engaged at North Anna and at Polecat river, and after marching and intrenching for some days it arrived about the middle of June at the front before Petersburg. Here it was engaged in the operations of the siege, and was several times in action, losing heavily in prisoners on one of these occasions.

The original term of enlistment having expired, the veterans and recruits were transferred to other commands, and on the 9th of September the regiment, consisting of three officers and sixty-four men, was mustered out of the service.

SIXTY-FOURTH REGIMENT, FOURTH CAVALRY.

The Fourth Cavalry was raised under the direction of David Campbell, of Pittsburgh, who became its colonel, and it had three companies from Allegheny county. It went to Washington in September, 1861. The following winter was spent in drill, and rigid discipline was enforced.

In May, 1862, the regiment joined McDowell's command on the Rappahannock and at once entered on its routine of picket and scouting duty. It was divided into squadrons, which were sent to different parts of the theater of hostilities as exigencies arose which rendered their presence desirable. In the peninsular campaign the Fourth did effective service, which for want of space can not be recounted here. By reason of the celerity of its movements the cavalry arm of the service supplied a seriously felt want, and as the war progressed mounted troops became more and more popular.

After the fighting in the peninsula was over the regiment went to Yorktown, and thence to Washington, but arrived too late to participate in operations at second Bull run.

The Fourth was with the army in the Maryland campaign, and participated in the battle of Antietam, where Col. Childs, of Pittsburgh, was killed. In the autumn of 1862 the regiment was not on important duty, except brilliant dashes and scouts, and it went into winter quarters at Potomac creek station.

In the winter of 1862–63 the operations of cavalry came to be of more importance than previously, and a cavalry corps was established. In the Chancellorsville campaign the Fourth, with the other cavalry force, rendered valuable service in scouting, guarding fords, etc.

In the Gettysburg campaign the regiment was constantly active, and had a severe fight near Aldie. It arrived on the field of Gettysburg on the 2d of July, and was in action on the 3d. It then joined in the pursuit of Gen. Lee's army. In October a large number of the regiment were made prisoners and sent to southern prisons, where many died.

In the Wilderness campaign, in the early summer of 1864, and in the subsequent cavalry operations, the Fourth bore its full share; but space will not permit a detailed account of its movements. History has recorded the important part achieved by the cavalry arm of the service in these operations.

After the surrender the regiment was on duty at Lynchburg, Va., where its colonel was the provost-marshal. It was mustered out at that place on the 1st of July, and returned to Pittsburgh, where it was disbanded.

SIXTY-FIFTH REGIMENT, FIFTH CAVALRY.

This regiment was first known as the Cameron Dragoons. It was recruited in Philadelphia, except Companies L and M, which were from Pittsburgh. It went to Washington in August, 1861, and entered on active duty a month later. It scouted along the enemy's line for a time, then went into camp at Alexandria, where it remained till May, 1862. It then moved with the army of Gen. McClellan, and during the peninsular campaign it was engaged in scouting in the rear of the army, with headquarters at Williamsburg. It remained here, engaged in the usual duties of cavalry troops, till September, 1863. Several engagements occurred in this time. On the 7th of February, 1863, Companies L and M went on a scout, and encountered a largely superior force of the enemy. They boldly attacked and, though at one time nearly surrounded, broke through and escaped with a loss of thirty-five killed, wounded and prisoners.

In September the regiment went into North Carolina, and was there engaged in scouting. A detachment which included companies L and M went to Currituck Court House and succeeded in ridding the district of some troublesome bands of the enemy that had been engaged in irregular warfare.

In October the regiment went into winter quarters at Great Bridge, and there a part re-enlisted and received a veteran furlough. In November ten companies went to Portsmouth, and subsequently the entire regiment proceeded to Yorktown, from which point an unsuccessful raid was made toward

Richmond. Early in May, 1864, the Fifth was engaged in a successful raid on the Petersburg & Weldon railroad, and on the 12th of the same month in another, which was also successful, on the Richmond & Danville and the South Side railroads. The regiment joined the forces of Gen. Butler at City Point, and in the month of June several important and quite successful raids were made.

"From the middle of July till the close of September the regiment was kept constantly in motion, frequently meeting and skirmishing with the enemy, and doing severe picket duty." Early in October it took part in several severe actions near Richmond, in which its losses were considerable. In the latter part of that month, and again on the 10th of December, it was sharply engaged at the Charles City road, losing seven killed and fourteen wounded. It remained in that vicinity doing picket duty till the 25th of March, 1865, when it entered on its last campaign, in which it was constantly active till the time of the surrender of Lee's army. Little of importance occurred with the regiment after that, and it was finally mustered out on the 7th of August.

SIXTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

One company in this regiment was recruited from Allegheny county. A majority of the men in this company were mustered into the service after the surrender of Lee's army, and the regiment was mustered out on the 14th of July, 1865. Of course they saw no bloody service.

SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

This was recruited in the summer of 1861. Two companies and a part of another were raised in Allegheny county, and included many German citizens. Late in September it went to Washington, where it spent the winter in fatigue duty and drill.

In the spring of 1862 it was ordered to West Virginia, where it arrived after a very severe march. After a short time spent in picket and fatigue duty it marched to Strasburg and joined in the pursuit of Stonewall Jackson up the Shenandoah valley. At Cross Keys a severe battle was fought, in which the regiment lost six killed and thirteen wounded. It then proceeded to Middletown, where it remained a month, then moved to Cedar Mountain, arriving too late for the battle at that place. With the army it fell back toward Manassas, but on the way it had a sharp fight at Freeman's ford. It reached Groveton on the 28th of August, and during two days was engaged in the second battle of Bull run, losing seventeen killed and wounded. It retired to the fortifications of Washington, and remained till after the battle of Antietam. It went forward to the battle-ground of Fredericksburg, but arrived too late to be engaged.

At the battle of Chancellorsville, in the spring of 1863, the Seventy-fourth was engaged, with a loss in killed, wounded and missing of sixty-one. On the

12th of June it left its camp at Stafford Court House for the Gettysburg campaign. In the battle of Gettysburg it lost in killed, wounded and missing one hundred and thirty-six. Two weeks later it went to Warrenton Junction, and early in August to Folly Island, South Carolina, and it was on duty in that vicinity till August, 1864, participating in the operations for the capture of Charleston. In that month it returned to Washington, where it did duty as heavy artillery. Late in September it went to West Virginia, where it was engaged in garrison, guard and picket duty till the end of its term of service. It was mustered out August 29, 1865.

SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

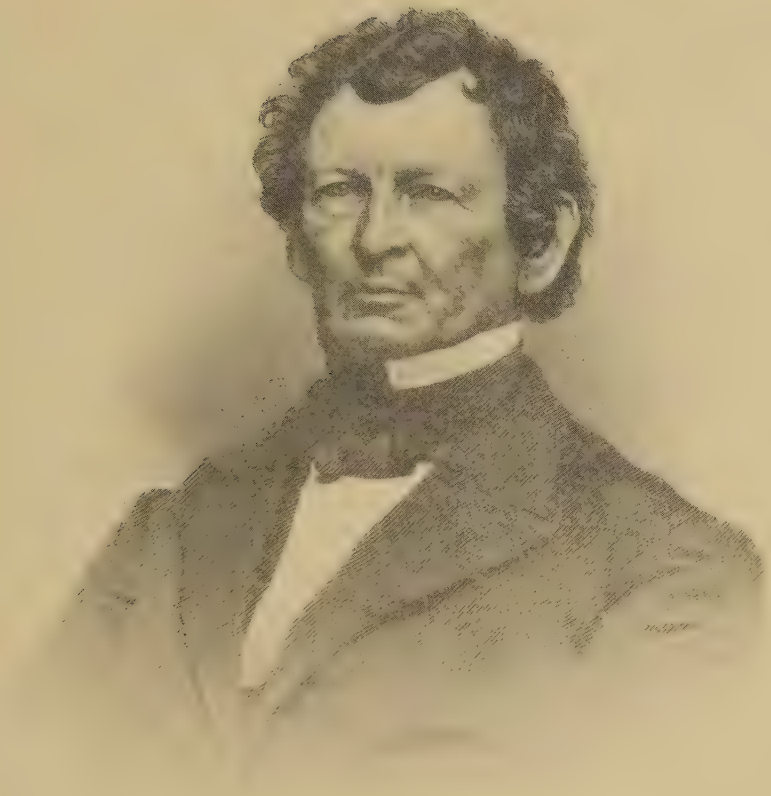
A part of Company K in this regiment was raised in Allegheny. In the winter of 1861–62 it was in South Carolina, where it remained, participating in operations there, till May, 1864. It was engaged in the siege of Fort Wagner, and in an attack on that work it lost eighty-seven killed and wounded, of which number fifty-three were killed.

It went to Virginia and participated in the movements there till December, 1864, when it formed a part of the force sent against Fort Fisher. After the capture of that stronghold it was in North Carolina, engaged in guard and provost duty till July 18, 1865, when it was mustered out.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Three companies in this regiment were raised, wholly or in part, in Allegheny county. It was organized in October, 1861, and on the 18th of that month it went to Louisville, Ky., whence it proceeded by leisurely marches to Nashville, Tenn., where it arrived March 2d, 1862. It went forward, and was first engaged at Pittsburgh Landing, with a loss of three killed and seven wounded. On the 28th of May it had reached the works at Corinth, and skirmished with the enemy. After the evacuation of that place by the enemy it moved again into Tennessee, and reached Nashville early in September. Thence it went on an expedition to Louisville, but returned and remained till the opening of the winter campaign. It went on several reconnoissances, and in one of these, near La Vergne, had a sharp skirmish with the enemy.

On the 26th of December it went with the army toward Murfreesboro, and in the battle at Stone river it won from Gen. Rosecrans the praise of being the "banner regiment." After the battle it did guard, scout and foraging duty till the middle of February, 1863. It then went into camp at Murfreesboro, and was employed in building fortifications till the commencement of the summer campaign. On the 24th of June it broke camp, and at Liberty gap it had a fierce engagement, losing nearly a third of its effective strength. After several marches in different directions the enemy was again encountered, on the 19th of September, at Chickamauga, and in that action all the field officers, seven line officers and seventy men of the regiment fell into the hands of



Thos. S. Clarke

the enemy. After this battle it went to Whiteside, where it remained till the end of 1863.

In January, 1864, a large proportion of the regiment re-enlisted and received a veteran furlough. They returned, and early in May entered on the Atlanta campaign. They were engaged at Rocky Face ridge, at Resaca, Kingston, New Hope church, Kenesaw Mountain, Smyrna, Chattahoochie river and Peach Tree creek.

The regiment was constantly employed during the investment of Atlanta. On the 25th of August it destroyed a portion of the Montgomery railroad, and on the 1st of September it aided in a like work on the Macon road. It was engaged at Jonesboro, and on the 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th of September at Lovejoy.

After the fall of Atlanta the Seventy-seventh moved with its corps toward Nashville. On the 30th of September it was engaged with the enemy at Franklin, and the next day retired to Nashville. On the 15th of December Gen. Hood was attacked and driven from before that place. The regiment had a prominent part in that action, and pursued the retreating foe as far as Huntsville, Ala.

The Seventy-seventh was reinforced and reorganized in the spring of 1865, and in the summer it was sent to Texas, where it arrived on the 27th of July. On the 5th of December it received orders to return home, and on the 16th of January, 1866, it arrived at Philadelphia, where it was mustered out of the service.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Companies F, H and I of the Seventy-eighth were recruited in Pittsburgh, and assigned, with other companies, to the regiment in March, 1865. The new regiment, as thus organized, remained on duty at Marshall, Tenn., and participated with the Army of the Cumberland, under Thomas, in that brilliant campaign which swept the rebel army from Tennessee. It was finally mustered out of the service on the 11th of September, 1865.

EIGHTIETH REGIMENT, SEVENTH CAVALRY.

Of the twelve companies in this regiment one was recruited in Allegheny county. On the 19th of December, 1861, it left the state for Louisville, Ky. After a month in camp of instruction at Jeffersonville, it marched leisurely to Nashville, Tenn. The three battalions were here separated, and sent in different directions to scout through the country. The enemy was met, and engagements of greater or less severity were had near Pulaski, at Lebanon, Sweeden's Cove, McMinnville, Reedysville, and on the 13th of July, 1862, at Murfreesboro. The battalions were then employed in protecting the flanks of the army from the prowling bands of hostile cavalry. On the 21st of August a severe battle was had with the combined forces of the rebels Morgan and Forrest, in which the Seventh lost forty killed and three hundred wounded and prisoners.

In September one battalion participated in the battle of Perryville. In November the battalions were united, and late in December went, with other forces, to Murfreesboro, where a severe battle was fought on the 31st. A month later the regiment went with its brigade to Rover, where it broke up a rebel outpost and scouted for two weeks within the rebel lines. Again at Rover and at Unionville the Seventh was sharply engaged. It was engaged with Morgan at Snow Hill on the 3d of April, 1863; fought Duke's brigade on the 20th, assisted in the capture of McMinnville May 6th, was engaged at Murfreesboro May 14th, and fought Morgan at Alexandria on the 3d of June.

Late in June the regiment was heavily engaged in the battle of Shelbyville, where an important victory was achieved. On the 3d of July it fought at Elk river, on the 17th of August at Sparta, and early in September went on the Chickamauga campaign, in which, and in the operations immediately following, it did important service.

Early in 1864 a large part of the regiment re-enlisted and was given a veteran furlough. It returned with ranks recruited, and on the 3d of April entered on the Atlanta campaign. It was engaged at Rome May 15th, at Dallas and Villa Rica road May 27th, at Big Shanty June 9th, at McAfee Cross Roads June 11th, at Monday creek June 20th, at Kenesaw Mountain June 27th, Augusta & Atlanta railroad July 18th, at Flat Rock July 28th, at Fairburn and Jonesboro August 19th, at Lovejoy's Station August 20th, at Rome October 12th and at Leach's Cross Roads two weeks later.

It then went to Louisville, where it was remounted and equipped, and on the 22d of March, 1865, it set out with the command of Gen. Wilson on an expedition across the gulf states. It fought at Plantersville, Ala., on the 1st of April, and soon afterward at Selma, where it lost heavily. It was also engaged near Columbus on the 16th of April. On the 20th of August it arrived at Macon, Ga., where it was mustered out of service on the 13th of August.

EIGHTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

Allegheny county was represented in this regiment by Company B. After its organization it remained nearly six months in the defenses of Washington. In March, 1862, it moved toward Manassas, with the army, and two weeks later it went by steamer to Fortress Monroe. It moved to the neighborhood of Lee's mills, on the Warwick river, where it remained nearly a month. Thence it went to Williamsburg, to the Chickahominy, to Seven Pines, and to Fair Oaks station. Here, on the 31st of May, an attack was made by the enemy, and the regiment was engaged, with the loss of eight killed and twenty-four wounded. On the 1st of July it was again in action at Malvern Hill. Late in August it embarked for Alexandria, and it was in the line at Chantilly, but was not actively engaged. It went on the Maryland campaign, crossed South Mountain the day after the battle, reached the Antietam battle-field on the evening of the 17th of September, and was under fire of the enemy's sharp-

shooters the next day. It was in action on the 13th of December at Fredericksburg, but its loss was not great. At the battle of Chancellorsville, in May, 1863, it was in action at Marye's Heights and at Salem Heights. It went on the Gettysburg campaign, and was engaged in the battle, but with only slight casualties. It joined in the pursuit of the retreating rebels, and had a skirmish at Funkstown on the 27th of July, with a loss of eight wounded. The winter quarters of the regiment were established at Brandy Station, and there about half the men re-enlisted and went home on a veteran furlough. During the winter it was sent to Johnson's island, in Lake Erie, to guard rebel prisoners, but returned in May, 1864, soon after the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania. At the battle of Cold Harbor it was severely engaged, losing in killed, wounded and missing one hundred and seventy-three men, more than half its strength.

The regiment went to the front of Petersburg, whence, on the 9th of July, it was ordered to Washington to meet a raid through Maryland of the enemy under Gen. Early. For some time it was employed in marching, countermarching and skirmishing. In September the original term of service of the regiment expired, and it was ordered to Philadelphia, where, on the 16th of that month, it was mustered out of the service.

The veterans and recruits were consolidated with other troops under the designation of the Eighty-second. It participated in Gen. Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah valley, and returned to the front of Petersburg. It was in the campaign of the spring of 1865, was engaged in the battle of Sailor's creek on the 6th of April, and on the 9th was at the front when Lee surrendered. It was mustered out of service on the 13th of July.

EIGHTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

This regiment was raised at Erie, and entered the service in September, 1861. Allegheny county was not represented in it till March, 1865, when two companies were assigned to it.

The final campaign opened on the 29th of that month, and the engagements at Jones' Farm, White Oak road, Gravelly run, Five Forks, Sutherland station, Jetersville and the pursuit to Appomattox Court House followed in quick succession, and in all these the regiment had part and sustained well the reputation which the veterans had acquired. It was mustered out at Washington on the 28th of June, 1865.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Companies F and G were recruited in Allegheny county in February and March, 1865, and were assigned to the regiment in the latter month, after the veterans and recruits had been consolidated and reorganized. It participated in the campaign of 1865, and on the 2d of April had part in a charge on the works before Petersburg, losing thirty-three killed and wounded. On the 6th

it was engaged at Sailor's creek, where it had one man wounded. It was mustered out at Alexandria, Va., on the 29th of June.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT.

Companies A, E, G and I of this regiment were raised, wholly or in part, in Allegheny county. On the 27th of February, 1862, the regiment went to Washington. A month later it went by transports to the peninsula, and on the 16th of April went to the front. After spending some time building corduroy roads at Yorktown, it went forward with the army, and was first engaged on the 5th of May, at Williamsburg, and was next engaged on the 31st of May, at Fair Oaks.

After the close of the peninsular campaign the regiment was engaged mostly in fatigue duty and reconnoissances till December, when it went to New Berne, N. C., and on the 14th engaged the enemy at the Neuse river. It was again engaged at Goldsboro on the 17th, and afterward went into winter quarters near New Berne.

During the year 1863 and the spring of 1864 the regiment was engaged in fatigue duty, and in scouring the country in various directions, without any severe engagements.

April 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th, 1864, a severe battle was fought at Plymouth, in which this regiment lost five killed, twenty-four wounded and two missing, and the rest were made prisoners. They were marched to Tarboro, and thence taken by rail to Andersonville, Ga., where the enlisted men were kept till the latter part of the summer. A part were sent to Millen and a few to Savannah. They were exchanged at Wilmington in the spring of 1865. Nearly one-half died before the time of release. The officers were sent, successively, to Savannah, Charleston and Charlotte. Many escaped, some were recaptured, and those retained were exchanged in March, 1865.

Those who were absent on leave or sick at the time of the battle were formed into a detachment, and received some recruits. They were mustered out on the 25th of June, 1865.

ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND REGIMENT.

Col. Thomas A. Rowley, who commanded the Thirteenth, commenced recruiting a three-years regiment at Pittsburgh as soon as the Thirteenth was mustered out, which was on the 6th of August, 1861. So rapidly were the ranks filled that five companies departed for Washington on the 21st of the same month. Seven other companies soon followed, all recruited in Allegheny county except Company H, which was partly raised in Butler. The field officers were Thomas A. Rowley, colonel; Joseph M. Kinkead, lieutenant-colonel, and John Poland, major. The regiment was drilled at Washington till March 26, 1862, when it embarked for the peninsula. During the siege at Yorktown it was at Warwick Court House. On the 5th of May it was engaged

in the battle of Williamsburg, losing three killed and thirty-eight wounded. It went forward, and on the 30th of May was engaged at Fair Oaks, losing thirteen killed and forty-eight, among whom was Col. Rowley, wounded. It was for a time at Seven Pines, doing guard and picket duty, and next met the enemy at Malvern Hill, where it lost ten killed and thirty-seven wounded. Among the killed was Maj. Poland.

On its return from the peninsula the regiment met the forces retreating from the second Bull run field, and aided in checking the pursuing enemy. At Chantilly it acted as support to the batteries, and was not actively engaged. At the battle of Antietam it was held in reserve. It was also in reserve at the battle of Fredericksburg, but was under artillery fire.

On the 27th of April, 1863, the regiment left its winter quarters for the Chancellorsville campaign. Col. Rowley had been made a brigadier-general, Lieut.-Col. Kinkead had become colonel, Maj. John W. Patterson had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel, and Adjt. Joseph Browne to major. On the 3d of May it was furiously engaged in the battle of Chancellorsville, and behaved with great gallantry. Its loss was twelve killed, fifty-five wounded and one hundred missing. Col. Kinkead soon afterward resigned. Lieut.-Col. Patterson was appointed colonel, Capt. William McIlwaine lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Thomas McLaughlin major in place of Maj. Browne, who resigned.

Early in June the regiment left its camp near Falmouth, and moved to meet the enemy, who was making his way northward. It reached the battle-field of Gettysburg, and was engaged in the action, but without severe loss. It joined in the pursuit of the enemy, took part in the action at Rappahannock Station, and finally went into winter quarters near Brandy Station. Here nearly all the regiment re-enlisted and received a veteran furlough.

On the 4th of May, 1864, it left its camp, and on the 5th became engaged in the battle of the Wilderness. In the fighting of this day it lost sixteen killed and one hundred and twelve wounded. Col. Patterson was among the killed. On the 6th it was again engaged, but with smaller loss. At Spottsylvania fighting was renewed, and continued for nearly a week. At Cold Harbor the regiment was severely engaged on the 3d and 5th of June, losing thirty-nine wounded, among them Lieut.-Col. McIlwaine, mortally.

On the 15th of June it crossed the James and entered on the siege of Petersburg. On the 9th of July it was ordered to Washington to aid in repelling the invasion through Maryland. It joined in the pursuit of the retreating foe, and during two months was almost constantly on the march. On the 19th of September it crossed the Opequan with Gen. Sheridan, and was engaged in the battle of Winchester, in which it lost five killed and twenty-three wounded. Again, at Fisher's Hill, the loss of the regiment was thirty-one wounded and three missing. On the 19th of October, at Cedar creek, on the occasion of Sheridan's famous ride, it lost seven killed and fifty-eight wounded.

In December the regiment returned to the intrenchments before Petersburg. On the 25th of March, 1865, it was engaged in a fruitless advance on the enemy's works. On the 2d of April it joined in the last race with the enemy. A sharp fight occurred at Sailor's creek on the 6th, and on the 9th Lee surrendered at Appomattox. After a move toward Danville the regiment returned to the vicinity of Washington, where, on the 28th of June, it was mustered out of service.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD REGIMENT.

Company C and parts of companies F, I and K in this regiment were from Allegheny county. In the latter part of February, 1862, it went to Washington, and soon afterward to the peninsula. It participated in the siege of Yorktown, and was engaged in the battle of Williamsburg. On the 31st of May it was in the battle of Fair Oaks, losing eighty-four killed and wounded. During a month after this battle it worked on fortifications at White Oak swamp, suffering greatly from sickness.

After the close of the peninsular campaign the regiment went to Suffolk, and thence, early in December, to New Berne, N. C. Thence it went on an expedition to Kingston, where it was in action and achieved a brilliant success. It returned to New Berne, and during the spring made frequent expeditions into the surrounding country. In April it removed to Plymouth. On the 20th of that month a severe battle was fought at that place, and the regiment was captured. The men were sent to Andersonville, where one hundred and thirty-two died. The officers were taken to Macon, Ga., and those of the highest grade were taken thence to Charleston, where they were placed under the fire of the union guns that were bombarding the city.

At the time of the capture one company was at Roanoke island, and some men were absent in hospitals and on furlough, and these continued as the One Hundred and Third regiment. They were mustered out at New Berne on the 25th of June, 1865.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH REGIMENT.

Company D of this regiment was recruited partly in Allegheny county. It went to Washington in October, 1861, drilled during the winter of 1861–62, and on the 17th of March went by transport to Fortress Monroe. It was at the siege of Yorktown and the battle of Williamsburg. At Fair Oaks, on the 31st of May, it fought desperately, losing forty-one killed, one hundred and fifty wounded and seventeen missing. In the battle at Charles City cross roads, on the 30th of June, it was sharply engaged, losing, in killed and wounded, fifty-six. At Malvern Hill it was under artillery fire, but not closely engaged.

After the close of the peninsular campaign the regiment was sent to guard the railroad between Manassas and Warrenton Junction, where two companies were captured and paroled. At the second battle of Bull run it lost thirteen killed and forty-one wounded. After the close of Pope's campaign it was

ordered into the defenses of Washington, and remained till after the battle of Antietam. It went with the army to Falmouth, and on the 13th and 14th of December it was under a severe artillery fire at Fredericksburg, losing thirteen wounded, two mortally.

From the 3d to the 5th of May, 1863, the regiment was engaged in the battle of Chancellorsville, and its losses aggregated seventy-seven out of a force of three hundred and forty-seven. On the 11th of June it moved northward, and reached the field of Gettysburg on the 1st of July. In that battle it lost an aggregate of one hundred and sixty-eight, more than half its entire strength. During the remainder of the summer it was moving in different directions, and was in action at Auburn, Kelley's Ford and Locust Grove. It went into winter quarters at Brandy Station, and here nearly the entire strength of the regiment re-enlisted and received a veteran furlough.

From the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1864 till the 23d of May the regiment was constantly on the move, and was almost every day engaged. About the middle of June it crossed the James and went on duty in front of Petersburg. From that time till winter it was actively engaged in operations in that vicinity, and was frequently in more or less severe battles. In December it went into winter quarters, and was engaged in drill and fatigue duty.

Late in March, 1865, it resumed active operations, and continued till the surrender on the 9th of April. Its last fight was at Sailor's creek on the 6th. It participated in the grand review at the capital, and on the 11th of July it was mustered out of service. "At the final muster-out not a single officer, and but a handful of the men who originally marched with the regiment, remained."

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT, THIRTEENTH CAVALRY.

This regiment had one company from Allegheny county. Its organization was completed in August, 1862. In September it was sent to guard the line of the Potomac, and to scout in Loudoun and Jefferson counties. In February, 1863, it went to Winchester, and was employed in severe guard and scout duty. The country was infested with bands of rebel cavalry, and the Thirteenth was engaged in picket, scout, patrol and escort duties, and in reconnoissances and many skirmishes. On the 12th of June the Thirteenth went on a reconnoissance up the Shenandoah valley, on the Strasburg road. A heavy force of hostile cavalry was found and attacked near Middletown. The regiment was actively engaged during the two following days, and covered the retreat of the retiring column. It was not in the battle of Gettysburg, but scouted through the country, and on the 12th of October was engaged in a sharp cavalry fight near Sulphur Springs, losing many prisoners.

During the winter of 1863–64 the regiment was assigned to duty on the Orange & Alexandria railroad, and in January went on a reconnoissance, in which it suffered severely from the cold.

In the Wilderness campaign it participated in the severe fighting from the 3d to the 11th of May, and in the operations at Spottsylvania. In the latter part of May it went on Sheridan's cavalry raid toward Richmond, and was heavily engaged at Hawe's Shop on the 28th, losing ten killed and thirty-five wounded and missing. Soon afterward another raid was made toward Lynchburg.

In the latter part of June it went with Sheridan on an expedition to the James. In this campaign much severe fighting was done, and a detachment with a herd of cattle was captured. On the 29th of September the regiment fought at Wyatt's farm, on the 22d of October at Boydton plank-road; and on the 8th and 9th of December at Hatcher's run.

Early in February, 1865, it went on an expedition to Gravelly run, Dinwiddie Court House and Dabney's Mills, at which last place a severe fight took place. About the middle of the same month it went to Wilmington, N. C., and marched thence to open communication with Gen. Sherman, who was met on the 13th of March at Fayetteville.

After the surrender of Johnston the regiment was engaged for a time in clearing the country of irregular bands that were plundering the inhabitants. In July it returned to Philadelphia, and on the 27th of that month was discharged.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

A call was made by the president on the 1st of July, 1862, for volunteers to serve nine months, and the One Hundred and Twenty-first was raised under this call. The regiment was full in less than a month from the time recruiting commenced. The field officers were: Rev. John B. Clark, colonel; Frederick Gast, lieutenant-colonel, and Hugh Danver, major. Two of the companies were recruited in Tarentum, the others in Pittsburgh and Allegheny.

It proceeded at once to Washington, and on the 29th of August it was placed on picket between Washington and the Bull run battle-ground. On the 14th of September it started on the march through Maryland, arriving at Frederick on the 16th, and at the Antietam battle-ground on the 18th, too late for the battle. It crossed the Potomac and marched to Warrenton, then to a point on Potomac creek four miles from Fredericksburg. On the 13th of December it was engaged in the battle at that place, with a loss of twenty-one killed and one hundred and thirty-one wounded. It returned to its old camp, and in January, 1863, moved to a camp nearer Falmouth. On the 28th of May it marched toward Chancellorsville. It did good service at the battle there, though it was not actively engaged. Its casualties were seven wounded by the explosion of a shell and five taken prisoners. It was mustered out at Harrisburg on the 13th of May, 1863, and returned in a body to Pittsburgh, where it was disbanded.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

Companies E, F, G and H of this, which was a nine-months regiment, were

Joseph R. Brundt.

recruited in Allegheny county. Its organization was effected on the 20th of August, 1862, by the choice of Thomas M. Bayne, colonel; Isaac Wright, lieutenant-colonel, and Charles Ryan, of Tioga county, major. It went to Washington on the 29th of August, and for a time was posted in detachments along the defenses of the city. On the 29th of September it went to Frederick, Md., and two weeks later to Sharpsburg. It was afterward encamped at Warrenton, Brooks' Station, White Oak Church, and finally near Falmouth. It was engaged at the battle of Fredericksburg, losing in killed, wounded and missing one hundred and forty.

It returned to its camp near Falmouth, and remained engaged in the usual routine of camp and picket duty till the 28th of April, 1863, when it moved toward the Chancellorsville field. On the 30th it was under the fire of rebel artillery, and several of the men were killed and wounded. Although it participated in the subsequent operations of the battle, it was not actually engaged. On the 5th it returned to its camp. At the conclusion of its term of service it returned to Harrisburg, where, on the 29th of May, 1863, it was mustered out.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

This regiment, which had Companies D, G, I and K from Allegheny county, was organized on the 1st of September, 1862, and immediately went to the front. It reached Washington on the 3d, and was sent directly to the Bull run battle-field, where, during three days, it was employed in burying the dead of that battle. It then followed the army, which it overtook on the 17th at the Antietam battle-field, but it was not engaged. In the battle of Fredericksburg, on the 13th of December, it was not engaged, but was under a heavy artillery fire, and had thirteen wounded. In the battle of Chancellorsville it was desperately engaged, losing in killed, wounded and missing one hundred and twenty-three. When the battle of Gettysburg opened it was thirty miles away, but it hastened forward, and was engaged, though with but small loss. It participated in the campaign which followed, and had part in the affair at Rappahannock Station. After much marching it went into winter quarters at Harper's Ferry. In March, 1864, it went to Brandy Station, and in May, with recruited ranks, it entered on the Wilderness campaign. In the fighting there it lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and thirty-six, including nearly every commissioned officer. It bore its part in the operations about Spottsylvania Court House, being almost constantly under fire. It was lightly engaged at North Anna, but at Cold Harbor it had a bloody fight. It went to the front of Petersburg on the 15th of June, and was engaged in operations there till the 9th of July, when it went to Washington to aid in repelling the invasion through Maryland. It bore an honorable part in this campaign, attesting its bravery by severe losses on every field.

On the 1st of December it returned to the front of Petersburg, where it remained in comparative quiet during the winter. It was engaged in an assault

on the enemy's works in March, 1865, and in the successful assault on Petersburg on the 2d of April. It was in the final race, and after the surrender was sent to North Carolina to the support of Gen. Sherman. After the surrender of Johnston it returned by way of Richmond to Washington, where, on the 21st of June, 1865, it was mustered out of service.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

Of the ten companies composing this regiment eight were from Allegheny county. On the 4th of September, 1862, it went to Washington, and was at once placed in the defenses of that city. Soon afterward it went forward to the field of Antietam, where it arrived too late to have part in the battle. It first met the enemy at Fredericksburg, where it displayed great bravery, and a bayonet charge made by it with other troops was repelled with terrible slaughter.

At the battle of Chancellorsville, early in May, 1863, the regiment supported batteries, and was not heavily engaged. The enemy was next met at Gettysburg, where the regiment was heavily engaged on the 2d of July. In the campaign that followed the pursuit of Lee the regiment was engaged at Rappahannock Station, Mine Run and other minor skirmishes, displaying its wonted gallantry. During the winter of 1863–64 it was on guard duty along the Orange & Alexandria railroad.

On the 5th and 6th of May, 1864, it was engaged at the Wilderness, and in the operations near Spottsylvania it sustained its well-merited good reputation, and suffered severe losses. It fought again at North Anna and in the bloody battles of Tolopotomy and Cold Harbor.

On the 15th of June it crossed the James, and on the 16th was engaged in an assault on the enemy. On the 18th it participated in a charge which rescued a portion of the Suffolk & Petersburg railroad from the enemy. On the 18th of August it joined in a descent on the Weldon railroad. On the 18th of September it had a sharp fight at Peebles' farm, and it was warmly engaged in the battle of Hatcher's run. It also did excellent service at the battle of Dabney's Mills.

On the 29th of March, 1865, the regiment started on its last campaign. At Quaker road it routed the enemy and captured some prisoners. In the course of its march it fought, and fought well, at Gravelly run, Five Forks and Sailor's creek. At Appomattox Court House it was about to attack the main line when a white flag was displayed and the intelligence of the surrender was received. It returned to Washington, and on the 2d of June was mustered out of service.

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT.

This was a "hundred-days" regiment, raised under a call of Gov. Curtin, in July, 1864, to meet an emergency which had arisen. It was organized July 19th, by the choice of John B. Clark, colonel; James W. Ballentine,

lieutenant-colonel, and Horatio K. Tyler, major. Soon after its organization it went to Baltimore, where it was drilled during two weeks. On the 10th of August one company was sent to Wilmington, Del., and the others were stationed as guards along the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, with headquarters at Havre de Grace. Soon afterward four companies were withdrawn from the railroad and placed at Wilmington, under Col. Clark, commandant of that district. This distribution of the regiment was not changed until the close of its term of service. It was mustered out at Pittsburgh on the 9th of November.

TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTH REGIMENT, FIFTH ARTILLERY.

A large portion of the men in this regiment were recruited in Allegheny county. Its organization was completed on the 10th of September, 1864, and soon afterward it went to Washington. It was posted along the line of the Manassas Gap railroad for the protection of construction trains on that road. In December the cavalry and artillery of Mosby appeared on the line of the road, and skirmishing, with some severe fighting, followed. Mosby retired to the mountains, and afterward a detachment of the regiment, with a squadron of cavalry, moved by night into the mountains and captured his artillery and some prisoners.

After the battle of Cedar creek the regiment returned to the forts north of Washington. A few days later it returned to Virginia, and was posted in battalions at different points, where it was engaged during the winter of 1864–65 in building stockades and blockhouses and drilling. "Expeditions were also sent out, in the spring of 1865, to the Bull run battle-ground, where burying parties were employed in burying the dead of the second Bull run battle, whose bodies had lain uncared for since the date of the battle. Nearly two thousand were buried, and monuments erected over their graves." The regiment was mustered out at Pittsburgh on the 30th of June, 1865.

INDEPENDENT BATTERIES.

Battery C, Thompson's.—This was recruited at Pittsburgh for three years, and was organized November 6, 1861. It was engaged at the sanguinary battle of Cedar Mountain, on the 9th of August; at Robinson's river, on the 12th; at Rappahannock bridge, on the 21st and 22d; at Thoroughfare Gap; at Bull run (second), August 30th; at Chantilly, September 1st; at South Mountain, September 14th; at Antietam, September 17th; at Fredericksburg, December 13th; at Chancellorsville, early in May, 1863; at Gettysburg, July 2d and 3d; at Mitchell's ford, October 15th; at Mine Run, November 27th, and at Morton's ford, February 6, 1864. Hampton's battery (F) was consolidated with it in May, 1863.

The organization was renewed in the spring of 1864, and during the

remainder of its term of service it was retained in the defenses of Washington. It was mustered out at Pittsburgh June 30, 1865.

Battery E, Knap's.—This battery was recruited in 1861, at Pittsburgh. It was first attached to the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry. It was in Washington till the 24th of November. It passed the winter of 1861–62 near Harper's Ferry, occasionally taking part in a skirmish. It was in the campaign through the Shenandoah valley in 1862, and lost its guns, which were afterward recovered. It was heavily engaged in the battle of Cedar Mountain, and in skirmishes during Pope's retreat. It fought at Antietam, at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg.

In the autumn of 1863 it went to the Army of the Cumberland. It fought at Wauhatchie, Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge. In January, 1864, a majority of the men re-enlisted and had a veteran forlough. They returned with ranks recruited, and participated in the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, constantly at the post of duty, and frequently called to fierce fighting. It accompanied Gen. Sherman's army on its march to the sea, meeting with only inconsiderable losses. It marched northward through the Carolinas, halting at Raleigh, then proceeded to Washington. Early in June, 1865, it went to Pittsburgh, where, on the 14th, it was mustered out.

Battery F, Hampton's.—This, which was recruited at Pittsburgh, was organized in October, 1861, and soon joined the forces on the Upper Potomac. It was in action at Dam No. 5 on the 18th of December, and at Hancock, Md., on the 4th, 5th and 6th of January, 1862. It was engaged at Cross Keys on the 20th of April, at Middletown on the 24th, and at Winchester on the 25th. It also fought at Freeman's ford on the 22d of August, at White Sulphur Springs on the 23d and 24th, at Waterloo on the 25th, at Bull run on the 29th and 30th, at Chantilly on the 1st of September, at Falls Church on the 2d, at South Mountain on the 14th, and at Antietam on the 16th and 17th. It was in the affairs at Charlestown November 9th, and at Winchester December 2d. It passed the winter of 1862–63 between Fairfax and Acquia creek.

On the 1st, 2d and 3d of May it fought bravely at Chancellorsville, and Capt. Hampton was killed. It was then consolidated with Battery C, Capt. Thompson. Its subsequent actions were at Gettysburg, Blackburn's ford, Mine Run and White Hall Church.

In February, 1864, it was engaged at Morton's ford. In May it went to Washington, and was placed in the defenses of that city. In July it went to Harper's Ferry and encamped on Maryland Heights, where it subsequently went into winter quarters. Here the original members, except veterans, were mustered out. About the middle of April, 1865, the veterans and recruits returned to duty in the defenses of Washington, and on the 26th of June they also were mustered out.

Battery G, Young's.—This battery was organized on the 21st of August, 1862, and was principally recruited in Allegheny county. Soon after its

organization it was ordered to Fort Delaware, where it remained during its entire term of service. It was mustered out on the 18th of June, 1865.

The men composing this battery were mostly young and of more than ordinary education and ability, and many were detailed or sent away on special duty, and many became officers in other organizations.

Battery H.—This, which was recruited in Pittsburgh and its vicinity, was organized on the 30th day of September, 1862. It was at once sent to Hagerstown, Md., where it arrived soon after the battle of Antietam. In December it was ordered to Camp Barry, in the District of Columbia, where it remained through the winter. It then went to Alexandria, and during nearly two years was engaged in provost duty and in operating against the forces of Stuart and Mosby. It returned to Camp Barry in January, 1865, and early in June it went to Pittsburgh, where it was mustered out on the 18th of that month.

CHAPTER XIII.

POLITICS.

EARLY ELECTIONS—GALLATIN AND BRACKENRIDGE—PARTY POLITICS—VOLUNTEER CANDIDATES—THE JONES AND POSTLETHWAITE CONTEST—THE SLAVERY QUESTION—THE ANTI-MASONIC PARTY—ELECTION RETURNS.

AS Allegheny county was formed out of Westmoreland in 1788, it is natural to conclude that the prevailing tone in the politics of the new county would be democratic. The *Gazette*, the only paper published here for some years, was mildly federal in tone, and the only elective offices to be filled were those of representatives in the state legislature and in congress and those of sheriff, commissioner and coroner. There were no conventions to nominate candidates for office in those days. The candidates for sheriff and coroner were all volunteers, and the most popular man won the office. Each voter voted for two of the candidates, and the governor appointed one of the two highest. The choice, presumably, fell upon the man best known to the voters. The same rule applied to the choice of legislators, except that the voter could not vote for both his first and second choice. The aspirants for legislative honors announced themselves, and depended, mainly, for election upon the knowledge the people had of them. As the voters were not numerous then, they were very apt to know all the men likely to offer themselves as candidates. For the first seven congresses this county was in the same district with Washington. For the IVth, Vth, VIth and VIIth congresses, strange as it may seem, the choice for each congress fell upon Albert Gallatin, a resident of Fayette county, and an active democrat. The fact that he did not live in the district

does not seem to have been taken into consideration. Judge Brackenridge, a resident of Allegheny, offered himself as a candidate in 1794, against Gallatin, but was beaten; Gallatin, being the abler man of the two, had made a greater impression, by his sympathy with the whisky insurrectionists in their opposition to the whisky excise tax, and the voters chose him, although living outside of the district, because they had more confidence in his ability to serve them.

But the line seems to have been less tightly drawn on members of the legislature. One of the Nevilles was chosen to the legislature from this county in the year before the whisky insurrection, and he was as noted a federalist as Gallatin was a democrat. The consideration in the choice of a legislator was purely personal. The voters chose the man they knew best, without regard to politics. But in the congressional fight the line was strictly drawn between Hamilton's financial policy and Gallatin's. The former was in favor of a whisky excise tax, and the latter opposed to it. Brackenridge, too, was opposed to it, but not with the steady determination of Gallatin. Hence the whisky distillers of Washington and Allegheny naturally "froze" to Gallatin, and nearly every farmer in both counties was a distiller on a small scale.

The first election return for this county, that we can find, is for 1790, and is as follows. On the paper before us the returns are not given by districts; only the totals are given. The county, be it remembered, at this time comprised all the territory west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, besides what is now contained in Allegheny county. There were polls at Beaver, Butler, Franklin, Mercer, Meadville, Erie and Freeport, yet, covering all this territory, there were but 701 votes cast in all. After the "Indian country," as it was then called, was thrown open to settlement, settlers crowded in rapidly; but it is apparent that they were not yet numerous in 1790, or took but little interest in the election. Both causes operated to make the vote small:

Return of the annual election for the county of Allegany,* in the state of Pennsylvania, held the second Tuesday of October, 1790: Assembly—John Neville, 701; sheriff—James Morrison, 701; William Wilson, 462; coroner—David Watson, 682; William Elliott, 588; commissioner—George Wallace, 467; George McCully, 193.

The next return we have is for 1798, when there was an exciting contest for sheriff, more exciting, probably, after the election than before it. The papers filed in the secretary's office at Harrisburg give the vote only for the two highest candidates for sheriff, Jones and Postlethwaite; but the protest of Postlethwaite's friends says that Jones polled only one-fourth of the total poll, from which it is inferable that a host of volunteer candidates divided about 1,800 votes among themselves, no one of them approaching the total of either Jones or Postlethwaite. As each voter voted for two candidates, the total poll would

*The name of the county is spelled thus in the return, and in a few other official papers, but the common orthography was "Allegheny." Those who spelled by sound wrote "Allegany;" those who spelled after the educated fashion wrote "Allegheny." The nearest to the correct form would be "Alleghany."

be about 3,600 votes. From the rapid settlement of the "Indian country" there was a great clashing as to land titles, and a legal conflict between the great land companies and the squatters or settlers. As the sheriff chose the jurors, and the jurors tried the land cases, the land question would unavoidably run into the election for sheriff. Jones appears to have had the settlers on his side, and Postlethwaite to have been backed by the land companies. Ephraim Jones appears to have been the man from whom O'Hara bought the site for the first glasshouse, just below the present southern terminus of the Point bridge. He was the father of Thomas Jones, Sr., who ran the ferry to Liberty street so long, and this Thomas Jones, Sr., was the father of Ephraim Jones, who also ran (and was beaten) for sheriff in 1855, and of Thomas Jones, Jr., the pilot, who was the first one to start the shipment of coal by river to the lower ports. Postlethwaite, it is inferred by letters filed in his favor with the governor, was a Carlisle man, and probably returned there, as we never hear of him afterward. When the return judges of this election met to foot up the returns it was found that three districts made return of the votes in figures, and not in words. By throwing these out, Postlethwaite would be elected; by counting them, Jones would be elected. The judges would not decide, but made a special return, as follows:

We, the judges of the general annual election held for the county of Allegheny, within the several districts thereof, on the 9th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1798, having met at the courthouse of the said county agreeably to the acts of assembly in such cases made and provided, and having added together the number of votes which appear to have been given to the different persons in the said respective districts, do certify that Ephraim Jones and Joseph R. Postlethwaite are duly elected to represent the freemen of the said county of Allegheny as sheriffs, the said Ephraim Jones having six hundred and eighty-four votes returned to us in writing and two hundred and thirty-three in figures only, and the said Joseph R. Postlethwaite having eight hundred and eight votes returned to us in writing and sixty-four in figures only. In testimony whereof we have set our hands and seals, at Pittsburgh, this 13th day of October, 1798.

John Cunningham, John Henry, Robert Vance, James McDermott, John Joice, No. 1, Pittsburgh district; Moses Devore, No. 2, Elizabeth district; Thomas McKee, No. 3, Plum and Versailles district; Samuel Willson, No. 4, Moon district; John McLure, No. 5, Mifflin and St. Clair district; Ephraim Herriott, No. 6, Fayette district; John Power, No. 7, Mead's (Crawford county) district; Anth. Satterman, No. 8, Erie district; Henry Keener, No. 9, Franklin district; J. Coulter, No. 10, Beaver district; James Clark, No. 11, Freeport district.

Postlethwaite's friends, with that facility for using merely technical faults in election returns as a reason for their rejection and exclusion which has always been resorted to in such cases, contended that these returns in figures were illegal, as the election law required returns to be in *words*, and that they should therefore be excluded from the count; while Jones' friends held that the error was merely technical, and did not vitiate the return. They filed the following, from the return judge of Moon district, to show that, in using figures, the election-officers followed the form prevalent for many years:

ALLEGHENY COUNTY, SS.

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and state of Pennsylvania, Samuel Willson, one of the judges for the Third district, Moon township (the other judge, John Tod, not coming forward), at an election held at that place on the 9th day of October, 1798, and being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say that he had known it to be the custom of several districts heretofore to send the returns in figures. The said Samuel Willson had been a judge for several years, and that it was entirely owing to their ignorance that the return was not made in writing. And further, that if there should be any dispute with respect to the legality of the votes, they have deposited their boxes with a justice of the peace, to be had recourse to when required. And further deponent says not.

SAMUEL WILLSON.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 18th October, 1798.

GEORGE NOTTINGHAM.

The return judges, it will be seen, refused to decide the question, and made a *special* return of the facts to the governor, with whom, under any circumstances, the final decision lay. This transferred the fight to Harrisburg. Thomas Collins, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Population Company, wrote to the company that Jones was "of depraved mind and manners, grossly ignorant, insolent, prejudiced, mean, intemperate, and, I believe, dishonest, and altogether unfit for the office of sheriff," and he urges upon the company that Jones was hostile to it, and would side with squatters against the company. In support of this last allegation the following affidavit was submitted:

Personally came before me, one of the justices of the peace for the county of Allegheny, James Fulton, who, being sworn agreeable to law, deposeth and saith that on the first day of August last, he being at the house of William Brown, for the purpose of choosing officers of the battalion, a certain Ephraim Jones mentioned to him that he was a candidate for the sheriff's office, and hoped the said Fulton would give him his interest for, as there was a candidate in town, and if they would succeed they would choose juries to suit the land-jobbers, and if he, the said Jones, should succeed he would choose juries from the country, or west side of the Allegheny river, to suit the actual settlers, as he, the said Jones, was no friend to the land-jobbers. And further this deponent saith not.

JAMES FULTON.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 19th day of October, 1798.

SAMUEL A. RIPPEY.

The friends of Postlethwaite also filed the following with the governor:

To His Excellency, Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens of Allegheny county, respectfully showeth:

That Joseph R. Postlethwaite and Ephraim Jones are on the return for sheriff for Allegheny county for the ensuing three years; that the former is the highest by a majority of about one hundred and twenty votes, agreeably to the returns of all the districts of this county except three, which were in figures only, and not in writing as the act of assembly directs, but which, if admitted as legal returns, will give a balance in favor of Ephraim Jones of about forty votes; and that the judges deputed from the different districts, not having agreed on accepting or rejecting such returns, have made a special return, stating the facts, to be submitted to your excellency for your determination.

It being of the utmost consequence to your memorialists, in common with their fellow-citizens of Allegheny county, that the office of sheriff be filled by one in whose upright

Your old friend
Josiah Copley

principles, fair character, firmness of mind and respect for order and legal authority just confidence may be placed, with a knowledge of your constitutional power they (your memorialists) respectfully submit a few facts and observations on this important subject.

Joseph R. Postlethwaite is of unblemished reputation, and possesses a knowledge of business which renders him highly deserving of the appointment; and we are convinced he will discharge the duties of the office with ability and integrity and to the general satisfaction of his fellow-citizens. From our knowledge of Ephraim Jones, we are unable to vouch for even his honesty, and believe him vindictive, oppressive, quarrelsome and a contemner of the constituted authorities, as appears by the records of the courts of this county. And further, exclusive of the objections to his appointment arising from his principles, general conduct and character, we represent to your excellency that he has not but about one-fourth part of the votes received, and that a very great proportion of those were obtained (particularly in the districts of Meadville and Beaver) by promises on his part to settlers on land claiming adversely to warrants under the act of assembly of 3d April, 1792, to summon juries opposed to office-titles and previously determined in favor of the claims of the settlers.

Anxious for the preservation of the trial by jury in its genuine purity, and dreading consequences (too evident to need comment) from the appointment to the office of sheriff of a man shackled with previous engagements to act wrongly in office, in aid of popular prejudice already of alarming predominancy, and threatening in this county, as in Wyoming, systematic opposition to legal principles and adjudications, we confidently trust and pray your excellency will commission Joseph R. Postlethwaite.

George Wallace, John McDowell, Jno. Gibson, Ebenezer Denny, James Brison, Nathaniel Bedford, James G. Heron, John Wilkins, John Woods, George Stevenson, Steel Semple, Thomas Collins, H. Morrison, John Irwin.

October 15, 1798.

This was followed by the following, from the friends of Jones:

His Excellency, Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:

We, the undersigned, being well acquainted with the character of Ephraim Jones, resident of this county for many years, who by industry hath acquired a valuable property, and who hath lately canvassed for the sheriff's office in the county of Allegheny and state of Pennsylvania, and obtained a majority of forty-five votes in said county, do recommend him to your notice as a proper person to be commissioned and appointed to the office of sheriff, deeming him well qualified to discharge the duties appertaining to that office in this county. We are induced to make this representation, as we understood an exception is about to be taken against his being commissioned, because two or three of the districts have been returned in figures (as hath hitherto been usual in those districts), and because we think that the ignorance or negligence of the judge of a particular district ought not to operate against the reception of the suffrages of the people.

A. Kirkpatrick, A. Richardson, John Nevill, Abner Barker, Isaac Craig, Jesse Barker, Samuel S. Mahon, John Johnston, A. Tannehill, John Hannah, Presley Nevill, Samuel Ewalt, Samuel Creigh.

And this was supplemented by the following letter from Brackenridge:

PITTSBURGH, October 16, 1798.

SIR—The election in this county has gone in favor of the republican or democratic interest at all points and in almost all particulars.

In the county of Allegheny a dispute arose among the judges, from one or two of the district returns being in figures, and not in letters at length as the law directs. This did not affect the election of any officers but that of the sheriff. Being consulted, I advised a *special* return, or a statement of the fact, according to the truth of it.

At the request of the party who bears this I further give my opinion, that the law in this case is directory, the object being to secure from alteration, but the return in figures does not vitiate. As in the case of the law for the abolition of slavery, where it is made a requisite that in recording the age, township, occupation of the owner, etc., be specified, yet the omission is held not to be fatal, the object being to establish the identity, and when that is rendered certain, by any requisite, the existence of the whole is not essential.

In this case the commissioning either on the return is within the direction of the governor; he will doubtless pay the same respect to figures as he would to letters, where there is no suspicion of alteration.

The bearer, in whose favor I give my opinion, was with me in the late election; I am therefore the more disposed to wish him success in obtaining his commission. You will oblige me in rendering him any service with the governor that may be judged expedient. If it is any object with you to have an interest in this county at the ensuing election for governor, it is of moment that he be commissioned.

You will appreciate the value of this hint, and take measures accordingly.

You may have heard the rumor of the opposition to John Woods as a candidate for congress. The part taken by me has involved me in a quarrel with Judge Addison and others; but after a severe battle they have been all routed, horse, foot and dragoons. John Woods could not have gone to the [state] senate without my acquiescence, and I was struck with his audacity and that of his connection in attempting anything else, until the period for which he was elected had expired.

If the chief justice [Thomas McKean] is offered for governor at the next election you may be assured I shall take an avowed and decided part in his favor, and one decided man that can write and speak both is worth a thousand.

But this is running into what does not immediately relate to my object, and so I have done. I am, sir, with respect,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

To ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.
Secretary of the Commonwealth, Philadelphia.

And the governor ended it all by this significant addendum:

Let a commission issue in favor of Mr. Jones as sheriff of Allegheny county, he being the highest in vote upon the return. THOMAS MIFFLIN.
29th October, 1798.

The facts in the case are given at some length, to show that there were "tempests in a teapot," politically, then as well as now, and that the same political methods prevailed in those days as in these. The letter of Brackenridge is as adroit a use of political "influence" as the latter days can furnish. It undoubtedly settled Mr. Postlethwaite's "hash."

The returns of the election for 1799 show that for representative at Harrisburg James Sample had 1,837 votes and Dunning McNair 1,582, and that for governor James Ross, of Pittsburgh, had 2,106 and Thomas McKean 976. Brackenridge's offer of his great power in politics to McKean, in his letter to Dallas, shows that while the spirit was willing the flesh was weak. As showing the *personnel* of the election boards and the location of the election districts, we append the signatures to the returns of 1799:

William Earl, First district, Pittsburgh; Richard McClure, Second district, Elizabeth; Thomas McKee, Third district, Plum and Versailles; John Taylor,

Fourth district, Moon; John Kinkead, Fifth district, Mifflin and St. Clair; George Dickson, Sixth district, Fayette; Edward Work, Seventh district, Mead (Crawford county); Robert McNair, Eighth district, Erie; James McClaran, Ninth district, Franklin (Venango); David Watson, Tenth district, Beaver; James Clark, Eleventh district, Freeport (Armstrong); David Kerr, Twelfth district, Middlesex (Mercer); Timothy Tuttle, Thirteenth district, Greenfield (Mercer); Jabez Colt, Fourteenth district, Conneaut (Erie county); William Hays, Fifteenth district, Springfield (Erie county); Jacob Connack, Sixteenth district, Waterford (Erie county); Samuel McCray, Seventeenth district, Oil Creek (Warren); James Elder, Eighteenth district, Slippery Rock (Butler); T. McMillan, Nineteenth district, North Beaver.

In 1800 the "Indian country" was formed into separate counties, Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Armstrong, Venango, Warren, Crawford and Erie being all formed in that year. The return above given was therefore the last in which Allegheny included all these other counties. In 1804 the vote of Allegheny for electors was 526, but there was no opposition. In 1805 there appeared to have been a lively skirmish.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1805.

	Thomas McKean.	Simon Snyder.
Pittsburgh	210	125
Plum	22	65
McKeesport	83	22
Elizabethtown	132	39
Mifflin	85	98
Fayette	106	93
Moon	63	65
Ohio	14	50
Robinson	35	54
Pine	46	92
Deer	55	17
Pitt	144	77
St. Clair	130	114
	1,125	911

RETURN OF THE ELECTION OF SHERIFF IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, WILLIAM WOODS, APPOINTED AND COMMISSIONED OCTOBER 27, 1807.

A return of the general election held on the second Tuesday of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, from the several districts within the county of Allegheny, for sheriff of said county, made into the office of the clerk of the court of quarter sessions of the peace of said county, by the judges of the several districts.

DISTRICTS.	Wm. Woods.	Jas. Patterson.
Pittsburgh	250	134
Plum (John Little's)	18	46
Elizabethtown	64	63
Reedsburg (Mifflin)	43	131
Noblesburg (Noblestown, Fayette township)	52	31
Robinson (William Marks')	23	31
Ohio (John Moore's)	15	36
Moon (John Byers')	44	35
Pine (Baltzer Good's)	53	90
Deer (Thomas McConnell's)	22	7
Pitt (Thomas Wilson's)	130	62
St. Clair (Thomas McCully's)	48	83
[No return from McKeesport.]	762	749

Certified by Presley Neville, Clerk.

A return of the number of votes given for coroner at a general election held in and for the county of Allegheny on the second Tuesday in October, 1809: James Kerwin, 1,093; Joseph Curry, 1,274.

A general return of the votes given for a member of Congress in and for the congressional district composed of Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Venango, Crawford, Warren and Erie counties on Tuesday, the 9th of October, A. D. 1810.

COUNTIES.	Adamson Tannehill.	Abner Lacock.	Samuel Smith.
Allegheny	1,390	349	99
Beaver	246	735	3
Butler	193	347	...
Mercer	31	755	11
Venango and Warren	19	297	77
Crawford	484	192	...
Erie	92	222	136
	2,455	2,897	326

Vote for sheriff in Allegheny county, 1810: William Westhoff, 1,095; William Steel, 695; Thomas Jones, 290.

CORONER'S ELECTION, 1805.

	Wm. Porter.	Z. A. Tannehill.	Jas. Kerwin.	Jos. Curry.
Pittsburgh	281	275	125	120
Plum	32	32	60	60
McKeesport	68	59	32	20
Elizabethtown	92	92	57	58
Reedsburg (Mifflin)	41	42	82	85
Noblesburg (Fayette)	60	58	82	82
Moon	48	47	65	64
Ohio	11	10	35	35
Deer	31	31	41	41
Robinson	35	36	41	42
Pitt	167	145	65	64
St. Clair	58	57	91	138
Pine	77	76	84	82
	1,001	960	860	891

VOTE FOR SENATOR, 1805.

	Jas. Martin.	Sam'l Ewalt.	Thos. Morton.
Allegheny	1,000	996	40
Beaver	487	509	....
Butler	425	214	....
	1,912	1,719	40

RETURN OF ELECTION FOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE COUNTIES OF ALLEGHENY, BEAVER AND BUTLER IN 1805.

COUNTIES.	Jacob Macklin.	Abner Lacock.	Frank McClure.	James Carothers.	John McBride.	Jacob Ferree.	George Robinson.
Allegheny	956	966	961	1,055	1,030	799	344
Beaver	472	466	475	520	507	200	328
Butler	422	396	389	215	218	70	164
	1,850	1,828	1,825	1,790	1,755	1,069	836

These returns show little, if any, tinge of party color. They all indicate a sparse population. Any one of the old four wards of Allegheny City could now poll more votes than the whole county did in the early part of the century. In 1836 the vote for Harrison for president was 3,622, and for Van Buren, 3,074; and in 1838 this vote had increased to 6,000 for Ritner to 4,500 for Potter. In 1832, for the first time, party lines began to appear. Wirt, the anti-masonic candidate for president, had a small majority in that year, and from that time to the present party lines have been pretty strictly drawn. Occasionally the democrats have carried the county, but as a general rule the county has been against the democracy since 1832, at first by a small and fluctuating majority, but gradually increasing until at present it is overwhelming. As far as it is possible to judge from tradition, the city and county both were democratic until about 1832. The whisky insurrection, which grew out of an economical question that appealed strongly to the selfish interests, showed nearly the entire people of the county to be upon the democratic side, because democrats like Gallatin, Findley and Brackenridge showed sympathy for them, while federalists like the Nevilles were on the side of the government in enforcing the excise law. Men like James Ross and Walter Forward could be elected to any office they were willing to stand for; but that was because they enjoyed the public confidence, and not because of their politics. James Ross, for instance, was president of the select council of the city from 1816 to 1832, although the select council was largely democratic during all that period. Politics, in fact, until the times of Jackson and the anti-masonic excitement, did not enter, to any appreciable extent, into the selection of men for public places. They were chosen for their personal rather than their political qualities; and it is safe to say that from the time of the expiration of the presidential term of the elder Adams, when the federal party came practically to an end, down to the advent of the junior Adams in 1824, and the contest with Jackson that followed, there

was really no such thing as politics, in city or county, in the selection of public officers. Voters took sides for and against a man according to their personal preferences. There was no political oratory to influence the public mind, nor a political convention to range men by their political convictions. It was the "era of good feeling," and remarkable for the absence of all political animosity. The general trend of political feeling was, of course, democratic, as would have been shown had any political question called out an expression of public opinion; but no such question arose until Jackson's election in 1828, and the war upon the United States bank which followed. The anti-masonic question may be regarded as an exception; but it came almost simultaneously with the Jackson and bank questions, and the two, in this section, were so blended together as to make it impossible to separate them.

The opposition to Jackson and to his financial policy had no general organization. It started out, in localities, as the national republican party, and finally crystallized in the whig party; but in this section the anti-masonic organization had the start of both, and being, in itself, strongly anti-Jackson, all the thorough anti-Jackson feeling naturally gravitated to it as offering the best method of fighting Jacksonism, without regard to its specialty—opposition to secret societies. There was no anti-masonic candidate for president in 1828. The fight that year was a personal one between Jackson and Adams, and this city and county were on the side of Jackson in that struggle. But in 1832 the anti-masons presented William Wirt, of Baltimore, at one time previously attorney-general of the United States, as their candidate, and the anti-Jackson men, pure and simple, having no other candidate, gave their votes to Wirt as the best exponent of their opposition to Jackson. The same thing happened in 1836, when men of all shades of the opposition—whigs as well as anti-masons—voted for Gen. W. H. Harrison. In 1832 both city and county gave a small majority for Wirt.

The anti-masonic excitement was the first to break into the solidity of the democratic ranks. It presented an issue that took a deep hold upon the feelings of a large portion of the people, particularly in the country districts. Quite a number of those who ranged themselves upon the anti-masonic side must have been democrats. James C. Gilleland, who started the *Mercury*, a democratic paper, was afterward the publisher of the *Times*, the anti-masonic organ; and A. W. Foster, Jr., who succeeded him, was also of democratic antecedents. Many others could be mentioned, but it is not necessary. After it had run a course of a few years the United States bank question arose, and this, to a great many, was a more absorbing question than Masonry; but the anti-masons being against Jackson on the bank issue, the question for the anti-Jackson men, outside of the anti-masonic ranks, was whether to organize into a third party or vote with the anti-masons, and so make their votes count the most against Jackson. Charles Shaler, who, up to that time, had been a strong anti-Jackson man, expressed his view and that of many others in

the declaration that "the curse of Jacksonism was great, but the curse of anti-masonry was greater;" and he and those who thought with him became democrats from that period onward; but there were others, and by no means a few, who simply reversed Shaler's proposition, and said "the curse of anti-masonry is great, but the curse of Jacksonism is greater," and thenceforward threw in their lot with the anti-masons, as the only way of testifying their disapproval of Jackson and his policy. Hence the opposition vote of Pittsburgh and Allegheny never gave a fair test of the purely anti-masonic feeling; it was all thoroughly anti-Jackson, but only partly anti-masonic.

In 1835 the democrats of this state split into two factions, one running George Wolf for governor and the other Henry A. Muhlenberg. The anti-masonic candidate was Joseph Ritner. He had been a candidate on the same ticket in 1829 and in 1832. His vote in 1829 was small; in 1832 it was much larger, but in 1835 the chance of success was so promising that all shades of the opposition united on him, tacitly, and he was elected by a large majority, slipping in easily between Wolf and Muhlenberg. With him was elected a legislature that was anti-masonic in both branches; and this success contributed greatly to the final extinguishment of anti-masonry. For now it had everything in its own power. Whatever it was possible to do, politically, to put down Masonry, it was in its power to do. And what *could* it do? The one sole thing it could find to do was to pass an act prohibiting the administration of extra-judicial oaths. After going over the whole ground, this was found to be the extent of their power. And this they did. The act was passed and approved by the governor, and, for all that I know to the contrary, is on the statute-books yet, perfectly harmless and inefficient. No secret society ever was closed by it, and the opposition to such societies having no other legal way to vent its hostility to them, the victory was a barren one. From that day forward the secret societies began to renew their strength, and by 1842 all traces of the anti-masonic party had passed out of sight. While it lasted it had, morally, a strong persecuting force, but legally it could give no expression to its power. It contributed, in this section, in conjunction with the anti-Jackson sentiment, to break down the democratic majority, and beyond that it was a mere political episode, of which this generation has but a limited knowledge.

I have dwelt upon this episode because of my personal knowledge of it. It had passed its climax and was decidedly on the wane when I entered the political field in 1839. An anti-Jackson man, I was tolerant of anti-masonry because it was anti-Jackson, and can write impartially of it, now, because all feeling concerning it has vanished away. Its chief value, in any political retrospect, arises from the fact that it first broke the solidity of the democratic phalanx, and because its advent marks the beginning of that hostility to the democratic organization which has since made both city and county so remarkable.

In 1838, in the contest for governor between Ritner and Porter, the county

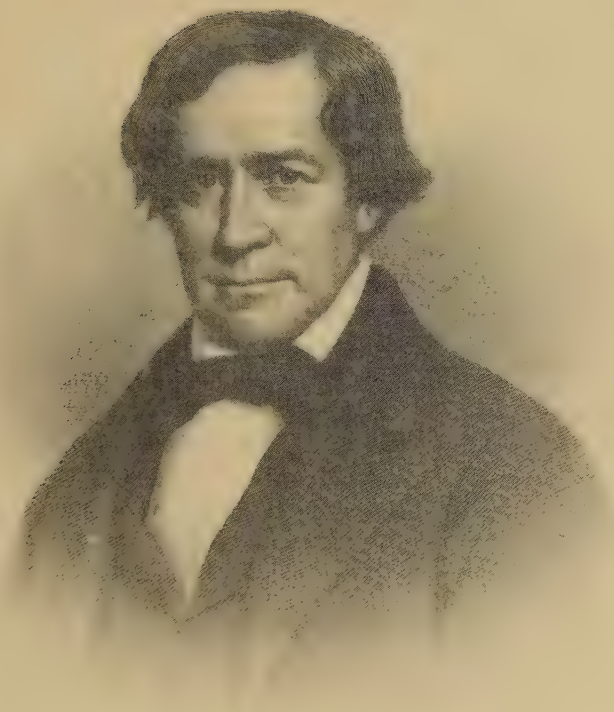
gave 1,530 majority for Ritner, a majority counted huge in those days. In 1840 this had grown to over 3,000 for Harrison. It gave large majorities for Clay in 1844 and for Taylor in 1848, and even in 1852 it gave Scott 2,800 majority. In 1856 it gave Fremont about 5,500 majority, and in 1860 it gave a round 10,000 to Lincoln. It gave over 13,000 to Garfield in 1880, over 18,600 to Blaine in 1884, and over 21,400 to Harrison in 1888. From 1838 to 1888 the transition from a small to an overwhelming majority has been noteworthy. Within that fifty years the democrats have carried the city occasionally and the county a few times; but these are the exceptions that prove the rule; both city and county have been anti-democratic as a rule.

The city elected its mayor first in 1836, and the mayor was elected annually thereafter until 1858, when the term became biennial. At the first election for mayor, and in 1837 and 1838, Jonas R. McClintock, democrat, was elected mayor; but he was a young man, and very popular with the young men of all parties, so that his election proves his own popularity rather than that the city was democratic. In 1839 William Little, a whig, but running as a volunteer, was chosen. In 1840 (the election being in January) William W. Irwin, whig and anti-mason, was elected, and in October of that year he was elected to Congress. In 1841 James Thompson, whig, was chosen; in 1842, Alex. Hay, whig, who was re-elected in 1843 and 1844 as an independent. In 1845 the whigs elected William J. Howard, and in 1846 William Kerr, democrat, was chosen. In 1847 and 1848 Gabriel Adams, whig, was elected, and in 1849 John Herron, whig. In 1850, in an anti-Catholic furor, Joseph Barker, whig, but running as a volunteer, was successful. In 1851 and 1852 John B. Guthrie, democrat, was chosen, and from that time on until 1856 the whigs elected the mayor; in 1857 the republicans elected Henry A. Weaver, and re-elected him for two years in 1858. Since 1860 the democrats have elected James Blackmore, Robert Liddell and R. W. Lyon to the mayoralty, and all the other mayors within that time have been republican. With rare exceptions, the popular vote has been republican in the city. Occasional variations as to persons have occurred, but both here and in Allegheny City the preponderance has been almost regularly on the republican side.

Following is a list* of the representatives in Congress from the district including Allegheny county for one hundred years:

First Congress, Thomas Scott, from 1789–91; second, Israel Jacobs, 1791–93; third, Thomas Scott, 1793–95; fourth, Albert Gallatin, 1795–97; fifth, Albert Gallatin, 1797–99; sixth, Albert Gallatin, 1799–1801; seventh, William Hoge, 1801–03; eighth, William Hoge, 1803, resigned 1804; John Hoge, elected and took his seat November 27, 1804; ninth, John Hamilton, from 1805–07; tenth, William Hoge, 1807–09; eleventh, William Hoge, 1809–11; twelfth, Abner Lacock, 1811–13; thirteenth, Adamson Tannehill, 1813–15; fourteenth, Thomas Smith, 1815–17; fifteenth, Henry Baldwin, 1817–19;

* Furnished by William B. Negley, Esq.



Wm. McCully

sixteenth, Henry Baldwin, 1819–21; seventeenth, Henry Baldwin, 1821, resigned in 1822; Walter Forward, elected and took his seat December 2, 1822; eighteenth, Walter Forward, from 1823–25; nineteenth, James S. Stevenson, 1825–27; twentieth, James S. Stevenson, 1827–29; twenty-first, Harmar Denny, 1829–31; twenty-second, Harmar Denny, 1831–33; twenty-third, Harmar Denny, 1833–35; twenty-fourth, Harmar Denny, 1835–37; twenty-fifth, Richard Biddle, 1837–39; twenty-sixth, Richard Biddle, 1839, resigned in 1840; H. M. Brackenridge, elected and took his seat December 10, 1840; twenty-seventh, W. W. Irwin, from 1841–43; twenty-eighth, William Wilkins, 1843, resigned in 1844; Cornelius Darragh, elected and took his seat March 26, 1844; twenty-ninth, Cornelius Darragh, from 1845–47; thirtieth, Moses Hampton, 1847–49; thirty-first, Moses Hampton, 1849–51; thirty-second, Thomas M. Howe, 1851–53; thirty-third, twenty-second district, David Ritchie, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Howe, 1853–55; thirty-fourth, twenty-second district, David Ritchie, twenty-third district, Samuel A. Purviance, 1855–57; thirty-fifth, twenty-third district, Samuel A. Purviance, twenty-second district, David Ritchie, 1857–59; thirty-sixth, twenty-second district, James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district, Robert McKnight, 1859–61; thirty-seventh, twenty-third district, Robert McKnight, twenty-second district, James K. Moorhead, 1861–63; thirty-eighth, twenty-second district, James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district, Thomas Williams, 1863–65; thirty-ninth, twenty-second district, James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district, Thomas Williams, 1865–67; fortieth, twenty-third district, Thomas Williams, twenty-second district, James K. Moorhead, 1867–69; forty-first, twenty-second district, James S. Negley, twenty-third district, Darwin Phelps, 1869–71; forty-second, twenty-second district, James S. Negley, twenty-third district, Ebeneezer McJunkin, 1871–73; forty-third, twenty-second district, James S. Negley, 1873–75; twenty-third district, Ebeneezer McJunkin, 1873, resigned January 1, 1875; twenty-third district, John M. Thompson, elected and took his seat January 5, 1875; forty-fourth, twenty-second district, James H. Hopkins, twenty-third district, Alex. G. Cochran, 1875–77; forty-fifth, twenty second district, Russel Errett, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1877–79; forty-sixth, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, twenty-second district, Russel Errett, 1879–81; forty-seventh, twenty-second district, Russel Errett, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1881–83; forty-eighth, twenty-third district, James H. Hopkins, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1883–85; forty-ninth, twenty-second district, James S. Negley, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1885–87; fiftieth, twenty-second district, John Dalzell, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1887–89; fifty-first, twenty-second district, John Dalzell, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1889–91.

A political movement that resulted in the formation of the republican party of the United States originated in this city. The old whig party held its last national convention in 1852. It nominated Gen. Winfield Scott for

president, and made a gallant fight for him, but in vain. The effect of the anti-slavery agitation, which began in 1832, and as it progressed excited more and more the fears of the south, was already telling upon the whig party. It had elected Taylor to the presidency in 1848, but when its national convention met in 1852 it found itself forced to take grounds upon the slavery question. Its southern adherents wanted an outspoken stand taken against further agitation of the slavery question, while the more timid northerners were for a "straddle," that could be interpreted both ways. The result was the adoption of a platform that was pro-slavery enough to alarm the northern anti-slavery whigs, and not enough to satisfy the southern whigs. Neither faction being satisfied, the election of 1852 went practically by default. Scott carried two northern states and two southern states; all the rest went for Pierce, and elected him. This overwhelming defeat broke up the whig party. It never rallied again. By 1854 the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the attempt to introduce slavery into Kansas drove the anti-slavery whigs into various local combinations; in some places they were christened "anti-Nebraska," in others "free-soil," and in others by various names; but, meantime, the anti-extension-of-slavery feeling was steadily increasing, and in 1855 all thoughtful men were convinced that the only way to prevent the spread of slavery into the new territories was by forming a new national organization. Hon. Salmon P. Chase, being in Pittsburgh in 1855, consulted with David N. White, then editor of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, and they determined upon calling a national convention to form a party to resist the further extension of slavery. Mr. White opened a correspondence with the active anti-Nebraska men of the country, and the result was the issuance of a call for a national convention, to be held in Pittsburgh, February 22, 1856, to form a basis of union for all the various fragments of political organizations opposed to slavery extension. The call was signed by representative men from eight states, and the convention met here at the time appointed. It was not a delegate convention, but was a national mass-meeting, free to all who chose to come. Representatives were present from all the northern states and from several of the southern. John A. King, of New York, was temporary chairman, and Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, was the permanent president. It passed resolutions against the further extension of slavery, and called a national nominating convention to meet in June, at Philadelphia, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president. This nominating convention selected John C. Fremont as its candidate for president, and William L. Dayton for vice-president; and they would have been elected had Pennsylvania voted with the other northern states. But Pennsylvania voted for Buchanan, and saved his election. In 1860, however, this party elected Lincoln to the presidency, and all who followed down to 1880. Thus the little private consultation between White and Chase, in a room at the Monongahela House, eventuated in the formation of a national party, that succeeded in a few years in winning national power and holding it for twenty-four years.

The success of this political movement demonstrates how thoroughly the emotions control human action. The opposition to slavery was purely humanitarian in its origin. It appealed to all the better and higher feelings of human nature, and, when they were thoroughly worked up, they were irresistible in their might. While legal obstacles intervened, no attempt was made to disturb the institution of slavery in the several states; but as soon as the south appealed to the arbitrament of the sword to save slavery, all legal obstacles disappeared, and slavery went down before the withering breath of an excited and determined people. Never before was so great a revolution accomplished in so short a time. The movement was successful because it had the great heart of the nation behind it. This is written, not from any party point of view, but as a fact of history; and it is written here because the movement had its actual beginning in this city. It did not succeed because it began here, but because the elements were simply waiting to be combined into a form of movement adequate to its success.

CHAPTER XIV.

BENCH AND BAR.

EARLY COURTS—JUDICIAL OFFICERS—STOCKS AND PILLORY—WILLIAM PENN'S "PEACEMAKERS"—CIRCUIT AND JUDICIAL DISTRICTS—THE BENCH—THE BAR.

THE BENCH.

UNDER the constitutions of 1776 and 1790, as well as under that of 1838, which succeeded them, all judicial officers were appointed for life by the governor. So chary were the framers of the first two constitutions of Pennsylvania of trusting power in the hands of the people that *all* officers within the state had to be appointed by the governor. The offices of sheriff and coroner were seeming exceptions, but only in seeming. They were the sole elective county offices (except commissioners'), but all voters had to vote for two candidates for sheriff and two for coroner, and the governor appointed whichever one, of the two who received the most votes, that pleased him best. Ordinarily, the one highest in vote was appointed, but not always. Gov. McKean took the bit in his mouth on one occasion, at least, and appointed the lowest of the two candidates. The people, a hundred years ago, were not considered the depositories of all political power, as now, and they were trusted as little as possible. This was clearly apparent in the appointment of judges. A judgeship was not only a life office, but the judges were frequently chosen from outside the vicinage in which they were to serve. At one time it seemed that the country east of the Susquehanna was to furnish all the judges

for Allegheny county. Judge Grier came from Lycoming county, Judge Hepburn from Easton, and then Judge Patton from Centre. Even the district attorney for this county, who was a deputy of the attorney-general, was from Lycoming county for at least one governor's term, and my recollection is that the common practice was to quarter the governor's pets as district attorneys in counties to which they did not belong. It was not until 1851 that the power of choosing judges was conferred upon the people; and this, being a radical departure from the practice of sixty years, went even further, and limited the term to ten years for county judges and fifteen years for judges of the supreme court. The constitution of 1873 changed the term of the latter to twenty-one years.

The English system of jurisprudence prevailed in Pennsylvania during the proprietary government. It was slightly modified by the constitution of 1776, and radically changed by the constitution of 1790. To understand our early courts we must have some knowledge of the provincial system.

The act of May 22, 1722, which continued in force, with slight amendments and some interruptions, until after the Revolution, established and regulated the courts. Each county had a court of "general quarter sessions of the peace and gaol delivery," for criminal offenses, and a court of "common pleas," for the trial of civil causes, each court required to hold four terms in the year. The governor was authorized to appoint and commission "a competent number of justices of the peace" for each county; and they, or any three of them, could hold the court of quarter sessions. He was also authorized to appoint and commission "a competent number of persons" to hold the common pleas. At first the same persons were appointed and commissioned for both courts. But the act of September 9, 1759, prohibited the justices of the quarter sessions from holding commissions as judges of the common pleas. That act required "five persons of the best discretion, capacity, judgment and integrity" to be commissioned for the common pleas, any three of whom could hold the court. These justices and judges were appointed for life or during good behavior. The constitution of 1776 limited them to a term of seven years, but the constitution of 1790 restored the old rule of appointment for life or good behavior.

The orphans' court was established by act of March 29, 1713, to be held by the justices of the quarter sessions. But the act of 1759 changed this, and made the judges of the common pleas the judges of the orphans' court.

The act of 1722 established a supreme court of three judges, afterward increased to four, who reviewed, on writs of error, the proceedings in the county courts, and were also judges of the court of oyer and terminer, for the trial of all capital felonies, for which purpose they visited each county twice a year. The act of May 31, 1718, made the following offenses punishable with death: Treason, misprision of treason, murder, manslaughter, sodomy, rape, robbery, mayhem, arson, burglary, witchcraft, and concealing the birth of a bastard child.

All this region of the state was then in Cumberland county. Bedford county was erected by act of March 9, 1771, and all west of the mountains was included in it. The courts were then held at Bedford. The first court held there was April 16, 1771. The scattered settlers of the west were represented by George Wilson, William Crawford, Thomas Gist and Dorsey Pentecost, who were justices of the peace and judges of the court. The court divided the county into townships. Pitt township (including Pittsburgh) embraced the greater part of the present county of Allegheny and portions of Beaver, Washington and Westmoreland, and had fifty-two land-owners, twenty tenants and thirteen single freemen.

Westmoreland county was formed out of Bedford by act of February 26, 1773, and embraced all of the province west of the mountains. The act directed the courts to be held at the house of Robert Hanna, until a court-house should be built. Robert Hanna lived in a log house about three miles northeast of where Greensburg now stands.

Five trustees were named in the act to locate the county seat and erect the public buildings. Robert Hanna and Joseph Erwin were two of them; Hanna rented his house to Erwin to be kept as a tavern, and got the majority of the trustees to recommend his place—where a few other cabins were speedily erected, and the place named Hannastown—for the county seat. Gen. Arthur St. Clair and a minority of the trustees recommended Pittsburgh. This difference of opinion, and the unsettled condition of affairs during the Revolution, delayed the matter until 1787, when the county seat was fixed at Greensburg. In 1775 Hannastown had twenty-five or thirty cabins, having about as many houses and inhabitants as Pittsburgh. Now its site is scarcely known. The town was burned by the Indians in July, 1782, but the house of Hanna, being adjacent to the fort, escaped, and the courts continued to be held at his house until October, 1786; the first at Greensburg was in January, 1787.

During all the time the courts were held at Hannastown, Pittsburgh was in Westmoreland county. The first court was held April 6, 1773. William Crawford was the first presiding justice. He resided on the Youghiogheny, opposite where Connellsville now stands. He had been a justice of the peace while the territory was in Cumberland county, and afterward when it was in Bedford county. In 1775 he took sides with Virginia in the border contest, and was removed. He was the Col. Crawford who conducted the unfortunate expedition against the Indians on the Sandusky, and suffered such a cruel death at their hands. Col. William Crawford was a gentleman of the old school, intelligent, accomplished, brave, patriotic. He was the personal friend of Washington, and served with him under Gen. Braddock. His death cast a cloud of sorrow and gloom over all the settlements west of the mountains.

Under the provincial system the justices selected their own president. By act of January 28, 1777, the president and executive council (under the constitution of 1776) appointed and commissioned one as presiding justice.

Among the first thus regularly appointed and commissioned was John Moor. John Moor was born in Lancaster county in 1738. At the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, he lived on a farm of four hundred acres on Crabtree run, in Westmoreland county. In 1777 he was commissioned a justice of the peace of Westmoreland county, in 1779 a judge of the common pleas, and in 1785 president judge. Not being a lawyer, he could not hold that position after the adoption of the constitution of 1790.

At the first court held at Hannastown a jail was ordered to be erected. It was made of round, unhewn logs, one story high, and had but one small room, where men and women, whites, blacks and Indians were confined together. The jail was mainly to confine the prisoners until trial, for imprisonment was not generally a part of the sentence after conviction. Punishments were fines, whipping, standing in the pillory or stocks, cropping the ears and branding. The whipping-post, which stood in front of the jail, was a stout sapling placed firmly in the ground, with a crosspiece above the head, to which the hands of the culprit were tied, while the lashes were inflicted by the sheriff on his bare back. The pillory consisted of a low platform on which the culprit stood, with uprights supporting a frame with openings in it through which his head and hands projected. At common law every passer-by might cast one stone at the projecting head. The stocks were also a rude framework on which the culprit sat, his legs projecting through openings in front. When no regular stocks were at hand, the custom was to lift the corner of a rail fence and thrust the legs between the two lower rails.

At the October sessions of 1773 James Brigland was convicted on two indictments for larceny; on the first, sentenced to pay a fine of twenty shillings, and receive ten lashes at the whipping-post; and on the second, twenty lashes. Luke Picket, for larceny, twenty-one lashes, and Patrick J. Masterson, for the same offense, fifteen lashes. At the January sessions, 1774, William Howard, for a felony, was sentenced to receive thirty lashes on the bare back, well laid on, and afterward stand one hour in the pillory. This was the first sentence to the pillory. At every succeeding term of court numerous parties received punishments by whipping, standing in the pillory, branding, etc. At the April sessions, 1782, James Magill was sentenced to be whipped, stand in the pillory, have his right ear cropped, and be branded in the forehead. At the April sessions, 1783, John Smith, for a felony, was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds, receive thirty-nine lashes on his back, well laid on, stand in the pillory one hour, and have his ears cut off and nailed to the pillory. At the July sessions, 1788, Jane Adamson, a servant of Samuel Sample, had one year added to her indenture for having a bastard child. The first person convicted of murder, and hung, west of the mountains, was an Indian of the Delaware tribe, by the name of Mamachtaga. In 1785, in a drunken spree at Pittsburgh, he crossed the river to the Allegheny side, nearly opposite Killbuck island, and killed a white man by the name of Smith.

He was tried at Hannastown in the fall of that year, before Chief-Justice McKean. Hugh H. Brackenridge was his counsel. When brought into court, he refused, at first, to plead "not guilty;" for that, he said, would be a lie; he did kill Smith, but said he was drunk at the time, and did not know what he was doing. The chief justice, however, held that drunkenness was no excuse for murder.

As there was no courthouse at Hannastown, the courts were always held in the house of Robert Hanna. Parties, jurors, witnesses and lawyers were crowded together in a small room, nearly all standing. The judges occupied common hickory chairs raised on a clapboard bench at one side.

During the revolutionary war, while the courts met regularly, but little business was transacted, and the laws were not rigidly enforced. At the October sessions, 1781, only one constable attended, and he was from Pittsburgh. The first courts held in Pittsburgh were Virginia courts, administering the laws of Virginia. They were held under authority of Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia. The first court was held February 21, 1775.

As soon as the country west of the mountains began to be settled, a controversy sprang up between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to which owned the territory. The controversy between the two state jurisdictions continued in an irregular way for a year. The settlers generally sided with Virginia, for the price of lands under the Virginia laws was considerably less than under the Pennsylvania laws.

The governor of Virginia and his agent Connolly enforced their pretensions by holding regular courts in Pittsburgh. The first court was held February 21, 1775. The justices of the peace of Augusta county, who held this court, were George Croghan, John Campbell, John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost, Thomas Smallman and John Gibson. John Gibson was an uncle of Chief-Justice Gibson. The court continued in session four days, and then adjourned to Staunton, Va. Courts were also held in May and September of that year. Connolly attended the court in May, but soon after that the revolutionary war broke out, when he and Lord Dunmore fled to the British camp, never to return.

The regular Virginia courts continued to be held at Pittsburgh, for West Augusta county, as it was then called, until November 30, 1776. The territory was then divided into three counties, called Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania county, which embraced the greater portions of the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The courts of this county were held regularly until the 28th of August, 1780. They were sometimes held in Pittsburgh, sometimes in or near the present town of Washington, but the greater portion of time on the farm of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela river, near the present line between Allegheny and Washington counties, where a log courthouse and jail were erected.

For five years, from 1775 to 1780, the jurisdiction of Virginia over Pitts-

burgh and all the territory across the Monongahela and Ohio was supreme, and almost undisturbed. Taxes were levied and collected, and all county offices filled by Virginia authority. Courts for the trial of all civil causes, and criminal offenses, for laying out roads, granting chartered privileges, settling the estates of decedents, etc., were regularly held.

Negotiations had been going on for several years between the two states for settling the boundary question. Terms were finally agreed upon September 23, 1780. Commissioners were appointed to extend Mason and Dixon's line, which thus became the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and to fix the western corner, according to the terms agreed upon. The jurisdiction of Virginia was withdrawn, and that of Pennsylvania extended over the territory. Washington county was erected by act of March 28, 1781. It embraced all that part of the state lying west of the Monongahela and south of the Ohio. But Pittsburgh remained in Westmoreland county. Fayette county was formed February 17, 1784.

Allegheny county was established by act of September 24, 1788. It embraced portions of Westmoreland and Washington counties, and all the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny, from which were afterward formed the counties of Armstrong, Beaver, Butler, Crawford, Erie, Lawrence, Mercer, Venango and Warren, and parts of Indiana and Clarion.

The county, although it has always had a bar of great eminence, has not furnished very much judicial material outside of its own list of judges. Hugh H. Brackenridge was appointed a justice of the supreme court in 1799, and served until the time of his death, June 25, 1816; John Kennedy was similarly appointed November 29, 1830, and served until 1851; Walter H. Lowrie was elected a justice of the same court in 1851, and was chief justice from 1857 to 1863; Henry W. Williams was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Strong, October 26, 1868, and was elected for fifteen years in November, 1869, but died in 1877; James P. Sterrett was appointed to fill his place, February 26, 1877, and elected for twenty-one years in November, 1878. Various other prominent lawyers have been pressed for places on this bench, but failed to get a nomination. The men here named, however, have all won substantial reputations on the supreme bench, and those who have passed away are still warmly remembered. Judge Brackenridge won a much higher position as judge than he ever could have won as a member of Congress, had he been successful in obtaining an election to that place. Gallatin, who defeated him for Congress, was better fitted for political life, and the judge for the judicial place that fell to him.

To the United States bench the county has contributed two eminent members, Henry Baldwin and Robert C. Grier. The latter was sent here as county judge from Lycoming county, but soon took up his permanent residence here, and won his judicial spurs by service upon the county bench, and is therefore fairly counted as coming from here. His judicial reputation was so widely

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established that President Polk, in 1846, appointed him a justice of the United States supreme court. He died in Philadelphia in 1870. He succeeded Henry Baldwin, who was appointed in 1830, and died in 1846. The older members of the bar well remember both of them. Baldwin represented this district in Congress from 1817 to 1823, and as a member of the bar he always stood in the front rank. As a judge he was candid, impartial and just, and his opinions, as rendered, were always clear, concise and easily understood. Judge McCandless always pricked up his ears when a decision of Judge Baldwin was cited to him, and when he felt compelled to rule differently, protested that he still had a high veneration for Judge Baldwin.

William Penn's idea, when he founded his colony, was that lawyers and judges could well be dispensed with. His education as a Quaker naturally led him to this. He enjoined upon his county magistrates* to appoint, every three months, a court of three "peacemakers," by whom he thought all controversies could be settled satisfactorily. If all his colonists had been Quakers this result might have been so attained, but they were not. His Scotch-Irish settlers were not of the kind to submit a quarrel to "peacemakers." His whole system failed, insomuch that even Quakers eventually became lawyers and judges. The irony of fate was never so marked as in the case of Penn's own will, which the English chancery courts spent ten years in construing, and it took his heirs half a century to settle his southern boundary with the heirs of Lord Baltimore, to say nothing of the Dunmore war and the protracted controversy over the western border of his colony. His charter gave him five degrees west of the Delaware, and if the western border had been settled on this basis it would have been as serpentine as the course of the Delaware. Happily for us, it was finally settled upon a more sensible basis, and Penn's system of "peacemakers," quarterly appointed, died out before Allegheny county was formed.

The county was organized in September, 1788, and the first court was held on the 16th of December of that year. The courthouse was not built until some years afterward, and this first court was held in a room on the corner of Second and Market. The first execution in the county took place January 23, 1793, on Boyd's hill, not far from Fort Fayette. From this it is inferable that the county then had no jail and that the fort was used temporarily as a place of detention for criminals. James Ewalt was sheriff when Dunning was hung. Under the proprietary government, as well as under the first constitution of 1776, the county court was composed of the justices of the peace of the county, and in those times the court sat but two or three days at a time. The executive council of the state designated someone to preside at court, and the person so designated was rarely a lawyer. In this county, at this court held in 1788, the executive council commissioned George Wallace as president

* His county magistrates, according to the developments of Indian history, were not of a high order. They were of the earth, earthy.

judge, and he served as such until 1791, when the constitution of 1790 went into operation. He was not a lawyer, but a magistrate, appointed originally for Westmoreland county. He was a large landholder and an excellent business man, and gave general satisfaction. The fact that he was not a lawyer has led to confusion in the statements as to who was the first judge in this county, one set speaking of George Wallace as the first judge, and another of Judge Addison as the first. Strictly speaking, Judge Addison was the first judge "learned in the law," but Judge Wallace was as much a judge legally as Judge Addison, and is fairly entitled to be classed as the first to exercise judicial functions in the county. At the first session of Judge Wallace's court nine persons were admitted to practice law at the Allegheny county bar, five of them from Greensburg and Washington and the remaining four from Allegheny. Three of these four were Hugh H. Brackenridge, James Ross and John Woods, but the fourth was "born to blush unseen." James Ross appears, in 1794, as being a resident of Washington, Pa., and may possibly have kept up a residence in both. Of Brackenridge enough has already been said elsewhere in these pages. Ross was elected to the senate of the United States in 1794. Albert Gallatin had been elected to this place from March 4, 1791, but had been ruled out as ineligible, by the senate, in 1793, and Ross was chosen for the remainder of his term, and was re-elected in 1797, serving till 1803. He was chosen president *pro tem.* of the senate in 1797, and served until 1799. He returned to the practice of the law in Pittsburgh in 1803, and was the federal candidate for governor in 1799, against Thomas McKean, polling 32,641 votes against 38,036 for McKean. In 1802 he was again a candidate against McKean, but apparently without any concert of action among his political friends, and in 1808 he was a candidate against Simon Snyder, polling 39,575 votes to 69,975 for Snyder. He appears to have been a consistent but not very active federalist, and was at the head of the Pittsburgh bar until he retired in old age. He was born in 1761 and died in 1847. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of 1790, and always commanded the deepest respect of his fellow-citizens. Of John Woods all we can gather from the records is that he was an able lawyer, and was elected to Congress from this city in 1814, serving from 1815 to 1817.

Among the five admitted from the other counties were Alexander Addison and David Bradford. The first was appointed judge of the Fifth Judical district, when it was organized in 1791, and the other was the Bradford who thrust himself into prominence in the whisky insurrection, and was the first of the recusants to run off to Louisiana. He appears to have been a blatant demagog, with treasonable conceptions in his brain, and his escape was no loss to Western Pennsylvania. He is said, I can not state upon what authority, to have been the grandfather of Mrs. Jefferson Davis. He proposed, as a part of his scheme in the whisky insurrection, to erect a new state here, outside of the government of the United States, and may thus be regarded as the

first secessionist. Mrs. Davis, evidently, came legitimately by her secession sentiments.

In 1789 the dissatisfaction with the clumsy constitution of 1776 culminated in calling a convention to frame a new constitution. Alexander Addison was chosen a member from Washington county, and James Ross from this county. They were among the ablest members of the body which framed the constitution of 1790; and although it was tinctured with the then prevalent distrust of the people as a governing power, it was so well framed as to stand unchanged from 1790 to 1838, nearly half a century. This instrument provided for a thorough reconstruction of the courts, and the legislature, in 1791, acting under its provisions, organized the Fifth Judicial district, to be composed of all the counties in Western Pennsylvania. These were then Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny, but Allegheny then embraced all the territory west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie. Somerset was formed in 1795, Greene in 1796, Armstrong in 1800, Indiana in 1803, and Jefferson, McKean, Potter and Cambria counties in 1804, but these were all east of the Allegheny; west and north of that river and the Ohio, Butler, Beaver, Erie, Mercer, Warren and Venango were formed in 1800. The territory of all these counties was, however, embraced at the beginning in the Fifth Judicial district, and Alexander Addison was commissioned as president judge.

The first court, quarter sessions, was held December 16, 1788, by George Wallace, president, and Joseph Scott, John Wilkins and John Johnson, associates. A letter was read from Mr. Bradford, attorney-general, appointing Robert Galbraith, Esq., his deputy, who was sworn in; and on his motion the following persons were admitted as members of the bar, viz.: Hugh H. Brackenridge, John Woods, James Ross, George Thompson, Alexander Addison, Daniel Bradford, James Carson, David St. Clair and Michael Huffnagle, Esqs. The first term of the common pleas was held March 14, 1789. The appearance docket contained fifty-six cases. The brief minute says the court was held "before George Wallace and his associates," without naming them.

The constitution of September 2, 1790, and the act of assembly following it, April 13, 1791, made radical changes in the judicial system of the state. Justices of the peace were no longer judges of the courts. The state was divided into circuits or judicial districts composed of not less than three nor more than six counties. A president judge was appointed by the governor for each district, and associate judges, not less than three nor more than four, for each county. The associate judges could hold the quarter sessions and common pleas. All judges were commissioned for life or during good behavior. The constitution did not require any of the judges to be "learned in the law," but it was understood that the judges of the supreme court and the president judges of the districts were to be experienced lawyers. By act of February 24, 1806, the associate judges of each county were reduced to two.

The state was divided into five circuits or districts. The counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny composed the Fifth district. The new judicial system went into operation September 1, 1791.

Upon the reorganization of the courts under the constitution of 1790, Alexander Addison was appointed president judge of the Fifth district, his commission bearing date August 17, 1791. His associates for Allegheny county, commissioned the same day, were George Wallace, John Wilkins, Jr., John McDowell and John Gibson.

Alexander Addison was the first law judge of Allegheny county. He was born in Scotland in 1759, educated at Edinburgh, and licensed to preach by the presbytery of Aberlowe. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in early life, and on the 20th of December, 1785, applied to the presbytery of Redstone (Brownsville) to be admitted. He was not regularly received into the presbytery, but was authorized to preach within its bounds. He preached for a short time at Washington, but read law, and was admitted to the bar of that county in 1787. Judge Addison's bold stand in favor of the federal government during the whisky insurrection, and his equally bold stand against French emissaries and secret political societies, caused him many enemies. H. H. Brackenridge was bitter in his hostility. As soon as the new political party got into power, Judge Addison was a doomed man. John B. C. Lucas was appointed associate judge of Allegheny county July 17, 1800. He was a Frenchman, and intensely hostile to Judge Addison. As soon as he took his seat on the bench he commenced to annoy and provoke Judge Addison. Although a layman, he would frequently differ with the judge on points of law, and actually charged petit juries in opposition to the views of the president judge. He also insisted on reading a written harangue to a grand jury, in opposition to some views expressed by Judge Addison to a previous grand jury. Judge Addison and Judge McDowell, who constituted a majority of the court on that occasion, remonstrated against such conduct on the part of Lucas, and stopped him.

That gave a pretext for legal proceedings against Judge Addison. The first movement was an application to the supreme court to file an information, in the nature of an indictment, against him for a misdemeanor in office. The supreme court dismissed it, saying that the papers did not show an indictable offense (4 Dallas, R. 225). The next step was to have him impeached by the legislature. The house ordered the impeachment, and the senate tried and convicted him. The articles of impeachment contained nothing but the two charges: (1) That when Lucas charged the petit jury Judge Addison told them they should not regard what he said, because it had nothing to do with the case, and (2) preventing him from charging the grand jury, as above stated. The sentence was pronounced by the senate January 27, 1803, removing him as president judge from the Fifth district, and declaring him forever disqualified for holding a judicial office in the state.

Samuel Roberts succeeded Judge Addison; was commissioned April 30,

1803, and held the office until his death in 1820. Judge Roberts was born in Philadelphia September 8, 1763, was educated and studied law in that city, and was admitted to the bar in 1793.

John Tiernan was convicted of the murder of Patrick Campbell, December 7, 1817. He was tried January 12, 1818, before Judge Roberts, with Francis McClure, associate. Campbell was a contractor on the Pittsburgh and Greensburg turnpike. Tiernan was a laborer on the turnpike, living in a cabin on the hill this side of Turtle creek, and Campbell boarded with him. At night, when asleep in his bed, Tiernan killed him with an ax, robbed his body, and fled to Pittsburgh, where he was arrested, tried, convicted and hung.

William Wilkins succeeded Judge Roberts. He was born December 20, 1779. His father moved to Pittsburgh in 1786. He was educated at Dickinson College, and read law with Judge Watt, at Carlisle. He was admitted to the bar in Pittsburgh, 1801. He was appointed president judge of the Fifth district December 18, 1820; resigned May 25, 1824, when appointed judge of the district court of the United States for Western Pennsylvania. In 1828, when on the bench of the United States district court, he was elected a member of Congress, but before taking his seat resigned, giving as a reason that his pecuniary circumstances were such he could not give up the judgeship to accept a seat in Congress. But in 1831 he was elected to the senate of the United States for the full term of six years, and resigned the judgeship. In 1834 he was appointed minister to Russia, and remained one year at the court of St. Petersburg. In 1842 he was again elected to the house of representatives of Congress. After the explosion of the monster gun on the Princeton, February 28, 1844, which killed Mr. Upshur, secretary of state, and Mr. Gilmer, secretary of war, Mr. Wilkins was appointed by President Tyler secretary of war, which office he held until March, 1845. In 1855 he was elected to the state senate from this county for one term.

Charles Shaler succeeded William Wilkins as judge of the county courts. He was born in Connecticut in 1788, and educated at Yale. He was recorder of the mayor's court of Pittsburgh from 1818 to 1821. June 5, 1824, he was commissioned judge of common pleas; occupied the bench eleven years, resigning May 4, 1835. He was appointed associate judge of the district court of the county May 6, 1841, and held that office three years, resigning May 20, 1844.

Trevanion Barlow Dallas succeeded Judge Shaler. He was commissioned May 15, 1835. He was born in Philadelphia, February 23, 1801, and educated at Princeton. He commenced reading law with his brother, George M., but came to Pittsburgh about 1820, and finished his studies with his brother-in-law, William Wilkins. He was admitted to the bar in 1822. Previous to his appointment as judge he had been deputy attorney-general for the county. He remained on the common pleas bench from 1835 to June 24, 1839, when he resigned to accept the position of associate judge with Judge

Grier, in the district court of the county, which position he held until his death, April 7, 1841.

Benjamin Patton succeeded Judge Dallas. He was commissioned July 1, 1839, and resigned in January, 1850. He was born in Bellefonte, Pa., July 21, 1810. His ancestors were among the first settlers on the Juniata and in Huntingdon county. His maternal grandfather was a lieutenant under Washington at Braddock's defeat, and a grand-uncle, Benjamin Patton, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1829, and commenced the study of law with Andrew Carothers, at Carlisle. He was, when appointed, a young and inexperienced man, and made some blunders, but was always fair and honest. He had a crippled leg, and his physical appearance did not betoken long life; yet he still survives, hale and hearty, and was present at the centennial commemoration of the formation of Allegheny county, held in September, 1888. He is now a resident of one of the western states. He tried the celebrated "conspiracy" case against the canal transportation companies, in which he was blamed for undue severity toward the transporters; but that was so long ago that nearly everyone has forgotten it. He sent the publishers of the *Aurora*, William Flinn and Hiram Kaine, to jail, for libel on Judge Grier, and was blamed for that, too; but the origin of the suit was so funny that, had it been known, they would not have been sent to jail. The *Aurora* was a small penny sheet, and resembled the *Sun* so much that, at a distance, it was easy to mistake one for the other. Judge Grier, it happened, was being shaved at a barber-shop on the corner of Wood and Third, and Flinn was going through the same operation at the same time, but was done first, and while putting on his coat glanced at the judge, who held a paper in his hand which Flinn took to be the *Aurora*, from its appearance. The judge really had the *Sun* in his hand, and his attention was arrested by a letter from Mr. Recorder Van Amringe, declining a congressional nomination from the abolitionists because he was a democrat. To this the editor of the *Sun* had appended some remarks which excited the judge's ire. "Why," said he, "the editor of this paper must be a *fool!*" Flinn, still under the delusion that it was the *Aurora* he held in his hand, considered this personal, clapped on his hat hurriedly, and rushed to the *Aurora* office to pour his grief into Kaine's ear. The result was the appearance in the *Aurora*, next morning, of the article libeling Judge Grier, and the subsequent trial and committal to jail. Had the real facts been known, even Judge Patton would have been compelled to laugh the case out of court.

In sentencing convicted persons the judge occasionally left a wide chasm between his premises and conclusions. Smith would be before him, say, convicted a second time of assault and battery. The judge would say to him: "Smith, this is the second time you have been before this court on this charge, and the court is disposed to make an example of you. This thing of wife-beating must be stopped. We let you off easily the first time, but you are not

longer entitled to leniency. The sentence of the court is that you pay a fine of $5 and the costs and stand committed until this sentence be complied with." Then would follow another victim, convicted for the first time of the same offense. To him the judge would say: "Jones, you are here for the first time, and we are disposed to be lenient with you, but do not let us catch you here again. The sentence of the court is that you pay a fine of $50 and the costs, and be imprisoned in the county jail for six months." *Query*—Did the judge get these sentences transposed in his mind? That would be the easiest explanation. But, aside from all this, the judge was a careful, painstaking, fair and just man, and rose, eventually, to the level of his position.

William B. McClure succeeded Judge Patton. He was appointed and commissioned by the governor January 31,-1850. That year a constitutional amendment was adopted, making the judiciary elective. The first election under it was in October of 1851. Judge McClure was elected and commissioned November 6, 1851, for ten years from December 1, 1851, the first judge elected in this county. He was re-elected in 1861, and commissioned for another period of ten years, but died December 27, 1861, and was succeeded by J. P. Sterrett. Judge McClure was born in April, 1807, at Willow Grove, near Carlisle, Pa. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1827. He read law in Pittsburgh with John Kennedy, afterward a justice of the supreme court, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. From 1850 to 1859 Judge McClure was the only law judge in the common pleas, orphans' court, quarter sessions and oyer and terminer of the county. The amount of business was enormous for one man. He had scarcely a day's rest or vacation. He was a most laborious judge, frequently sitting on the bench from eight to ten hours a day. No man ever presided in a court more thoroughly in earnest or conscientious in the performance of his duties. The close confinement in the impure air of the criminal courtroom, and the excessive labors of his office, gradually exhausted the vital energies of a naturally vigorous constitution, and carried him to the grave when only fifty-four years of age. During the twelve years Judge McClure sat on the bench he tried more criminal cases and more homicides than any other judge in the state. His fame as a criminal jurist became almost national. Spotlessly pure in his own character, intensely anxious for the public welfare, and profoundly impressed with the responsibilities of his office, he bent all his energies to the suppression of crime and the just punishment of criminals. He was justly a terror to evil-doers.

The great increase of business in the criminal court of the county led to the act of May 26, 1859, adding an assistant law judge to the court. It also enlarged the jurisdiction of the common pleas to all cases where the sum in controversy did not exceed three hundred dollars. This was followed by the act of April 11, 1862, adding a second associate law judge, abolishing the office of associate lay judge, and extending the jurisdiction, making it concurrent with the district court, without reference to the amount in controversy.

The act wiped out of existence, so far as Allegheny county is concerned, an institution that had existed in England for many centuries, and was brought over by our ancestors at the settlement of this country.

The earlier lay judges were among the most prominent men of the county, and their long experience on the bench added greatly to their usefulness. George Wallace was on the bench from 1788 to 1814, John McDowell from 1791 to 1812, Francis McClure from 1812 to 1838, James Riddle from 1818 to 1838. These were all men of mark and distinction. So also were Samuel Jones, Richard Butler, John Wilkins, John Gibson, George Thompson and Hugh Davis. Among the later judges should be mentioned Thomas L. McMillan, Gabriel Adams and John E. Parke.

John Wesley Maynard was the first assistant law judge of the common pleas; appointed by the governor April 16, 1859, and commissioned until the first Monday of December following. He was admitted to the bar in Tioga county, Pa., in 1831, and practiced his profession in that and the adjoining counties until 1840, when he moved to Williamsport, in Lycoming county, where he has resided ever since, except six years at Easton. Although only nine months on the bench in Allegheny county, he made many friends, and won the respect and confidence of all, both as a man and a judge.

David Ritchie was the first associate law judge appointed under the act of April 11, 1862. He was appointed by Gov. Curtin, May 22, 1862, and commissioned until the first Monday of December following, when he was succeeded by E. H. Stowe, elected for ten years. Judge Ritchie was born in Washington county, Pa, August 19, 1812; graduated at Jefferson college in 1829; came to Pittsburgh about 1833; read law with Walter Forward, and was admitted to the bar in 1835. In 1852 he was elected to Congress, and twice re-elected, serving in the XXXIIId, XXXIVth and XXXVth Congresses, during President Pierce's administration and half of President Buchanan's. He died January 24, 1867, unmarried.

The district court of the county was established by act of April 8, 1833, with one judge, having the same jurisdiction as the common pleas, except limited to cases where the sum in controversy exceeded one hundred dollars. It was limited to a period of seven years. But by act of June 12, 1839, it was continued until abolished by law, and an associate judge was added. By this act the jurisdiction of the common pleas was limited to cases where the sum in controversy did not exceed one hundred dollars.

Robert Cooper Grier was the first judge of the district court. He was appointed by the governor, and commissioned May 2, 1833. He resigned August 8, 1846, when appointed by President Polk an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States.

Judge Grier was born in Cumberland county, Pa., March 5, 1794. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1812, taught one year in the college, then was principal of his father's academy for three or four years, was admitted to

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the bar in 1817, and commenced practice in Bloomsburg, but soon moved to Danville, where he was residing when appointed judge. He came to Allegheny City in 1833, where he resided till 1848, and then moved to Philadelphia. He resigned as judge of the supreme court January 31, 1870, and died September 25th of the same year.

Hopewell Hepburn succeeded Charles Shaler as associate judge, and R. C. Grier as president judge, of the district court. He was born in Northumberland county, Pa., October 28, 1799. He practiced law at Easton until appointed associate judge of the district court September 17, 1844. When Judge Grier was advanced to the supreme court of the United States, he was commissioned as president judge, August 13, 1846. He held that position until November 3, 1851, when he resigned.

After Judge Hepburn retired from the bench, he practiced law at Pittsburgh for a few years, then withdrew from the practice, accepting the presidency of the Allegheny bank, which he held for three years, but, his health failing, he removed to Philadelphia, and died there February 14, 1863.

Walter Forward succeeded Judge Hepburn, and was the first president judge of the district court elected by the people. He was commissioned November 7, 1851, and held the office till his death; he died on November 24, 1852. Judge Forward was on the bench only one year. Like Lord Eldon, he was sometimes called the "doubter," because he was slow in deciding an important question. Weak men jump to a conclusion, for their vision can not reach beyond the case in hand. A great man looks beyond, to see how the principle will apply to other cases. He is careful that a hasty decision shall not establish a precedent to work injustice in the future. The last case Judge Forward tried was an important will case, which took several days. He walked in from his country home to the courthouse on Monday, November 24, 1852. It was a cold, damp day. The courtroom was very uncomfortable, and he had a chill just before charging the jury. The jury retired in the afternoon, and he went to his lodgings. Before the jury had agreed upon their verdict Walter Forward was dead. Perhaps no man ever died in the county more sincerely lamented, or more beloved and esteemed by the people. He was admired for his great intellectual abilities and loved for his great moral excellence. And Walter Forward loved the people; not as a demagog or office-seeker, but as a man and a patriot. His highest ambition was to be *a useful man.*

Peter C. Shannon succeeded Judge Forward. He was appointed by Gov. Bigler, November 27, 1852, until the first Monday of December, 1853. After retiring from the bench he practiced law in Pittsburgh until 1869, when he was appointed judge of the United States court in Dakota, and moved to that territory, where he has continued to reside.

Moses Hampton succeeded P. C. Shannon. He was elected in October, 1853; commissioned November 19, 1853, for ten years from the first Monday of December, 1853; was re-elected, for a second term of ten years, in October,

1863; served the full term, and died June 24, 1878. Judge Hampton was born in Beaver county, Pa., October 28, 1803. In 1812 his father moved to Trumbull county, Ohio, and commenced farming, living in a log cabin, and carrying on his trade of a blacksmith. In his boyhood the judge helped his father on the farm, and also in the blacksmith-shop. In his younger days Judge Hampton was an ardent whig, taking an active part in the election of Gov. Ritner in 1835, of President Harrison in 1840, and in the presidential campaigns of 1844 and 1848. As a campaign speaker he was immensely popular, having few equals in the state. As a judge he was distinguished for his propriety and dignity on the bench, for close attention to the business of the court, for eminent fairness to suitors and counsel, for a high sense of honor and justice, for quick and clear perceptions, calmness of judgment, an extensive knowledge of the law, and the clearness and logical force of his opinions.

Trevanion B. Dallas was appointed June 22, 1839; died 1841. Charles Shaler, May 6, 1841; resigned May 20, 1844. Hopewell Hepburn, September 17, 1844; appointed president judge in 1846.

Walter H. Lowrie was appointed associate judge August 20, 1846, and held the office until the fall of 1851, when he was elected one of the judges of the supreme court. The five judges elected at that time were required, by the law putting in operation the elective judiciary, to cast lots for their terms, to serve, respectively, three, six, nine, twelve and fifteen years. Judge Lowrie drew the twelve-year term, which expired in 1863. After retiring from the supreme bench he practiced law in Pittsburgh for a few years, and then moved to Philadelphia. While living there, in 1870, he was elected president judge of Crawford county, and moved to Meadville. He died suddenly of heart disease, November 14, 1876; was brought to Pittsburgh, and interred in Allegheny cemetery.

Henry W. Williams was elected assistant judge of the district court in October, 1851, and commissioned November 7, 1851, for ten years; re-elected in 1861, and resigned October 28, 1868, when elected to the supreme court. He died February 19, 1877.

The United States district court for the Western district of Pennsylvania was established by act of Congress of 20th of May, 1818, and Jonathan Hoge Walker was appointed judge by President Monroe. He held the first court at Pittsburgh, December 7, 1818.

Judge Walker was born in East Pennsboro' township, Cumberland county, Pa., in 1756. He was of English descent. His grandfather, William Walker, was a captain under the Duke of Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars. His mother was a daughter of John Hoge, of Hogestown, in Cumberland county. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1787, and read law with Stephen Duncan. While Judge Walker was on the bench of the United States district court, his second son read law, and commenced practice in Pittsburgh in 1821. After his father's death, in 1826, he moved to Natchez. This was Robert J.

Walker, who subsequently became a distinguished statesman and politician. Judge Walker was succeeded by William Wilkins, who held the office until 1831, when he resigned, being elected to the United States senate.

Thomas Irwin succeeded Judge Wilkins. He was appointed, in 1831, by President Jackson, and held the office until 1859, when he resigned and retired to private life. He was born in Philadelphia, February 22, 1784. His father, Col. Matthew Irwin, was a distinguished soldier of the revolutionary war, and one of the Philadelphia patriots of that trying period who brought relief to the famishing army at Valley Forge, subscribing himself $5,000 for that purpose. His mother was a daughter of Benjamin Mifflin, whose ancestor came to Pennsylvania at an early period. Thomas Mifflin, the first elected governor of Pennsylvania, was a relative of Judge Irwin, after whom he was named. The Mifflins were known as the "Fighting Quakers," from the active part they took in the revolutionary war.

Wilson McCandless succeeded Judge Irwin; appointed by President Buchanan February 8, 1859. He resigned, and retired to private life, July 24, 1876, and died at his residence in Pittsburgh June 30, 1882. Judge McCandless was born at Noblestown, in Allegheny county, July 10, 1810; was educated at the Western university, read law with George Selden, Esq., and was admitted to the bar June 19, 1831. He was in partnership in the practice of law, for some time, with W. W. Fetterman, and afterward, for many years, with his brother-in-law, William B. McClure.

Winthrop W. Ketcham succeeded Judge McCandless. He was born in Wilkesbarre, Pa., June 29, 1820. In 1848 and 1849 he was a teacher in Girard college, Philadelphia. January 8, 1850, he was admitted to the bar in Wilkesbarre. In 1855 he was elected prothonotary of Luzerne county for three years. In 1858 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1859 elected state senator for three years. In 1864 he was appointed by President Lincoln solicitor of the United States court of claims, and resigned in 1866. He was a delegate to the national republican convention at Chicago in 1860, at Baltimore in 1864, and a presidential elector in 1868. He was elected to Congress in 1874, and in July, 1876, was appointed judge to succeed Judge McCandless. On Saturday, December 6, 1879, he held court in this city, in his usual good health, and returned to his room at the St. Charles hotel. At 5 P. M. he was stricken with apoplexy, and died at 11:50 P. M., his wife and only son at his bedside, with the physicians and friends who had been hastily summoned. He died universally lamented and respected. Judge Ketcham was succeeded by Marcus W. Acheson, the present incumbent.

The borough of Pittsburgh was incorporated as a city by act of 18th of March, 1816. The act created a mayor's court, composed of the mayor, a recorder and twelve aldermen. The recorder and aldermen were appointed by the governor during good behavior, and the mayor to be elected annually by the city councils from the aldermen. The mayor's court had jurisdiction

to try forgeries, perjuries, larcenies, assaults and batteries, riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, and generally all offenses committed in the city cognizable in a court of quarter sessions, besides all violations of city ordinances. The causes were regularly tried before a jury. The mayor presided in the court, but the recorder was the law judge or legal officer of the court. The mayor or recorder and any three of the aldermen could hold the court. The recorder was also vested with civil jurisdiction, the same as the aldermen. He was to receive a salary, to be paid by the city.

Charles Wilkins, son of Gen. John Wilkins, was the first recorder. He was admitted to the bar in 1807, appointed recorder in 1816, and died in 1818. Charles Shaler was recorder from 1818 to 1821. He was succeeded by Ephraim Pentland, who was prothonotary of the county from 1807 to 1821. Pentland came to Pittsburgh in 1801 or 1802; he had been a printer and editor; he was a short, heavy-set man, very fond of jokes, and a noted character. He died in 1839. He was succeeded by H. H. Van Amringe, who was admitted to the bar in 1837, and appointed recorder in 1839. He held the office only a few months, for the mayor's court was abolished by act of June 12, 1839. Van Amringe came here from Chester county. He was an excellent lawyer and courteous gentleman, but erratic in his religious notions.

LIST OF JUDGES.

Judges of the common pleas, quarter sessions and orphans' court prior to the constitution of 1790, appointed October 9, 1788: George Wallace, president; John Metzgar, Michael Hillman, Robert Ritchie, associates. These were the judges until August 17, 1791, when the courts were reorganized under the constitution of 1790.

The following were the justices of the peace, entitled to sit in the quarter sessions, but not in the common pleas or orphans' court: September 26, 1788, James Bryson; September 27, 1788, Samuel Jones; November 21, 1788, John Johnson, Abraham Kirkpatrick, Richard Butler, William Tilton; November 25, 1788, John Wilkins, father of John, Jr., and William; May 21, 1789, Henry Nesby.

ASSOCIATE JUDGES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1790.

Laymen appointed during good behavior, until 1851, and then elected for a term of five years: August 17, 1791, George Wallace, resigned in 1798 and re-appointed; John Wilkins, Jr., resigned February 26, 1796; John McDowell, died in 1812; John Gibson, died in 1800; February 26, 1796, George Thompson, in place of John Wilkins, Jr.; July 17, 1800, John B. C. Lucas, in place of Gen. John Gibson; July 24, 1812, Francis McClure, resigned December 22, 1838; June 3, 1814, George Robinson, died in 1818; September 2, 1818, James Riddle, resigned December 25, 1838; December 27, 1838, William Hays, resigned April 11, 1840; December 31, 1838, Hugh Davis, resigned in

1840; March 20, 1840, William Porter, commission annulled by decision of supreme court, and re-appointed February 17, 1843; April 16, 1840, John M. Snowden, recommissioned March 31, 1841; April 9, 1845, John Anderson, declined; April 17, 1845, William G. Hawkins, declined; May 8, 1845, William Kerr, recommissioned March 14, 1846; February 28, 1848, Samuel Jones, resigned May 12, 1851; March 18, 1851, William Boggs, recommissioned November 10, 1851; June 10, 1851, Thomas L. McMillan, recommissioned November 10, 1851, died 1852; April 27, 1852, Patrick McKenna, until December 1, 1852; November 29, 1852, Gabriel Adams, commissioned for five years; November 12, 1856, John E. Parke, commissioned for five years; November 17, 1857, Gabriel Adams, commissioned for five years; November 13, 1861, John Brown, commissioned for five years. John Brown was the last layman commissioned as judge. The law was changed, requiring two associate law judges to be elected.

PRESIDENT JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS, ETC.

Appointed by the governor during good behavior, until after the constitutional amendment of 1850, then elected for a term of ten years: August 17, 1791, Alexander Addison, impeached and removed in 1803; April 30, 1803, Samuel Roberts, died December 13, 1820; December 18, 1820, William Wilkins, resigned May 25, 1824; June 5, 1824, Charles Shaler, resigned May 4, 1835; May 15, 1835, Trevanion B. Dallas, resigned June 24, 1839; July 1, 1839, Benjamin Patton, Jr., resigned in 1850; January 31, 1850, William B. McClure, elected in 1851, and commissioned for ten years, re-elected in 1861, and commissioned for ten years, died in 1861; January 4, 1862, James P. Sterrett, appointed in place of W. B. McClure, deceased; elected in 1862, and commissioned November 4, 1862, for ten years; re-elected in 1872, and commissioned November 10, 1872, for ten years; resigned in 1877, when appointed to the supreme court. E. H. Stowe then became president judge, and was re-elected in 1882 for ten years.

ASSOCIATE LAW JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS.

April 16, 1859, John W. Maynard, until first Monday of December, 1859; November 8, 1859, Thomas Mellon, elected and commissioned for ten years; May 22, 1862, David Ritchie, commissioned until first Monday of December, 1862; November 4, 1862, Edwin H. Stowe, elected and commissioned for ten years; November 26, 1869, Frederick H. Collier, elected and commissioned for ten years; November 6, 1872, E. H. Stowe, re-elected and commissioned for ten years; March, 1877, Charles S. Fetterman, appointed until first Monday in December, 1877; November, 1877, John H. Bailey, elected and commissioned for ten years; November, 1879, Fred. H. Collier, re-elected and commissioned for ten years.

PRESIDENT JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURT.

May 2, 1833, Robert C. Grier, resigned August 8, 1846; August 13, 1846, Hopewell Hepburn, recommissioned February 17, 1847, resigned November 3, 1851; November 3, 1851, Walter Forward, elected and commissioned for ten years, died in 1852; November 27, 1852, P. C. Shannon, appointed till first Monday in December, 1853; November 19, 1853, Moses Hampton, elected and commissioned for ten years; November 3, 1863, Moses Hampton, re-elected and commissioned for ten years; November, 1873, Thomas Ewing, elected and commissioned for ten years.

ASSOCIATE LAW JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURT.

June 22, 1839, Trevanion B. Dallas, died 1841; May 6, 1841, Charles Shaler, resigned May 20, 1844; September 17, 1844, Hopewell Hepburn, appointed president in 1846; August 20, 1846, Walter H. Lowrie, recommissioned April 17, 1847, elected to the supreme court in 1851; November 7, 1851, Henry W. Williams, re-elected in 1861, elected to supreme court in 1868, died 1877; November 10, 1868, John M. Kirkpatrick, appointed till first Monday of December, 1869, and elected and commissioned November 23, 1869, for ten years, re-elected in 1879, and commissioned for ten years; November, 1873, J. W. F. White, elected and commissioned for ten years.

By the constitution of 1873 the district court was abolished, and became common pleas No. 2. An orphans' court was also created by the new constitution of 1873, and Hon. W. E. Hawkins was elected judge, and re-elected at the end of his first term. Afterward a second judge for this court was authorized, and Hon. I. W. Over elected. This court has an abundance of business, and is well officered.

We have thus sketched the history of the bench of this county, covering a hundred years. The facts and dates have mainly been collected from Judge White's "History of the Judiciary of Allegheny County," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Volume 7, 1883. It is a bright history, full of splendid judicial examples. Judge Addison's reputation is brighter to-day than when he was on the bench; and the names of Brackenridge, Kennedy, Lowrie, Dallas, Wilkins, Shaler, Grier, Baldwin, Hepburn, Williams, Hampton, Forward, McCandless and McClure add luster to a judicial record that began brilliantly, and still continues without a blemish. No county in the state can present such an array of illustrious names; and whatever else Allegheny county may have just cause to be proud of, she can always boast of a towering pre-eminence in judicial talents.

THE BAR.

For many years in the early history of the bar, the Fifth Judicial district embracing all Western Pennsylvania, the members of the bar practiced in all the counties of the district. As soon as court rose in one county the lawyers

all mounted on horseback and accompanied the judge to the next county, and so on till the round was completed. This was called "riding the circuit," and was borrowed from the English practice. Arrived at the point of their destination, the lawyers gathered mainly in one tavern, and made a lively time of it while court lasted. They were all full of fun, frolic and anecdote, and many a funny story has come down to the present day from these quarterly gatherings of the lawyers.

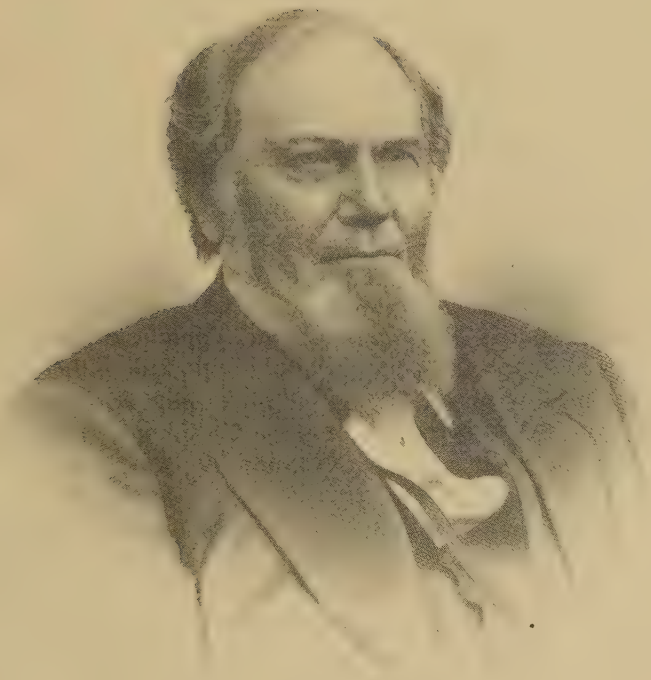
At the present day lawyers are specialists. One is a good criminal lawyer, another is a patent lawyer, a third is an adviser or office lawyer, a fourth is mainly an advocate, and a fifth has his specialty in land cases, and so on; but in the olden times every lawyer was an "all-rounder." In the fundamental and early literature of the law, and in the arts and subtleties and master learning of the profession, as it came to them from Europe, they were masters —thoroughly informed and always ready equipped. As pleaders they were grand; but pleading meant more to and before a jury then than now. They have left a record for eloquence and effectiveness which few of the present day can equal. Times have materially changed since those rude days; and any one of the leaders of the bar of 1788 would be lost and bewildered at the bar of 1888. Nearly a thousand attorneys have, in this century that has passed, been admitted to the bar, and about five hundred are in practice now, or are on the rolls. The terms of admission have gradually grown stricter, and the examinations are now an ordeal that none but the well instructed can pass.

The machinery of justice, when the county was first organized, was of a rude and simple kind. Before September, 1788, litigants would have to travel either to Greensburg on the one hand, or Washington on the other, if they had to undergo a trial in court; and the courts then were composed mainly of justices of the peace. In some parts of the state, during the Revolution of 1776, the local committees of safety assumed judicial power, and tried cases of replevin, horse-stealing, and some crimes for which the ordinary courts were too slow. A case was tried by the committee of safety in Northumberland county, in 1777, upon complaint made by a certain Allis Read that he, the said Read, had a horse strayed or stolen from him which was found in the custody of a certain John Drake, when said Read replevied the horse, and got him and kept him in his possession for about six months, and then the widow of said Drake came and took him forcibly out of said Read's stable. Whereupon the committee proceeded to act summarily upon this complaint. The courts, too, when people had access to them, were slow—very slow. Almost all the actions were ejectments upon disputed original entries. The number of witnesses was great, the means of travel scanty, and the districts large, so that much allowance had to be made for failure of attendance. The causes were, therefore, frequently continued, so that they usually stood upon the trial list several years before they could be acted on. This, added to the dilatory habits always prevalent in frontier settlements, produced a leisurely, time-

wasting habit of doing business. It is said of the estate of John Lukens, formerly surveyor-general of this state, that, although he died in 1799, it was in 1877 still before an auditor for distribution. There are no instances in point of a similar state of affairs in Allegheny county, but it is presumable that the same causes produced the same effects. There was none of the present hurry in legal matters then prevailing.

The bar of Pittsburgh, like everything else in the history of the city, grew from very small beginnings. At the first court held here a number of attorneys, from this and adjoining counties, took the oath, and four of these are set down as being from the city; but a close scrutiny reveals but three that can be recognized. These are John Woods, H. H. Brackenridge and Alexander Addison. These three would seem for a few years to have had a monopoly of what legal business there was. Woods was rather a scrivener than a lawyer, and was depended on mainly for the drawing of legal documents. Brackenridge was, in fact, the chief lawyer here. He was a well-educated Scotchman, with a fondness for literature and books, and was also a ready writer for the press. His books on "Modern Chivalry" show his literary inclination, and his description of Pittsburgh in the first number of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* evinces his skill as a newspaper writer. But, with all this literary inclination, he was a good, faithful and industrious lawyer, and must have enjoyed the cream of the legal business. But, besides the law, Brackenridge had still other pursuits. He was a politican, and exercised, within a small compass, all the arts of the active politicians of to-day. He knew what political "influence" was, and how to use it; and his course in the whisky insurrection lays him open, in a slight way, to the imputation of demagogism. He was never openly *for* the insurrection, and never decidedly *against* it until its weakness was demonstrated. His fate as a candidate for Congress in 1794, when, in spite of his great personal popularity, he was beaten out of sight by Gallatin, indicates a strong suspicion of the thoroughness of Brackenridge's attitude. Gallatin sympathized with those who resisted Hamilton's or the federal method of internal-revenue taxation, but was outspoken in his opposition to all efforts at forcible resistance. Brackenridge's sympathies and convictions ran in the same direction, but he was not so outspoken as Gallatin; and the people then, as now, rallied to the support of the most outspoken man. Brackenridge, however, never lost the respect of his fellow-citizens. They appreciated his talents, and were glad to follow his lead in ordinary politics. He continued, until 1799, to be at the head of the bar, and was universally esteemed and respected. In that year he was appointed a justice of the supreme court, a place he had fully earned by his splendid legal career, and remained upon the bench until 1816, when he died. His opinions as a judge are still frequently cited, and he maintained, on the bench as well as off of it, a high and deserved reputation as a jurist.

Of Alexander Addison as a lawyer it is unnecessary to say much. He



Robert Hunter Morris
J. K. Morehead

shortly afterward became a judge, and when he ceased to be a judge he moved to Washington, Pa., so that his connection with the bar of this county was short. He was, we judge, a solid rather than a showy lawyer. His learning was profound and his knowledge of law precedents very extensive.

Following this small beginning of the Pittsburgh bar the names of James Ross, David Bradford, Steel Semple, Henry Purviance, Thomas Collins and John Kennedy are soon found as early additions. Of these, James Ross was the first in every respect. He was a very large man, over six feet high, broad and full in all his proportions, and with big feet, of which he was not ashamed. He came here shortly after the county was organized, and lingered until nearly half of the present century was passed. As a lawyer, he was not noted for his pleading abilities, but for the soundness of his judgment and his full acquaintance with the law. When he was a candidate for governor in 1808, as we learn from "Linn's History of Buffalo Valley," page 372, James Ross was declared to be a man of mercenary and avaricious disposition; accused of blasphemy and mockery of religion, and was said to be the candidate of the nabobs and lawyers; that while a member of the United States senate he advocated the wresting of New Orleans from the Spaniards by force, instead of acquiring it by treaty. The first charge had a bare color of truth in it; the second had nothing to sustain it, unless it may have been that, like many public men of that day, he was inclined to skepticism; and the third was true; but in advocating the acquisition of Louisiana he was but reflecting western sentiment, which was clamorous for the opening of the Mississippi to the ocean. With regard to his "mercenary and avaricious disposition," this much is true: he had money, and he preferred to lend it safely. He would never take or charge more than legal interest, 6 per cent, and he preferred lending to men in extremities, who could secure him for advances made for their relief. It is but natural that a man who was careful as to whom he lent money should acquire the reputation of being "mercenary and avaricious;" but the fact that he never took more than 6 per cent interest, in times when he could have had from 10 to 20 per cent, should relieve him from the charge of avariciousness. He owned and lived upon a square on Grant's hill, known then as the "Oregon" lot, extending from Fourth to Fifth on Grant and Ross streets. He sold the half of this, from Diamond alley to Fifth, in 1837 or 1838, to the county commissioners, for a courthouse and jail, and they paid him, as it is thought, $75,000 for it. The present courthouse occupies the whole of it. The other half of the lot he occupied himself until he died, the house standing upon the hill, considerably above the grade of Fourth avenue. Within the recollection of old citizens, an old orchard occupied at least a part of the remaining half of the lot. Besides this Mr. Ross acquired a considerable part of the O'Hara estate, on the Allegheny river, eight or nine miles up; but the money which paid for this land saved the O'Hara estate from destruction at a moment of great peril to O'Hara's financial credit. It is not worth while to try to con-

ceal the fact that Ross had an eye out, always, to the main chance; but he never oppressed anyone, and always maintained his integrity as a man and a lawyer. He was, as must be already apparent, prominent as a federal politician. Twice he was the federal candidate for governor, not by nomination, for state conventions did not then exist, but by general consent of that party; and he was twice elected to the United States senate, the first time for the unexpired term of Gallatin, who was elected in 1792, but ruled out on account of ineligibility, and was re-elected in 1799. Altogether he was a man of great intellect, and a sound lawyer, who left a good reputation behind him.

The most that can be said of David Bradford has already been said in the sketch of the whisky insurrection. He was an able but an insurrectionary spirit. Like the petrel, he delighted in storms. That he was a good lawyer goes without saying; and that he was glib and persuasive of tongue is shown by the influence he held over the men he led into insurrection. That he was a demagog, pure and simple, is evinced by his career, and that he was likewise a coward is shown by his speedy departure from the scene of action when the insurrection began to collapse. The end of the whisky war ended his legal career here.

Of Steel Semple the most that is known comes down by tradition. He was gone from his profession before any of the present generation had a chance to know him. But all the accounts that have been heard of him are good. He was such a lawyer, in his day, as Henry Baldwin and Walter Forward were after him. His specialty, as was the case then with all the bar, was land cases. With James Ross, he had pre-eminence in ejectment cases. It is enough to say of him, after the lapse of nearly a century, that his memory still "smells sweet."

Henry Purviance belonged properly to Washington county, but the Washington lawyers all practiced at the Pittsburgh bar. He was connected with John A. Purviance, at one time auditor-general, and Samuel A. Purviance, who represented the Allegheny and Butler district in Congress for several terms. Both of these gentlemen were from Butler county, originally, but toward the end of his life Samuel A. took up his abode in Pittsburgh. The old records make very kindly mention of Henry Purviance, and both he and Samuel A. built up for themselves splendid legal names.

Thomas Collins, also, was a legal giant in those early days. He was prominent in legal practice, and for a time there was a pleasant rivalry between him and H. H. Brackenridge. He was a more solid and less florid man than Brackenridge, and this solidity attracted favorably the more cautious part of the community. He was not prominent as a politician; at least but little is heard of him in connection with politics. Socially, he stood high. Collins township, now a part of the city, was named after him. He had two daughters, both noted for their intelligence and beauty. One of them married Wilson McCandless, and the other William B. McClure; and it is noteworthy that

these two lawyers both became judges—McCandless of the United States district court, and McClure of the county court of common pleas. As both McCandless and McClure were originally whigs, although McCandless afterward became a democrat, it is inferable that Collins, like most of the lawyers of his day, was a federalist. He was, however, a first-class lawyer, and his memory is still kept green.

John Kennedy is better known to this generation as a judge of the supreme court of the state, and there are but few traces of him as a lawyer. But he must have been a good, safe and sound lawyer or he would not have been chosen for this promotion. The appointing power was then in the hands of the governor, and the history of our state supreme court shows that that bench was always filled by men of great legal stature. Forty years ago John Kennedy was pleasantly borne in mind by a large circle of personal friends.

Just here it may be well to mention the name of Sidney Mountain, a member of the bar in its early day, concerning whom nothing remains but tradition. He was an eccentric man, of uncertain habits, but a brilliant orator and the pet of the populace. He was probably a better talker than lawyer, and his name has long since faded into the gloom of a deep obscurity. With country juries he was almost omnipotent, when he could be brought to his work.

Henry Baldwin was, in his day, the most prominent lawyer at the bar. He was very successful in his practice, and was elected to Congress in 1816, and served from 1817 to 1823. He was appointed a judge of the supreme court in 1830, and served until 1846, when he died. There was a very strong feeling of attachment to him manifest in all who ever knew him, and this fact, alone, shows how very worthy and excellent a man he was. Mrs. Ann Royall, in her sketches of her travels in Pennsylvania, in 1828, speaks thus of him:

> Mr. Henry Baldwin is the darling of Pennsylvania and the pride of Pittsburgh. He is about thirty-five years of age, a thin, light figure, of good height, round, delicate face and sallow complexion; his eye is a keen, or rather sparkling, deep hazel, or what some would call black. His countenance would not indicate talents of the first rate, although he certainly does, very justly, rank among the first men of the state. But of all men he has the most pleasing countenance and the most fascinating manners. He appears to most advantage when pleading. It is impossible to portray the winning smile which plays upon his countenance, while his head is elevated and his figure erect and manly. His voice is harmonious and his actions pertinent and graceful. He is said to be an able statesman, and of unshaken integrity. Well may Pittsburgh be proud of him. His talents are devoted to it, and have been for some years, while his generosity and goodness of heart keep him in the background. On my way to Pittsburgh the people would say, "You will see our idol, Mr. Baldwin."

This, it may be said, is a woman's view, drawn from a female standpoint; and so it is. But it is nevertheless a very graphic sketch of the man. His face, lit up with a winning smile, won all hearts to him, and his power with a jury doubtless flowed from his manly bearing and his thrilling voice, as well as from his all-conquering smile. As a lawyer he occupied the front rank, and

this was evinced by his elevation to the bench of the United States supreme court. He was a partner, for a long time, in the Union rolling-mill, at Kensington, and was thus an enterprising citizen as well as a first-class lawyer.

Walter Forward appears to have attained as high a rank at the bar as Mr. Baldwin. Mrs. Royall speaks of him as "a Yankee;" but he came here from Somerset county. He was a man massive in body and in intellect, and impressed himself upon the jury rather by the strength of his arguments than by the beauty of his diction, differing from Baldwin in this respect. He was a thorough scholar and student, and bestowed great study and pains in getting up his cases. Like Baldwin, he seems to have captured Mrs. Royall. She says:

> Walter Forward is another Yankee, and second, if not equal, to Mr. Baldwin at the bar, and some do say he is superior. Mr. Forward is another man of towering talents, and a great pleader. He is a brother of Chauncey Forward, of Somerset, member of Congress, and is a stout, middle-aged man, of fine appearance. His face is round and rather sallow; his eyes are full, dark, keen and intelligent, his countenance open and pleasing, his manners manly, though mild and alluring, and, take him all in all, one of the most high-spirited and noble-looking men in Pittsburgh. This gentleman, as well as Mr. Baldwin, seems to have lived for the world and not for himself, both being men of the first talents, legal knowledge and extensive practice, but from their excess of good nature and generosity have been able to lay up but little for themselves.

Mr. Forward was a man who carried about with him an air of honest conviction, and he had the profound respect of both the bench and the bar, as well as the fullest confidence of his clients. He was a member of Congress from 1821 to 1825, and was appointed secretary of the treasury in 1841, after the death of Harrison, serving until 1843. In 1851 he was elected a judge of the district court of Allegheny county, being recalled home from Denmark, where he was serving as minister, but died after a year's service on the bench, in December, 1852. All the rest of his time he spent in practice at the bar of this county, and won a reputation for profundity, close research and unswerving honesty second to that of no other member of the bar. As long, at least, as the present generation lasts, there will remain a loving remembrance of the two greatest men of the Pittsburgh bar, Henry Baldwin and Walter Forward.

Another prominent member of the bar was Samuel Kingston, a native of Ireland, and very popular at the bar from his kindness and amiability of temper. He came to the bar early, and at once attained prominence in his peculiar line. He was of middling age and height, his face round, thin and fair, with a large gray eye. He was a perfect gentleman in his manners, and his countenance was peculiarly interesting. While a good lawyer and a safe counselor, he devoted himself mainly to conveyancing, which was not then a separate branch of the legal business. He had trained a daughter to his specialty. She wrote a beautiful hand, and up to the time of her father's death enjoyed a large share of the conveyancing business. Poor Kingston! He fell a victim to the fire of 1845. His office was on the corner of Fourth and Smithfield

streets, and it is supposed that when the fire came sweeping over from Fulton's, on the opposite side of Smithfield street, burying all the houses in the neighborhood in a dense cloud of smoke and flame, he went into his office to remove the valuable papers there, and was smothered before he could get out. At any rate, his bones were found there when the debris was cleared away, and, from whatever motive he entered the house, he never came out of it alive. He was the only person who lost his life in that destructive fire. It was so slow in making its progress that everyone else but him had time to get out of the way.

There were in the first quarter of this century two gentlemen, of Irish birth, named Burke, who afterward rose to considerable distinction at the bar. Robert Burke was the eldest, and was probably the most talented and learned of the two. But he died early, and Andrew became the best known of the two. They were both good lawyers and eloquent pleaders. Although Andrew lived on the Allegheny side of the river, the democrats nominated him, in 1858, to run against Gen. Moorhead for Congress, but the contest was hopeless. Mr. Burke was a fine-looking man, and every inch a gentleman.

Of William Wilkins, in a mere history, it is scarcely wise to speak in the loving terms a knowledge of him prompts. No one ever knew him fully who did not respect and admire him. He came here at the close of the last century, with Trevanion B. Dallas, his brother-in-law, and he soon became prominent. Of Dallas, and his elevation to the bench, we have spoken elsewhere. Wilkins was a courtly and polished lawyer and statesman, and he became, as he grew older, a citizen of commanding influence. In his addresses to the jury he did not play the orator, but confined himself to solid talk. A gentleman who heard him addressing a jury, in the grand-jury room of the old courthouse on Market street, describes him as standing close to the jury, delivering a well-studied sentence, and then walking away for a minute to the other end of the courtroom and back again, when he delivered another sentence, and then walked off again, repeating this till he came to an end. This is not the style of a pleader now. But the jury understood him, and so did the court. They were used to this style, and thought nothing of it. He served, at various times, in the state senate, in the senate and house of representatives at Washington, as minister to Russia, as secretary of war, and as judge of the United States district court. At some time in 1832 the democrats of Pennsylvania refused to accept Martin Van Buren as a candidate for vice-president, and the electoral vote of the state was cast in that year for William Wilkins.

This sketch of the bar is not chronological in its order, and, although out of place in point of time, this seems the proper connection in which to speak of Charles Shaler. He did not immigrate here until this century had opened, but his name is indissolubly connected with the history of the Pittsburgh bar. He came here early enough to identify himself with the interests of the city. He married a daughter of one of the earliest settlers, Maj. Kirkpatrick, and for a long time lived in the old Kirkpatrick house, on the banks of the Monon-

gahela, below Ferry street. His office was on Fourth, between Wood and Market, and he had as partners, for awhile, Edwin M. Stanton and T. C. Umbstaetter, both of whom came here from Ohio. He had a very extensive practice, was popular at the bar, and was an attractive and effective speaker, as well as a very trustworthy lawyer. He served for some years as judge on the bench of the district court, and the whole community had unlimited confidence in his acts as judge. He had what, in these days of fine handwriting, would be thought a blemish; he wrote a shocking bad hand. At one time it was said that there were but two men in Pittsburgh who could decipher his manuscript. One of these was the late Robert Morrow, and the other was an editor. How the lawyers got their paper-books printed, when appealing from his judicial decisions, is a mystery. Probably the printers guessed at what was written, as they often do with much better copy. Judge Shaler retired from his practice before he died, and moved to Centre county. One of his sons is still living in Pittsburgh, on a part of the old Kirkpatrick place on Mount Washington.

Of John McDonald, George Thompson and Robert Allison the writer of this article cannot speak with any certainty. McDonald was spoken of familiarly as "Jack" McDonald, which would indicate that he was a boon companion and good fellow. He is spoken of as a safe lawyer, a good counselor, and wise in his profession, and he was a distinguished citizen of the early time. John M. Austin practiced here awhile, but eventually removed to Uniontown. His son, William E., came here about 1850, and was a genial, gentlemanly lawyer, who attained to considerable eminence at the bar. Thomas M. T. McKennan also practiced here for a time, but the scene of his triumph was at the Washington county bar.

Among the men who immigrated here from Philadelphia to practice law was Richard Biddle, a relative of Nicholas Biddle of the United States bank. He was a man of genius, but sluggish in disposition, and remained a bachelor until near the close of his life. He was a finished orator, and always commanded the respect of his audience. His reputation as a lawyer was fully as great as his fame as an orator. Before a public meeting he was omnipotent; and it was this fact, probably, that led to his selection as a candidate for Congress, to which he was chosen in 1834, 1836 and 1838. But the lower house of Congress was never much of an arena for oratory. Biddle tired of serving there, and resigned in 1840, being succeeded for the short term by Henry M. Brackenridge. His power over an audience was shown in 1842, at a public meeting in the courthouse, called to denounce the Pittsburgh representative in Congress (William W. Irwin) for ratting to Tyler. The audience was in favor of Irwin, and would not allow any vote to be taken nor anyone to speak. The meeting turned into a mob, the officers went out of the house by the back window, and the clamor and racket were so terrific that fearful citizens dreaded a riot. In this emergency Biddle was brought in; some of the officers

resumed their seats, and as soon as Biddle's name was mentioned the audience quieted to perfect stillness. They heard him attentively, and allowed him to speak twice; but as soon as an attempt was made to read the resolutions the racket began again, and ended by the dispersal of the meeting. This audience would listen to Biddle as long as he wanted to speak, but it would not permit the adoption of resolutions to which it was opposed. Such instances of deep personal respect are very rare.

Neville B. Craig was one of the old-time members of the bar, and well qualified to shine at it; but he early turned his attention to the press, and distinguished himself as an editor. Leonard S. Johns was also a lawyer, but is known to the old generation only as an alderman or justice of the peace, to which offices he devoted his life. Two names of members of the bar, in the earlier part of the century, attract attention because they earned a national reputation in other fields. These are Robert J. Walker and Robert McClelland. Both of these gentlemen began their legal careers here, but Walker soon afterward moved to Mississippi, and McClelland to Michigan. Walker rose to be United States senator, and finally to be secretary of the treasury, and was the author of the tariff of 1846, with which Pennsylvania found so much fault. McClelland was elevated to the cabinet by President Pierce, and both he and Walker must have attained to great prominence in their new fields to be worthy of such promotion. Ross Wilkins also (a half-brother of William) began life as a lawyer here, went to Michigan, and was finally made judge of the United States district court in that state. Daniel Agnew is another who began his legal life here. He afterward migrated to Beaver; has served as judge of the state supreme court, and is still, at a hale old age, practicing his profession ably and faithfully.

Among other names of this period we find mention of "Hopkins." Was this the man who afterward studied divinity, became rector of Trinity Church, and was finally made bishop of Vermont? Not being positively sure of the facts, they are given interrogatively. If this was the man, his subsequent career proved that a good lawyer was not spoiled by making him a bishop. The name also occurs, in this list, of Duncan S. Walker, of whom nothing has been gleaned, and that of Joseph Buffington, who belongs properly to the Armstrong county bar. All the adjoining counties furnished young recruits for the bar by educating them here and taking them home as soon as they became promising.

The far-off counties also furnished their quota of new men to our bar. Benjamin Patton, Jr., came here from Union county, and served for awhile as United States district attorney. He was finally made president judge of the criminal court and court of common pleas, and served as such until the judges were made elective. He is still living, in Ohio, and was present at the county centennial, in 1888. Two other gentlemen also came in here from Northern Pennsylvania, Robert C. Grier and Hopewell Hepburn. Grier came here to

fill the place of judge of the district court of this county, which place he filled with great acceptability to all until he was made a judge of the United States supreme court, on the bench of which he remained until his death. Hepburn came, also, as an appointed judge of the district court, and served until 1851, when he was displaced by the judge elected by the people. He afterward opened an office and resumed the practice of the law, and was subsequently elected president of the Allegheny bank. He was a man of fine legal capac ities, but death soon cut his career short.

Henry C. Moorhead came here from Lycoming county, as prosecuting attorney for this county, somewhere between 1840 and 1850; but he was a man of very feeble health, and a cripple, and he did not live long. James Dunlap and A. J. Durboraw came about the same time from Franklin county. Dunlap was the author of several legal works, and was rated as a sound and trusty lawyer. Jasper E. Brady came in later, from the same county, but finally moved to Washington, D. C., being a clerk in the pay department for several years before his death. He represented the Franklin district in congress from 1847 to 1849.

Edwin M. Stanton must have moved here from Ohio about 1850. He was a partner of Charles Shaler, and remained in practice here until the war of 1861 broke out. He was never what could be called a popular man at the bar, but everyone recognized in him a giant intellectually. This recognition begot, naturally, in some minds, a wholesome fear of him.

Marshall Swartzwelder was a young man at the bar in 1840. In 1844 he was elected on the whig ticket, with Thomas J. Bigham, to the state legislature. He remained in this position for two or three years, but it had not the attractions for him it had for Bigham. He devoted himself to the practice of the law, and attained to a very high position as one of the best-read "black-letter" men of the bar. He was filled to the brim with a knowledge of the old legal authorities, and was a terror, in the criminal court, to all young practitioners. He became a great criminal lawyer, and when in his prime was on one side or the other of all large criminal cases. Bigham was more of a politician than a lawyer.

Of the other names that recur to the memory, of men who distinguished themselves at the bar from 1840 to 1870, mention may be made of John D. Mahon, William W. Irwin, Cornelius Darragh, Loomis, Metcalf, J. I. Kuhn, Robert Woods, A. B. Todd, Moses Hampton, Joseph Knox, Samuel W. Black, Thomas McConnell, Thomas Mellon, George P. Hamilton, T. J. Fox Alden, William M. Shinn, D. W. Bell, John Barton, David Reed and David Ritchie.

John D. Mahon was a brisk, bustling, active man, and was very generally retained in criminal cases. William W. Irwin was chosen mayor of Pittsburgh in January, 1840, and in October of the same year was elected to Congress. He served but one term, siding with Tyler in 1841, and thus losing the con-

fidence of his constituency. Tyler appointed him minister to Denmark in 1843, and he never resumed the practice of law afterward. He came of a good family, and had a good position at the bar. Cornelius Darragh belonged, also, to an old home family, and had a splendid practice. He was elected to Congress in 1844 and 1846, and was attorney-general of the state under Gov. Johnson from 1849 to 1852. Mr. Loomis came here from Ohio somewhere about 1850, and entered business with O. Metcalf, Esq. This firm had a splendid legal business, and few men ever stood higher at the Pittsburgh bar than Mr. Loomis. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the republican nomination to Congress in 1858, but his chief distinction lay in his deserved reputation as a great lawyer and pleader. J. I. Kuhn was also a great lawyer, but not of any prominence as a talker. He was a close and careful student of the law, and always a safe and trusty counselor. Robert Woods was a native, and the descendant of an old family. He had a magnificent practice, and his aid was always sought in difficult and doubtful cases. He cut his life short by overwork. A. B. Todd was another instance of a great lawyer concealed by his garb as a counselor. He had a circle of devoted legal adherents around him, and, although he made little public record, was the trusted counselor of the many who had faith in him.

Moses Hampton moved here from Somerset, and at once worked into a prominent position as a successful pleader. He was elected to Congress in 1848 and 1850, and was subsequently elected judge of the district court, where he served for twenty years, dying full of years and honor. The old law firm of Hampton & Millers, embracing, besides the judge, Jacob Miller and Alexander H., was a celebrated one in its day, all three of its members being keen, sharp and practical business-men.

Joseph Knox is hardly known to the present generation. He was a very genial, pleasant gentleman, with some peculiarities, but a well-read lawyer and a successful one. He died early. Thomas McConnell was a plain, undemonstrative man, but of solid acquirements, profound in his judgments and convictions, conscientious and just. As a lawyer he acquired a large practice through the indomitable honesty of his character.

Samuel W. Black was the son of Rev. John Black, a well-known Covenanter preacher, and was a brilliant and very popular lawyer. He went out as colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments in the Mexican war, and distinguished himself there in the siege of Puebla. When the war of 1861 broke out, he again went out at the head of a regiment, and was killed in the stormy battle-year of 1863. He was intensely patriotic. A whig in 1840, he became a democrat in 1844, and remained so until his death.

Of John P. Penney, Hamilton, Alden, Shinn, Bell, Barton, Reed and Ritchie, all now dead, it can be said of all, as of each of them, that they were ornaments of the bar, successful lawyers and good citizens, who are all still affectionately remembered as men who had made their marks in their time.

To go further in the enumeration of the members of the bar would be to trench upon the domain of the present, and discuss the characters of men still upon the stage of public life, which hardly comes within the province of history. The bar, since 1840, has grown rapidly in numbers, and the subject, when fairly and fully treated, becomes too voluminous for a volume of this character. This chapter is a long one, yet no one name has been dwelt upon at any great length, and much has had to be omitted that it would otherwise have been desirable to insert. It is enough to say that Allegheny county has always been distinguished by the ability of its bar. Men of great national character, like Ross, Forward, Wilkins, R. J. Walker, McCelland, Baldwin, Grier, Brackenridge and Addison, have grown to the stature of men, first, in its courts, and at no period of its history has it been devoid of distinguishing legal talent. It is said of an old Steubenville lawyer that he was once examining a candidate for admission to the bar, and asked him the stock question, "What is a court?" "A court," said the applicant, pompously, "is a place where justice is *judiciously* administered." "Not always," said the examining lawyer, shaking his head, "not *always.*" The answer given in Blackstone is "a place where justice is *judicially* administered." The difference between *judicially* and *judiciously* is a marked one; and yet it can safely be said of the Allegheny county courts that, from the first, they have been places where justice is both judicially and judiciously administered; and for this reputation the courts are indebted, mainly, to the high character of the members of the bar, to the reputation of its members for integrity and legal ability, and to the ever-present consciousness of their responsibility as the officers of the courts.

CHAPTER XV.

CHURCHES.

PRESBYTERIAN—UNITED PRESBYTERIAN—REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN—CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN—REFORMED (GERMAN).

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

THE reformation in Europe culminated in the development of four great groups of Protestant churches, the Lutheran, the Reformed, the Episcopalian and the Independent churches. The Presbyterian churches of the world belong to the great family of Reformed churches. Their theology is variously denominated by theologians as Pauline, Augustinian or Calvinistic. Their polity emphasizes the headship of the Lord Jesus in the Church, the

parity of the ministry, and the principle of popular representation in the deliberative assemblies of the Church. They hold, with the best-instructed scholars of modern Christendom, that the terms *episkopos* and *presbyteros*, used in the New Testament as titles of the ministry, designated one and the same office, and repudiate diocesan episcopacy as unscriptural. The government of the individual congregation is administered by a "session," composed of the "bishop" or "pastor" of the church and a number of "ruling elders" chosen by the people to coöperate with him. The government of the congregations within certain territorial limits is committed to the "presbytery," or "classis," consisting of the bishops or presbyters, and one ruling elder from each of the churches. Appeals are carried from the session to the presbytery, which has the power of review and control over the sessions of all the churches under its jurisdiction. Jurisdiction over the presbyteries is maintained by the "synods," constituted of an equal number of pastors and elders representing a number of presbyteries. Appeals are taken from the presbytery to the synod. A final court of appeal is provided among the larger bodies of the Presbyterian order in their "general assemblies," which have the authority to review and control the proceedings of the lower courts upon proper presentation of cases. The general assemblies are delegated bodies, the members of which are chosen by the presbyteries.

The Reformed churches represented in Allegheny county are the following: "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," commonly designated simply as "The Presbyterian Church;" "The United Presbyterian Church," "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church," and "The Reformed Church in America," commonly known as "The German Reformed Church." There are also one or two independent church organizations claiming the name of Presbyterian.

In the following pages a brief epitome of the history of each of these denominations will be given, followed by a short historical account of its growth in Allegheny county, accompanied by a list of the congregations, arranged in the chronological order of their organization, together with the names and terms of service of their respective pastors, and the latest statistical tables of their membership and contributions to benevolence.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The various churches of Great Britain and the continent were transplanted to the soil of the New World as the tides of emigration began to flow toward the setting sun. In New England the Congregationalists, and afterward less prominently the Baptists, wielded influence and laid the foundation of the rising institutions of church and state. In New York and New Jersey the Reformed church of Holland held sway. The first colonization of Pennsylvania was undertaken by the Quakers. In Delaware Swedish Lutherans, and in Maryland Roman Catholics, were the first settlers. Episcopacy was established in Virginia by the English, and in the Carolinas the Huguenots, as the mem-

bers of the Reformed church of France were called, found an asylum from persecution. But everywhere along the coast, but more especially in the colonies lying to the south of New England, the Presbyterians of Scotland and Ireland gradually asserted themselves. From 1629 to 1640 a considerable Presbyterian immigration found its way from Great Britain and Ireland to New England. The names of many places, especially in Southern New Hampshire, attest the historic fact that the early colonists were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish origin. The first sermon preached in the English language upon Manhattan island was delivered in the Reformed Dutch Church in the fort, now the Battery, by Rev. Francis Doughty,* an English Presbyterian. This was in the year 1643. In 1644 Rev. Richard Denton, a Presbyterian minister from Yorkshire, who had removed with a part of his charge to Watertown, Mass., became the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Hempstead, Long Island. In 1649 a colony of English Presbyterians settled at the mouth of the Severn river in Maryland. In 1656 Nathaniel and Daniel Denton, sons of Richard Denton, were instrumental in founding a Presbyterian church at Jamaica, Long Island, which remains to-day, and is the oldest in the great sisterhood of Presbyterian churches in the United States. In 1667 Rev. Abraham Pierson, who had thirty years before settled at Lynn, Mass., became the pastor of what is now the First Presbyterian Church of Newark, N. J. But it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the scattered and isolated churches felt the influence of that organizing power which is one of the chief characteristics of the Presbyterian polity. The leading spirit in the movement which looked toward the erection of a presbytery in the colonies was Francis Makemie, an Irish Presbyterian, who in 1684 had founded the church of Snow Hill, in Maryland. He was greatly aided by Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, a graduate of Harvard College, who in 1701 was ordained the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

The "General Presbytery," as it was called, was organized in the year 1705–6, and consisted of Ministers Francis Makemie, John Hampton, George McNish, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Jedidiah Andrews and Nathanael Taylor. Of the churches represented in the presbytery at that time, those of Snow Hill, Md., New Castle, Del., Philadelphia, Pa., and Freehold, N. J., are still in existence, and flourish in a green old age. The first meeting of the presbytery was held at Freehold, N. J., in 1706, Francis Makemie presiding as moderator. The church now began rapidly to increase. New presbyteries were formed from time to time, and in 1717 the "General Synod," consisting of the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, Snow Hill and Long Island, met in Philadelphia, and Rev. Jedidiah Andrews was chosen as moderator. In 1729 the synod passed what is known as the "Adopting Act," accepting the confession and catechisms of the Westminster Assembly as church standards, and requiring the personal adoption of these standards by the ministers

*An ancestor of the writer.

of the church. In 1745 there occurred a division of the general synod into the synod of New York and the synod of Philadelphia. The principal point at issue concerned the qualifications of candidates for the ministry. The parties were known popularly as the "Old Side" and the "New Side." The Rev. Jedidiah Andrews was recognized as the leader of the former, and the Rev. William Tennent, of "log-college" fame, was the leader of the latter. In 1744 the "Old Side" party established an academy, and in 1746 the "New Side" founded Princeton College. In 1758 a reunion of the two parties took place, and the general synod was thereafter known as the synod of New York and Philadelphia. The year 1758 was not only eventful in the history of the Presbyterian Church, but also in that of Western Pennsylvania, the territory in which this church was destined to hold at a subsequent time a most conspicuous position of influence and usefulness. On Friday, the 24th of November, 1758, the French set fire to Fort Duquesne and abandoned it. This marked the first step toward that long series of disasters to the French arms which led to their final withdrawal from the New World, and the overthrow of the influence of the Latin races and of the supremacy of the Church of Rome in broad territories to which they had heretofore laid exclusive claim.

The years which followed were memorable both in church and in state. Events crowded rapidly upon each other, and the stream of immigration from Scotland and from the north of Ireland began to flow mightily into the central and southern colonies of the Atlantic seaboard. The movement to secure American independence began. We find the synod of New York and Philadelphia, on May 22, 1775, issuing a pastoral letter to all the churches exhorting united support of the colonial cause, and on May 31st of the same year a convention of Presbyterians at Mecklenburg, N. C., united in a formal declaration of American independence. A year afterward we find Rev. John Witherspoon, the president of Princeton College, who was the only clerical member of the Continental Congress, with impassioned eloquence moving for and urging the passage of the Declaration of Independence which had been prepared by Thomas Jefferson. Many of the members of the Continental Congress were Presbyterians, and ruling elders in the churches, among them Richard Stockton, of Princeton, N. J., and the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia. It was in these years, when the infant nation was passing through the ordeal which attended its deliverance from the tyranny of an insensate king and court, that movements began to be made toward the planting of Christian institutions in the woodland wilderness of Western Pennsylvania. The pioneers in this development were the Presbyterians.

The rapid growth of the church led to the necessity for a division of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, which took place in the year 1788. Four synods were erected, to one of which,—the synod of Virginia,—the presbytery of Redstone, which had been erected in 1781, and which covered the region now embraced in Allegheny county, was given. At the same time the

present constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was adopted, and a meeting of the general assembly was fixed for the third Thursday of May, 1789, in the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., to preach the opening sermon and preside until a moderator should be chosen. At the first meeting of the general assembly, which took place on the 21st of May, 1789, Rev. John Rodgers, D. D., of the presbytery of New York, presided. The church at this time numbered 177 ministers, 431 churches and about 18,000 communicant members. In the year 1811 the Cumberland presbytery withdrew. The cause of the separation was, among other things, the action of the presbytery in previous years in ordaining to the ministry persons not properly qualified to exercise the office. This action was censured by the higher courts of the church. The final result was the dissolution of the Cumberland presbytery by the ecclesiastical authorities, but the advocates of the new measures refused to recognize the act of the synod, and effected an organization of their own, which was the germ of what is now known as the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

In the year 1837 took place the great division between what were known as the "Old School" and the "New School" parties in the church. The causes of this division were largely found in a difference of sentiment as to the manner in which the church should conduct her benevolent operations. As early as 1801 a "plan of union" between the general assembly and the Congregational association of Connecticut had been adopted which permitted Congregational ministers to serve Presbyterian churches, and *vice versa*, and permitted congregations to be represented in the courts of the church either by Presbyterian elders or Congregational committees, as the case might be. This affiliation led to the espousal by many Presbyterian churches of the work of benevolence as carried on by voluntary associations originating among the Congregationalists, such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A sentiment gradually gained ground among Presbyterians that it would be better to have the benevolent work of the church more strictly under ecclesiastical control, and this led finally to a disruption. The "New School" party adhered to the system of voluntary associations, and continued the alliance with the Congregational churches; the general assembly adopted the Western Missionary Society, which had been organized in Pittsburgh, and established the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In 1838 two assemblies met in Philadelphia, known as the "Old School Assembly" and the "New School Assembly," and the division lasted until 1869, when, on November 12th, a reunion was consummated in the Third Church of Pittsburgh. On December 4, 1861, the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America" met at Augusta, Ga. It embraced under its jurisdiction the churches in the seceding states up to that time identified with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Upon the failure of the slaveholders' rebellion in 1865 the title of this body was formally changed, and it has since been known as the "Presbyterian Church in the United States."

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is the largest of all the various Presbyterian churches in this country, and may lay claim, in some respects, to be a national church; for, while tracing its pedigree back to the Established Church of Scotland, it has drawn to itself elements out of all the churches and all the immigrations which have come to our shores, and has thus in the lapse of years acquired a development which is strictly its own, and peculiar in many respects to the land in which it is found, the institutions of which its clergy and laity have had a powerful influence in molding. It is a well-known historic fact that the views of some of the ablest among the framers of the constitution of the United States were shaped by a careful study of the polity of the Presbyterian Church, and many of the features of that remarkable document reflect the influence of that ecclesiastical system which is one of the sources of the strength of the reformed churches.

Statistics of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1888: Synods, 28; presbyteries, 202; ministers, 5,789; licentiates, 314; candidates, 997; churches, 6,543; elders, 22,434; deacons, 7,210; communicants, 722,071; Sabbath-school membership, 793,442; contributions to benevolence, $4,015,121; contributions to congregational expenses, $8,803,562; total contributions, $12,818,683.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

On Friday, the 24th of November, 1758, the French set fire to Fort Duquesne, and abandoned it. The same night the English and colonial troops under Gen. Forbes occupied the place, and gave to it the name of Fort Pitt. The Sunday following, the 26th of November, was observed, by order of the general, as "a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God," and a Presbyterian minister, Rev. Charles Beatty* chaplain of Col. Clapham's regiment of Pennsylvania troops, preached a thanksgiving sermon. This was the first Protestant sermon preached west of the Allegheny mountains.

In the year 1766 Rev. Messrs. Charles Beatty and George Duffield† were sent by the synod to explore the region and ascertain what could be done to supply the spiritual necessities of the infant settlements. They found a Presbyterian chaplain, by name of McLagan, at Fort Pitt, but elsewhere there were no efforts being made to preach the gospel. Shortly after the return of these two explorers, a Rev. Mr. Anderson was authorized to visit the region, and provision was made to recompense him for his labors, but of their results we know nothing. In 1769 the synod ordered the presbytery of Donegal to "provide the western frontier with ten Sabbaths of ministerial labor." How the injunction was obeyed it is impossible now to ascertain. The first of the clergy-

*The grandfather of the late Rev. C. C. Beatty, D. D., of Steubenville, Ohio, the well-known educator, and munificent benefactor of Washington and Jefferson College and of the Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny.

†Subsequently one of the chaplains of the Continental Congress, and the grandfather of the late George Duffield, D. D., of Detroit, the author of the well-known hymn, "Stand up, Stand up for Jesus," and the great-grandfather of the late Samuel W. Duffield, D. D., of Bloomfield, N. J., a distinguished literary critic and author.

men who visited the region for the purpose of ultimately making it his home was Rev. James Finley, who came across the mountains attended by a single companion in the year 1771. He did not, however, permanently settle in Western Pennsylvania until in 1783, about which time he became the pastor of the churches of Round Hill and Rehoboth, in Westmoreland county. In 1774 Rev. James Power visited the new settlements, and in 1776 returned, bringing his family with him, and entered upon his labors as a missionary, becoming some years later the pastor of the churches of Sewickley and Mount Pleasant, in Westmoreland county. The next of the pioneer ministers to arrive upon the ground was Rev. John McMillan, who came to Washington county in 1776, but owing to the danger of Indian incursions did not remove his family thither until two years later.* In 1777 Rev. Thaddeus Dodd came to the west. He labored until his death, in 1793, as the pastor of the congregations of Upper and Lower Ten Mile creeks, in Washington county. He was followed by Rev. Joseph Smith, who became the pastor of the churches of Cross creek and Buffalo, in Washington county, in the spring of 1780, and remained there until his death in 1792.

John McMillan, James Power, Thaddeus Dodd and Joseph Smith were all graduates of Princeton College, and were thoroughly equipped intellectually as well as morally for the work to which they had been providentially called. With undoubted learning they combined a large degree of practical good sense and the most ardent piety, and became the recognized leaders of thought in the communities in which they had come to make their homes. All of them powerful preachers, they became the instruments in God's hand for preparing the way for that great revival of religion which swept, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, from the woods of Southwestern Pennsylvania westward and southward, transforming many a locality which had been a moral and spiritual waste into a "garden of the Lord." They were not only great in the pulpit, but they distinguished themselves as the friends of education. They planted schoolhouses as well as churches in the wilderness, and to their labors are due, directly and indirectly, the establishment of many of those institutions which are to-day and long have been fountains of beneficent influence, not only for Western Pennsylvania, but for the whole land as well. To these four men, the fathers of the presbytery of Redstone, the first organization formed for purposes of ecclesiastical government west of the mountains, the people of the great valley of which Pittsburgh is the eastern gateway owe a debt of gratitude which can never be measured. Not only were they the founders of churches, and schools and colleges, but in the spirit of a true patriotism sought wisely to mitigate those animosities and sectional differences which at one time flamed up into the fires of open revolt against the government. In the troublous days of the

*The tree under which Dr. McMillan preached his first sermon west of the Monongahela is still pointed out, and stands about six miles southeast of Cannonsburg, Pa.

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"whisky rebellion" they did much to maintain the public peace, and when the people of Western Pennsylvania were roused into bitter opposition to the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by John Jay in 1794, upon the alleged ground that it sacrificed to England some of their undoubted rights, the friends of the measure felt it necessary to secure the approval of Dr. McMillan to the terms of the treaty in order to allay the irritation of the people. "Cardinal McMillan," as he was facetiously styled by one of the leading spirits of the frontier, found himself much courted by politicians at that time, and one of them exultingly wrote: "The obtaining of the patronage of Rev. John McMillan, whom I denominate the patriarch of the western church, was a grand acquisition. It secures our flanks perfectly."

The presbytery of Redstone was organized in the year 1781. It covered all the country west of the Alleghenies and north of Virginia and Kentucky, a territory imperial in its dimensions, but at that time populated by wandering savages save on the eastern border, where the rising settlements formed a narrow selvage of civilization. The first meeting of the presbytery was not held at Laurel Hill church, the appointed place of meeting, but at Pigeon creek, "because the circumstances of some of the members, by reason of the incursions of the savages, rendered it impracticable for them to attend at Laurel Hill;" and the next stated meeting, appointed for April, 1782, was not held at all for the same reason. The people who looked to this presbytery for guidance in their ecclesiastical affairs were mainly of Scotch and Scotch-Irish extraction. They were a sturdy, intelligent, liberty-loving race, almost wholly given over to agricultural pursuits. At the time of the first settlement the vast mineral wealth of the region was unknown, or but dimly suspected. Of commerce there was of necessity but little, and what there was was carried on in the most primitive manner by means of packhorses, which were led through the mountain defiles, conveying the barest necessities from the eastern seaboard, and taking back in return burdens of skins and furs, the product of the chase or of barter with the Indians. The first settlers made homes for themselves upon the fertile lands of what are now Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington counties. The little village, composed of log cabins and rude huts, which had sprung up about Fort Pitt, did not at first furnish great attraction to the better class of immigrants. A change, however, rapidly took place when, in 1784, by direction of the agent of the proprietaries, the town of Pittsburgh was surveyed and laid out in lots, and settlement was formally invited. It was then first that we find any indication of the fact that the inhabitants of the infant community were to any degree possessed with a desire for religious instruction. At a meeting of the presbytery of Redstone, held at Buffalo on the 13th of April, 1784, it is recorded that "supplications for supplies" were presented from Muddy creek, the South Fork of Ten Mile, a vacant congregation near Robinson's Run, and Pittsburgh, and on the following day the presbytery took action, and appointed Rev. Joseph Smith to "preach at Pitts-

burgh the fourth Sabbath of August." It must not, however, be understood that the fathers of that old presbytery had been unmindful before this of the spiritual destitution and wants of the people found within the limits of what is now Allegheny county. There is reason to believe that as early as 1777 Dr. John McMillan had labored among the settlers on the southern borders of the county. In 1778 the two churches of Lebanon and Bethel were organized. In 1781 they were united under the pastoral charge of Rev. John Clark, who labored as the stated supply of the two fields until 1783, when he was formally installed as the pastor of the little flocks, remaining in charge until April 15, 1789. He died in 1797, at the age of seventy-nine years. The churches of Bethel and Lebanon, both of them to this day vigorous and self-supporting, are the oldest churches of any denomination in Allegheny county.

During the fall of 1784 and the spring of 1785 there was occasional preaching at "Fort Pitt," provided by the presbytery of Redstone. In the fall of this year Rev. Samuel Barr, a licentiate of the presbytery of Londonderry, Ireland, arrived, and, though not at first formally recognized by the presbytery, began his work as pastor of the joint charges of the First Church of Pittsburgh and the church of Pitt township, now Beulah Church. On the 29th of September, 1787, the "Presbyterian Congregation of Pittsburgh" was incorporated by act of legislature. The Penn heirs a few days before had deeded to the congregation the lots upon which the present First Church edifice stands, for the "consideration of five shillings as well as the laudable inclination they have for encouraging and promoting morality, piety and religion in general, and more especially in the town of Pittsburgh." The congregation proceeded at once to erect a building of squared timbers, and here it continued to worship for some years, until the log church gave way to a more commodious structure built of brick, which at a later date was superseded by the present imposing edifice. The pastorate of Rev. Samuel Barr, who had become a member of the presbytery, closed in 1789, and he removed to Delaware, where he continued to labor in the ministry with acceptance. He died on May 31, 1818. The pulpit of the First Church of Pittsburgh, after the removal of Rev. Mr. Barr, was filled by various "supplies" until the year 1800. The sixteen years which passed from 1784 to 1800, during which the First Church of Pittsburgh was feebly maintaining its existence, were years in which the growth of the church in the regions contiguous to Pittsburgh was vigorous. In 1793 the population in the territory covered by the presbytery of Redstone had so increased, and churches had multiplied to such an extent that, on the 25th of September, 1793, the synod of Virginia, under which the presbytery of Redstone had been since 1788, resolved to create a new presbytery, to be known as the presbytery of Ohio. It embraced that part of the United States lying north of Virginia and Kentucky, and bounded on the east by the Monongahela river and a line running in a generally northward direction from its junction with the Allegheny to Presqu' Isle, or Erie. Under this arrangement Pitts-

burgh and what is now Allegheny were left in connection with the old presbytery of Redstone. The first meeting of the new presbytery took place on the 22d of October, 1793, at Buffalo. Dr. McMillan was chosen moderator, and Rev. John Brice* was chosen clerk. The organization known as the presbytery of Ohio continued to exist until the time of the reunion between the New and Old School divisions of the church, though the territory embraced under its jurisdiction was gradually diminished from time to time, by the erection of new presbyteries and the modification of boundaries, until at last its territory came to be practically coterminous with that covered by the presbytery of Pittsburgh. For three-quarters of a century the anomaly in nomenclature was presented of a presbytery in the state of Pennsylvania bearing the name of Ohio. The successive steps by which the territory of the presbytery of Ohio came to be reduced and its name changed may be briefly stated as follows:

1801. On October 2d the presbytery of Erie was created out of the presbytery of Ohio by the synod of Virginia. The presbytery of Erie covered that part of Western Pennsylvania lying north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny.

1802. In May the synod of Pittsburgh was formed by the general assembly out of the presbyteries of Redstone, Ohio and Erie.

1808. On October 7th the presbytery of Lancaster (Ohio) was formed from the presbytery of Ohio.

1819. On October 8th the presbytery of Steubenville and the presbytery of Washington, the latter covering the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania and the upper part of what is now West Virginia, including Wheeling, were formed from the presbytery of Ohio.

1822. October 4th so much of the bounds of the presbytery of Redstone as were situated north and west of the rivers Ohio and Allegheny, together with the ministers John Andrews, Francis Herron, Joseph Stockton, Robert Patterson and Elisha P. Swift, with their several charges, were attached by the synod of Pittsburgh to the presbytery of Ohio. Prior to this time the territory included in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny had continued to be under the jurisdiction of the presbytery of Redstone, as we have seen.

1837–38. The Third and the Fifth Presbyterian churches of Pittsburgh seceded, and with several other churches in the bounds of contiguous presbyteries organized the presbytery of Pittsburgh (New School). This presbytery, with other New School presbyteries, formed the synod of Pennsylvania (New School).

1853—October. The synod of Pittsburgh erected the presbytery of Allegheny City out of that part of the presbytery of Ohio which lay north of the Ohio and the Allegheny. This presbytery remained under the synod of Pittsburgh for several years, when a synod of Allegheny was created, which was sup-

* The grand-uncle of Hon. Calvin S. Brice, whose father, Rev. William Kirkpatrick Brice, was an honored minister of the Presbyterian church.

planted by the synod of Erie at a later date. Just after the reunion in 1870 the general assembly slightly altered the bounds of this presbytery, incorporated with it certain churches which had come over from the Reformed presbytery of Pittsburgh, and changed the name to that of "Presbytery of Allegheny."

1870. At the time of the reunion of the New and Old School branches of the church the name "Synod of Western Pennsylvania" of the New School party was given up and the name "Synod of Pittsburgh" of the Old School branch retained, while the name "Presbytery of Ohio" (Old School) was dropped and that of the New School party, "Presbytery of Pittsburgh," adopted.

Four presbyteries at the present time occupy in part the territory included in the bounds of Allegheny county, viz.: The presbytery of Redstone, the presbytery of Pittsburgh, the presbytery of Allegheny and the presbytery of Blairsville, erected in 1830 from the presbytery of Redstone. There are at the present time within the limits of Allegheny county eighty-two Presbyterian churches and six missions, distributed as follows:

	Churches.	Missions.
Presbytery of Pittsburgh	45	6
Presbytery of Allegheny	31	0
Presbytery of Blairsville	5	0
Presbytery of Redstone	1	0
Totals	82	6

The year 1800 may be regarded as having marked the turning-point in the affairs of the churches in the city of Pittsburgh. At this time occurred that wonderful religious awakening known as "The Revival of 1800," the influence of which was felt all through the west and the southwest. At this time Rev. Robert Steele found his way to Pittsburgh, and began his ministrations in the pulpit of the First Church. He had fled from Ireland because of persecution, and, owing to delay in obtaining necessary documents from that country, was not received by the presbytery nor installed until 1802. About this time a number of persons withdrew from the First Church, and took steps looking toward organization of the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. This year was also memorable because of the organization of the synod of Pittsburgh, which held its first meeting in the First church of Pittsburgh. It was also memorable because of the origination in the First Church of "The Western Missionary Society," which later became "The Board of Home Missions" of the Presbyterian Church, the work of which has assumed national importance. For a period of nearly twenty-five years the history of the growth of the churches in Allegheny county is almost synonymous with the history of the First and Second Presbyterian churches of Pittsburgh. Churches were multiplying all over the western country, but as the population was still sparse they were widely separated from each other. In 1800 the churches of Bethel,

Lebanon, Mingo, Montours, Plum creek and Pitt township (Beulah) were the only Presbyterian churches organized in the county besides the First Church of Pittsburgh. In 1803 Hiland Church is reported as being one of those "unable to support a minister." In 1807 the congregation of Plains is reported as "able to support a minister," and in 1808 Sewickley is mentioned as unable to do so. In 1814 the churches of Bethany, Alleghenytown (First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny) and Pine creek appear to have originated. In 1823 Duff's (now Fairmount) had a stated supply. In 1828 the East Liberty Presbyterian Church and the church of Cross Roads were formed. In 1833 the Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh was organized. From this time forward the increase of population was rapid, and the multiplication of churches has gone on without intermission.

The work of the Presbyterian churches in Allegheny county has not, however, been confined to the task of building up the denomination within the immediate borders of the county. The Presbyterianism of Western Pennsylvania, characterized by a zealous regard for the principles of the church, has always consistently emphasized the duty of caring for the ignorant and destitute in our own country and in other lands. And right here in the city of Pittsburgh the two great Boards of Home and Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States may be said to have had their birth, and here is located at the present day the Board of Missions to the Freedmen, which is charged with the duty of seeking to educate and evangelize the colored people of the south. The old First Church of Pittsburgh enjoys in this connection a peculiarly honorable position. Here in 1802 the "Western Missionary Society," the forerunner of the Board of Home Missions, was formed, and here in 1831 "The Western Foreign Missionary Society," the parent of the Board of Foreign Missions of the church at large, was organized, Hon. Walter B. Lowrie resigning his position as clerk of the United States senate in order to become its first secretary and treasurer. For many years this historical old church has been the rallying-point and place of meeting in the interest of all causes, denominational and undenominational, which have had in view the promotion of the moral and spiritual interests of the cities of Allegheny and Pittsburgh, and of Western Pennsylvania in general.

The work of the church has not been confined simply to movements of a strictly religious character. True to the intellectual tendencies of that system of doctrines which is one of the chief glories of the Reformed churches, the fathers of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania planted the schoolhouse beside the church. They founded Washington and Jefferson colleges, and in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh the Western University of Pennsylvania was born. Here, too, the Western Theological Seminary, which holds a foremost place among the theological schools of the land, was formally organized, and its first classes recited under the roof of the First church. In the First church of Pittsburgh the Allegheny County Bible Society was organized

in 1818, and Hon. Harmar Denny, one of the elders of the First church, was its first president; encouraged and aided in his work by his pastor, that great and godly man, Dr. Francis Herron, who for forty years was the leader among the clergy of the Iron City in all those things which make for righteousness, having associated with him such noble spirits as Elisha P. Swift, D. D., the pastor of the First Church in Allegheny, and David H. Riddle, D. D., pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, who, in spite of the withdrawal of that church into the "New School" body, did not fail to labor in the spirit of fraternity and with the utmost zeal and courage on behalf of all things calculated to promote the welfare of the Christian community. The zeal displayed by the founders of the church in this region has not been lost by their descendants, and in comparatively recent years the establishment of the Pennsylvania Female College and of the Shadyside Academy are evidence of the sincere interest which is felt in the higher education of the youth of these cities.

Within the brief compass of a sketch like the present it is impossible to give an adequate idea of all that the church has accomplished in the manifold departments of activity which have been opened before her. To a very great degree the intelligence, wealth and social prestige of the population of these great communities have been represented within the pale of the Presbyterian Church. The leading spirits in the organization of the First Church in Pittsburgh represented the best elements in the rising community. Many of the founders of this church had been officers in the revolutionary army, among them Gen. James O'Hara, Maj. Isaac Craig, Maj. Ebenezer Denny, Col. Stephen Bayard and Col. John Gibson. The first elder in the church, Capt. John Wilkins, was a man of great moral force. His son, Hon. William Wilkins, rose to distinction in the service of his country, being at different times a judge, United States senator, minister to Russia and secretary of war. The first president judge of the courts of Allegheny county was Hon. Alexander Addison, who in early life was a licentiate of the presbytery, but who forsook the pulpit for the bar, and became one of its brightest ornaments. During his long and honorable life he was one of the most devoted among the members of that old church, in the pulpit of which he had occasionally preached in his youth. Judges Johnston, Wallace and Snowden were among the early members of this church. In fact, an examination of the records of the churches reveals that a very large proportion of those who have been eminent at the bar of this county have been actively identified with the work of the Presbyterian churches as elders or as trustees.

In consequence of this close affiliation of the church with the people, through their recognized leaders, a happy influence has been exerted, and the result is seen in the tempering by the principles of Christian charity of all the great public activities of the community to a remarkable degree. The hospitals and asylums, the schools and colleges, the Christian associations, the various movements begotten during the war of the rebellion for the relief of the wounded and

sick soldiery, and for their spiritual instruction, the movements on behalf of temperance, the execution of the laws as against the lawless—all these have felt the vivifying and refining touch of that ecclesiastical life which, born of the Holy Spirit under the preaching of McMillan, Patterson, Powers and Dod, has been perpetuated under God through the ministrations of such men as Herron, the Swifts, Riddle, Howard, Jacobus, Beatty, Wilson and McIlvaine, aided by men in the ranks of the laity whom God endowed with grace, wisdom and wealth to a commanding degree.

Following is a list of the Presbyterian churches in Allegheny county, chronologically arranged in the order of their organization, together with the names of their successive pastors. This list gives the name of the church, preceded by the date of organization and followed by the name of the presbytery to which it belongs. The former name of the church, if it had one, is enclosed in brackets. S. S. stands for stated supply.

1778. *Lebanon;* Pittsburgh.—John Clark, 1781–89; William Woods, 1796–1820; Thomas D. Baird, 1827–35; Samuel Henderson, 1836–40; William G. Johnston, 1841–45; John McConoughy, 1846–48; O. H. Miller, 1848–58; A. O. Rockwell, 1858–69; S. S. Shriver, 1870–76; R. H. Fulton, 1877–80; G. N. Johnston, 1884–.

1778. *Bethel;* Pittsburgh.—John Clark, 1781–96; William Woods, 1797–1831; George Marshall, D. D., 1833–72; C. W. Wycoff, 1873–.

1784. *Beulah* ["Bullock Pens," "Pitt Township"]; Blairsville.—Samuel Barr, 1786–88; supplies, 1788–1804; James Graham, 1804–45; J. M. Hastings, 1846–65; Thomas M. Brown, 1866–69; James A. Marshall, 1869–73; James Hunter, 1874–77; William S. Miller, 1877–88; W. W. Ralston, D. D., 1888–.

1784. *First Church of Pittsburgh;* Pittsburgh.—Samuel Barr, 1785–89; Robert Steele, 1802–10; Francis Herron, D. D., 1811–50; William M. Paxton, D. D., 1851–65; S. F. Scovel, D. D., 1866–83; George T. Purves, D. D., 1886–.

1788. *Montours;* Pittsburgh.—Joseph Patterson, 1789;–99; John McLean, 1800–08, Michael Law, 1811–21; Robert Laird, 1826–28; John K. Cunningham, 1830–40; Thomas Gordon, 1842–45; Thomas Stevenson, 1846–54; Isaac N. McKinney, 1854–57; Levi Risher, 1857–59; H. C. Foulke, 1864–67; J. J. Beacom, 1868–77; H. T. McClelland, 1878–81; R. J. Phipps, 1886–.

1791. *Plum Creek* ["Ebenezer," "Puckety," or "Ebenezer on Puckety"]; Blairsville.—Francis Laird, 1800–31; Samuel Montgomery, 1832–34; Samuel McClung, 1837–59; G. M. Spargrove, 1861–65; J. D. Moorhead, 1865–72; J. M. Hamilton, 1873–86; T. B. Anderson, 1887–.

1796. *Bull Creek;* Allegheny.—Various S. S., 1796–1802; William A. Boyd, 1802–33; Samuel Caldwell, 1834; John Johnston, S. S., 1838; Thomas W. Kerr, 1840–47; John M. Smith, 1848–56; G. W. Taylor, 1856–62; G. W. Jackson, 1863; J. F. Boyd, 1862–66; Thomas Johnston, 1871–86.

1801. *McKeesport;* Redstone.—Boyd Mercer, S. S., 1803–23, Alex. McCandless, 1825–38; William Eaton, 1841–44; Samuel Hill, S. S., 1844–45; Prosper H. Jacob, 1847–51; Nathaniel West, Sr., D. D., 1854–56; R. F. Wilson, 1856–67; G. M. Hair, 1869–72; J. W. Wightman, 1872–77; Samuel McBride, 1877–79; George N. Johnston, 1880–84; J. J. McCarrell, 1884–.

1802–05. *Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh;* Pittsburgh.—Nathanial R. Snowden, May, 1805–December, 1805; John Boggs, October, 1807–December, 1807; Thomas Hunt, 1809–18; Elisha P. Swift, D. D., 1819–33; Joseph W. Blythe, 1834–36; Robert Dunlap, 1837–47; William D. Howard, D. D., 1849–76; W. S. Stites, 1877–79; William McKibbin, 1880–88.

1803. *Hilands;* Allegheny.—Robert Patterson, S. S., 1803–32; Joseph Reed, 1836–39; J. Watson Johnson, 1841–49; James R. Smith, 1850–54; J. Arthur, S. S., 1855–56; M. L. Wortman, S. S., 1856–57; William B. McKee, S. S., 1857–58; M. L. Wortman, 1858–69; James McIntire, 1869–70; John M. Smith, 1871–74; W. W. Morton, 1875–80; M. L. Wortman, 1880–86; J. J. Graham, 1886–.

1805–10. *Pine Creek Second Church;* Allegheny [originally and until 1870 a Reformed Presbyterian Church].—Matthew Williams, 1809–28; Thomas C. Guthrie, D. D., 1828–56; Thomas Johnston, 1856–85.

1807. *Plains;* Allegheny.—Reid Bracken, 1808–19; John Moore, 1828–31; Leland R. McAboy, D. D., 1837–57; John W. Potter, 1863–66; Samuel R. Kerr, 1868; Levi Risher, 1870–76; R. J. Creswell, 1876–79; G. M. Potter, S. S., 1882.

1814. *Bethany;* Pittsburgh.—Alexander Cook, 1815–20; William Jeffery, D. D., 1821–55; Cyrus G. Braddock, 1855–74; John F. Hill, 1876–84; V. G. Sheeley, 1886–.

1814. *First Church of Allegheny;* Allegheny.—There was preaching in Alleghenytown from 1814 onward, but the formal organization of the First Church did not take place till 1830. Joseph Stockton and others, S. S., 1814–31; Job F. Halsey, 1831–35; Elisha P. Swift, D. D., 1835–64; Elliot E. Swift, D. D., 1861–87; David S. Kennedy, 1888–.

1815. *Pine Creek;* Allegheny.—Joseph Stockton, 1815–33; Samuel Caldwell, 1833–34; James Campbell, 1834–38; Timothy Alden, 1838–40; J. W. Johnston, 1841–48; various S. S., 1848–56; John F. McLaren, D. D., 1856–62; G. M. Potter, 1863–79; S. S., 1880–.

1817. *Sharon* [Flaugherty's]; Pittsburgh.—Andrew McDonald, 1817–; Robert Rutherford, 1827–28; S. C. Jennings, D. D., 1829–79; S. R. Gordon, 1880–83; J. M. Mercer, 1884–.

1822. *Fairmount* [Duff's Mills Church]; Allegheny.—John Andrews, S. S., 1824–31; John Moore, S. S., 1833–36; Daniel E. Nevin, 1843–46; Robert McPherson, 1847–50; G. W. Shaiffer, 1852–55; Henry R. Wilson, D. D., 1855–59; Aaron Williams, D. D., 1860; Edward Swift, licentiate, 1862; Aaron Williams, D. D., S. S., 1863; John Potter, 1864–65; Samuel P. Kerr, 1868–69; Levi Risher, 1870–76; B. O. Junkin, 1878–83; Robert McPherson, 1885–.

1828. *East Liberty;* Pittsburgh.—William B. McIlvaine, 1830–70; John Gillespie, D. D., 1865–82; B. L. Agnew, D. D., 1882–84; J. P. E. Kumler, D. D., 1884–.

1828. *Cross Roads;* Allegheny.—John Moore, 1828–34; Leland R. McAboy, D. D., 1837–71; James D. Shanks, 1872–74; John W. Little, 1875–82; R. B. Potter, 1882–87.

April 20, 1830. *Mount Pisgah* [Chess' Tent]; Pittsburgh.—Mount Pisgah, under the pastorate of R. McPherson, was united with Mansfield, and its name changed to Mansfield in October, 1855. In 1870 the church now known by the former name of Mount Pisgah was formed by a separation of the congregations under the name of Mansfield. S. C. Jennings, D. D. 1830–48; John B. Graham, 1848–50; Robert McPherson, 1850–68; Ezra R. Heany, 1869–72; G. W. Bean, 1874–77; P. S. Jennings, 1877–.

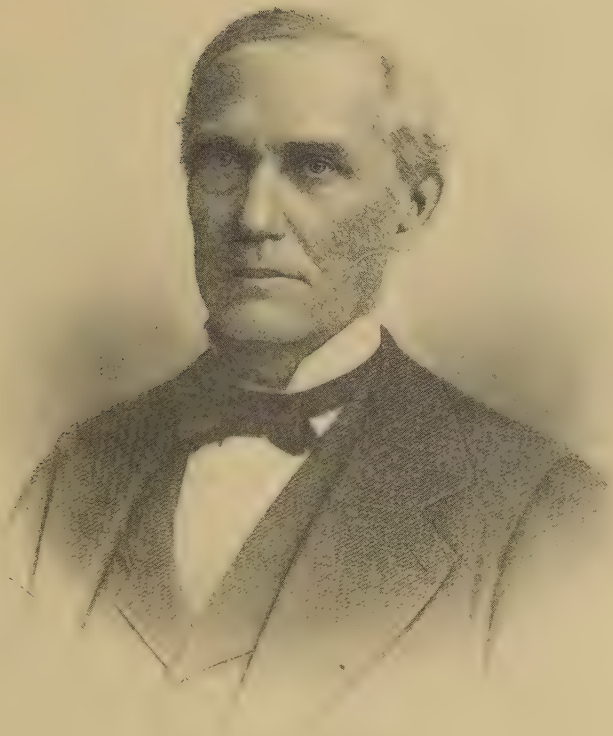
1832. *Tarentum;* Allegheny.—Joseph Johnson, S. S., six months; Samuel Caldwell, 1834–43; James M. Smith, 1855–; W. G. Taylor, 1857–62; Samuel Ramsey, 1862–64; Watson Hughes, S. S., 1866; Marcus Wishart, 1867–70; George Scott, 1871–77; W. E. Oller, 1878–82; A. F. Walker, 1884–.

March 19, 1833. *Third Church of Pittsburgh;* Pittsburgh.—David H. Riddle, D. D., 1833–57; Henry Kendall, D. D., 1857–61; Herrick Johnson, D. D., LL. D., 1862–67; Frederick A. Noble, D. D., 1868–75; S. H. Kellogg, D. D., January, 1877–October, 1877; Charles L. Thompson, D. D., 1878–82; Edward P. Cowan, D. D., 1882–.

June 23, 1833. *Seventh Church of Pittsburgh* [Minersville]; Pittsburgh.—Various supplies, 1833–39; S. M. Sparks, 1839–61; supplies, 1861–67; S. M. Sparks, 1867–69; William McKibbin, 1873–74; F. L. Senour, 1875–77; Joseph E. Andrews, 1877–79; R. A. Hill, 1882–.

1836. *Lawrenceville (Thirty-ninth Street) Church;* Pittsburgh.—Richard Lea, S. T. D., 1836–83; John Stark McConnell, 1877–87; A. G. Linn, 1888–.

Feb. 17, 1838. *Sewickley;* Allegheny.—Services were held at Sewickley by various



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ministers from 1807 and onward, but the formal organization of a church did not occur until 1838. Daniel E. Nevin, 1838–47; James Allison, D. D., 1849–64; J. B. Bittinger, D. D., 1864–85; William O. Campbell, D. D., 1885–.

June, 1838. *Sharpsburg;* Allegheny.—James Campbell, 1838–41; J. W. Murray, 1841–53; Alex. Shand, 1853–56; Alex. Sinclair, 1856–58; S. J. Wilson, 1858–61; J. M. Smith, 1861–67; T. M. Wilson, 1867–70; W. C. Falconer, 1870–72; Thomas Lawrence, 1872–79; J. T. Gibson, 1880–.

1840. *Valley;* Pittsburgh.—Smith F. Grier, 1842–52; S. C. Jennings, D. D., 1857–68; M. N. Cornelius, 1871–73; W. P. Harbison, 1869–70; William Hanna, 1874–80; S. H. Moore, 1883–85; supplies, 1885–.

Nov. 9, 1841. *West Elizabeth;* Pittsburgh.—Various supplies, 1841–69; William Hanna, 1869–73; William McCrea, 1874–79; Joseph E. Andrews, 1879–85; Robert Boyd, 1887–.

Spring, 1843. *Long Island;* Pittsburgh.—S. C. Jennings, D. D., 1843–57; M. L. Wortman, 1858–66; various supplies, 1866–73; M. L. Wortman, 1873–80; supplies, 1880–86; M. L. Wortman, S. S., 1886–88; W. S. P. Cochran, 1888–.

October 5, 1843. *Second Presbyterian Church of Allegheny* [Manchester]; Allegheny.—Luther Halsey, 1843–45; Thomas Gordon, 1846–50; —— Bennett, 1851–53; L. L. Conrad, 1853–67; J. E. Wright, 1866–68; W. P. Moore, 1869–76; J. L. Fulton, 1876–.

Winter, 1847. *Eighth Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh* [Temperanceville]; Pittsburgh.—Robert McPherson, 1850–52; A. D. Campbell, D. D., S. S., 1855–56; J. Y. McCartney, 1859–64; P. S. Jennings, 1865–69; E. R. Donehoo, 1869–.

August 22, 1850. *Sixth Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh;* Pittsburgh.—D. McKinley, 1850–52; T. B. Wilson, 1852–55; Samuel Findley, D. D., 1857–61; S. J. Wilson, D. D., LL. D., 1862–76; H. G. Mendenhall, 1878–80; H. T. McClelland, 1881–86; John J. Patterson, 1887–.

July 21, 1851. *First Church of Birmingham* [South Side]; Pittsburgh.—Thomas T. Bradford, July, 1853–September, 1853; Rev. Mr. St. Clair, S. S., October, 1853–August, 1854; Rev. Mr. Rowan, S. S., 1855; Rev. J. Dickson, 1855–58; James Reed, 1858–63; George Little, 1863–64; P. S. Davies, 1864–72; G. H. Humphreys, 1874–76; J. C. Ely, 1877–80; G. H. Webster, 1880–84; Alex. Jackson, 1885–88.

January 14, 1852. *Mansfield;* Pittsburgh.—Robert McPherson, 1853–68; F. R. Wotring, 1869–78; Joseph M. Duff, 1880–.

May 7, 1854. *Central Church of Allegheny;* Allegheny.—W. S. Plummer, D. D., LL. D., 1854–62; Thomas X. Orr, 1863–69; George P. Hays, D. D., 1869–70; W. H. Gill, 1872–77; I. N. Hays, D. D., 1878–.

June 30, 1857. *Mount Washington;* Pittsburgh.—J. Y. McCartney, 1858–64; James Kirk, 1864–65; P. S. Jennings, 1866–83; N. S. Hoey, 1884–86; E. S. Farrand, 1888–.

June 27, 1859. *First German Church of Allegheny;* Allegheny.—Rev. John Launitz, 1859–.

September 7, 1860. *Emsworth;* Allegheny.—M. L. Wortman, 1861–64; A. Williams, D. D., S. S., 1864–69; M. L. Wortman, 1869–73; J. S. McConnell, 1873–76; R. M. Brown, 1877–80; Maurice E. Wilson, 1881–84; H. C. Ferguson, 1885–.

April 14, 1863. *North Church, Allegheny;* Allegheny.—C. H. Dunlap, 1864–66; A. A. Hodge, D. D., 1866–78; O. A. Hills, D. D., 1878–82; John Fox, 1882–.

May 6, 1863. *Forest Grove Church;* Pittsburgh.—Henry C. Foulke, 1864–67; John J. Beacom, D. D., 1868–.

October 26, 1863. *Mount Olive Church;* Pittsburgh.—Samuel Findley, D. D., S. S., 1863–65; L. B. Crittenden, S. S., September, October, 1865; William C. Smith, S. S., 1865–67; C. V. McKaig, S. S., 1867–70; S. C. Faris, S. S., 1871–74; Neville B. Craig Comingo, August 25, 1874–88.

April 1, 1864. *Leetsdale;* Allegheny.—J. Allison, D. D., A. Williams, D. D., W. W. Eells, S. S., 1866; James M. Platt, 1867–69; R. S. Van Cleve, 1870–86; Edgar F. Johnston, 1887–.

July 15, 1864. *Natrona;* Allegheny.—J. F. Boyd, 1864–69; George Scott, 1871–77; W. E. Oller, 1878–80; R. J. Creswell, S. S., 1881; W. E. Oller, S. S., 1882; John Kerr, S. S., 1883–85; H. R. Johnson, 1886–.

May 10, 1866. *Wilkinsburg;* Pittsburgh.—Samuel M. Henderson, 1867–78; J. C. Irwin, 1879–84; Samuel H. Moore, 1885–.

September 9, 1866. *Bellefield;* Pittsburgh.—David McKinney, D. D., S. S., 1866–June 2, 1867; D. T. Carnahan, June 2, 1867–August 15, 1873; W. J. Holland, D. D., Ph. D., June 12, 1874–.

July 8, 1867. *Shadyside;* Pittsburgh.—Various supplies, July–November, 1867; W. T. Beatty, D. D., 1867–81; John M. Richmond, D. D., 1881–December, 1888.

December 15, 1867. *McClure Avenue Church;* Allegheny.—J. Henry Sharp, 1868–69; John Kerr, 1872–74; W. C. Burchard, 1874–.

January 12, 1868. *Grace Memorial* (colored); Pittsburgh.—Various supplies, 1870; Charles Hedges, 1870–73; William H. Thomas, 1874–78; William A. Lynch, 1879–83; William F. Brooks, 1886–.

April 17, 1869. *Oakdale;* Pittsburgh.—Supplies, 1871; M. N. Cornelius, 1871–75; Jesse C. Bruce, 1876–78; J. M. McJunkin, 1879–.

April, 25, 1869. *Providence Church;* Allegheny.—J. V. Cellars, 1870–72; W. M. Robinson, 1872–.

July 21, 1869. *Hazelwood;* Pittsburgh.—Joseph S. Stuchell, 1870–75; D. K. Nesbitt, 1875–84; J. S. Plumer, 1884–.

August 1, 1869. *Millvale;* Allegheny.—W. H. Knipe, W. R. Moore, S. S., 1871; McNary Forsythe, 1872–73; J. M. Shields, 1874–83; A. D. Light, 1885–.

April, 30, 1870. *Swissvale;* Pittsburgh.—S. J. Fisher, 1870–.

June 25, 1871. *Bellevue;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1873; Robert T. Price, 1873–74; Samuel H. Holliday, 1875–77; supplies, 1877–.

February 6, 1871. *Verona* [Edgewater]; Pittsburgh.—Various supplies, 1874; John Kerr, 1874–81; A. J. Duff, January, 1881–June, 1882; J. R. Stockton, April, 1883–.

May 20, 1871. *Bakerstown;* Allegheny.—W. G. Stewart, S. S., 1871–83; E. S. Heaney, 1883–.

October 26, 1871. *Fourth Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh* [Bloomfield]; Pittsburgh.—John W. Little, 1872–73; C. V. McKaig, 1873–81; J. M. Thompson, S. S., 1882; J. O. Gordon, 1884–86; William P. Shrom, D. D., 1886–.

September 3, 1872. *Braddock;* Blairsville.—William F. Kean, 1873–82; J. B. Dickey, 1883–.

April 24, 1873. *Springdale;* Allegheny.—A. Williams, D. D., 1874–78; George Scott, S. S., 1879; G. M. Potter, 1885–86; D. V. Mays, 1887–.

May 2, 1874. *Homestead;* Pittsburgh.—James G. Lyle, 1874–79; William E. McCrea, 1880–85; Frank A. Ramsey, 1886–87; Rufus P. Miller, 1888–.

November 21, 1874. *Amity;* Pittsburgh.—Levi Risher, 1877–82; Cyrus B. Hatch, 1885–.

April 25, 1876. *Glenfield;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1877; W. M. Hyde, 1877–80; supplies, 1880–83; E. F. Walker, 1883–84; Charles M. McNulty, S. S., 1886; D. L. Dickey, 1888–.

July 31, 1876. *Pleasant Hill;* Allegheny.—John Brown, 1877–79; J. R. Creswell, S. S., 1880; B. O. Junkin, S. S., 1881–84; Robert McPherson, 1885–.

September, 1876. *Laird;* Blairsville.—Stated supplies, 1876–87; T. B. Anderson, 1887–.

December 28, 1876. *School Street Chapel, Allegheny;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1887; Clarence M. Junkin, July 12, 1887–.

July 1, 1877. *Knoxville;* Pittsburgh.—F. R. Wotring, 1877–80; A. J. Duff, 1883–87; W. P. Braddock, 1887–88.

September 23, 1877. *Bethel Church, Allegheny;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1879; Reuben

Beaver, 1879–82; John Kerr, S. S., 1883; C. C. Hays, S. S., 1884; Wilson E. Donaldson, 1885–.

November 3, 1877. *California;* Pittsburgh.—E. P. Crane, 1881–83; W. E. Donaldson, 1883–84.

June 30, 1879. *Riverdale;* Pittsburgh.—Rev. S. E. Jennings, D. D., 1879–80; supplies, 1880–85; W. S. P. Cochran, 1885–.

July 29, 1879. *Hoboken;* Allegheny.—G. M. Potter, S. S., 1880; O. H. Miller, S. S., 1881; George Scott, S. S., 1882; various supplies, 1882–87; D. V. Mays, pastor, 1887–.

April 28, 1881. *Park Avenue;* Pittsburgh.—George W. Chalfant, June, 1881–.

December 21, 1882. *Middletown;* Pittsburgh.—W. S. P. Cochran, May 19, 1884–.

January 4, 1883. *McKee's Rocks;* Pittsburgh.—O. N. Verner, May 11, 1886–.

March 17, 1883. *West Bellevue;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1885; W. P. Stevenson, 1885–88; Matthew Rutherford, 1888–.

April, 1883. *Forty-third Street Church, Pittsburgh;* Pittsburgh.—Richard Lea, S. T. D., 1884–89.

December 18, 1884. *Central Church;* Pittsburgh.—W. P. Chalfant, S. S., December 18, 1884–April 30, 1885; W. P. Braddock, 1885–87; A. A. Mealy, 1887–.

February 26, 1885. *Crafton;* Pittsburgh.—P. S. Jennings, 1885–.

May 3, 1885. *Glenshaw;* Allegheny.—Supplies, 1886; Joseph B. Turner, 1886–.

September 22, 1885. *McDonald;* Pittsburgh.—Supplies, 1885–.

May 6, 1887. *Turtle Creek;* Blairsville.—J. A. Eakin, S. S., 1887–88; J. W. Wightman, D. D., January 18, 1888–.

December 5, 1887. *Point Breeze;* Pittsburgh.—Supplies.

Reorganized May 10, 1888. *Concord;* Pittsburgh.—Supplies, 1888–.

September 20, 1888. *Duquesne;* Pittsburgh.—Supplies, 1888–.

MISSIONS.

McCandless Avenue.—18th ward, Pittsburgh; organized 1886. *Morningside.*—18th ward, Pittsburgh; organized 1887. *Homewood.*—Homewood avenue, Pittsburgh; organized 1886. *Greenfield Avenue.*—23d ward, Pittsburgh; organized 1880. *Elmer Street.*—20th ward, Pittsburgh; organized 1887. *North Hiland Avenue.*—Organized 1886.

STATISTICS.

Statistics of the Presbyterian churches of Allegheny county, Pa., for the year ending March 31, 1888:

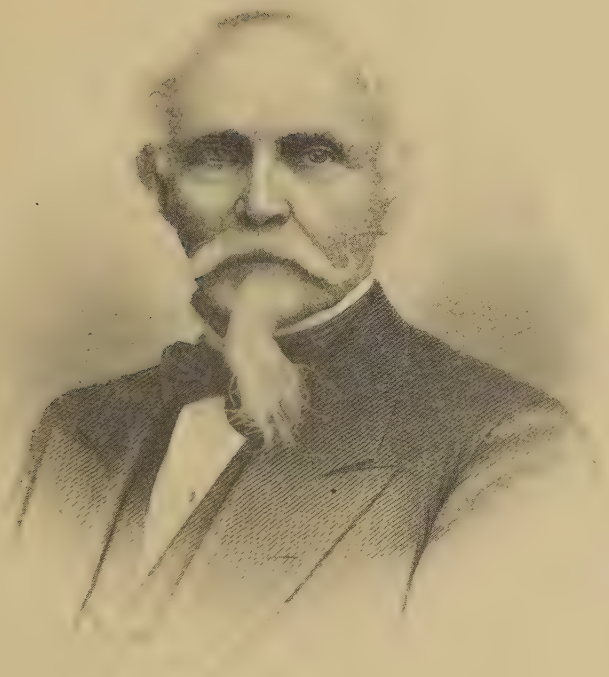
Whole number of churches and missions in the county		88
Whole number of bishops, or presbyters, in the county		94
Whole number of communicants in the county		17,221
Whole number of Sabbath-school scholars in the county		21,685
Total amount contributed during the year for congregational expenses, including the erection of new churches within the county		$294,608
Total amount contributed for benevolence:		
To home missions	$27,747	
To foreign missions	31,476	
To educate young men for the ministry	9,127	
To board of publication and Sunday-school work	3,075	
To board of church erection to aid feeble churches in securing houses of worship	6,129	
Carried forward	$77,554	$294,608

Brought forward	$77,554	$294,608
To relief of aged ministers and widows and orphans of ministers	26,523	
To missions among the freedmen	8,888	
To board of sustentation to supplement salaries paid by weak churches	1,701	
To aid in building colleges in the south and west	16,236	
To expenses of general assembly, presbytery, synods, etc	1,598	
To miscellaneous charities, as the American Bible Society, Tract Society, hospitals, American Sunday-school Union, etc	15,488	147,988
Grand total		$442,596

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.

The United Presbyterian Church was brought into existence by the union of the Associate and the Associate Reformed Churches of North America. This union was consummated in City Hall, Pittsburgh, May 26, 1858. The two churches that were then united held substantially the same doctrines and forms of worship; neither was required to give up or even modify a single important principle of its creed or public testimony. To us, at this distance, it seems strange that the union was so long deferred, and that so much negotiation was required to bring it about. The constituent elements of the United Presbyterian Church organized in Scotland in the latter part of the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth centuries. The Reformed Church of Scotland was made up of those who were dissatisfied with the "Revolution Settlement" of 1688. Cameron, Cargill, Renwick and others of like views believed that the revolution settlement involved the giving up of some of the best attainments of the Church of the Second Reformation, among which were the covenant obligations of the kingdom and Church of Scotland. This body, sometimes known as the Covenanter Church, did not assume distinct denominational form until 1743. The Associate Church was originally formed by a secession from the Church of Scotland in 1733. From the time of the settlement, in 1788, forward, the Church of Scotland rapidly declined in orthodoxy. That settlement prepared the way for the introduction of an element into the church which had no sympathy with her peculiar doctrines or past history.

The Erskines and others of their stamp could not remain in a church where the rights of congregations were ignored and the doctrines of grace denied or corrupted. In the hope of correcting the abuses into which the church had fallen, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," by Edward Fisher, of England, was republished. But the appearance of this work seemed only to embitter the dominant party in the church, and increase their aversion to the "Marrow Men" and their doctrines. These seceders assumed the name of Associate Presbyterians. Ten years after the organization of the Associate presbytery the church had so increased that they had a synod, with three pres-



John F. Jennings

byteries, thirty settled congregations and thirteen vacancies in Scotland, besides several congregations in England and Ireland. The principal points of difference between the Reformed Presbyterians and their Associate brethren were in regard to civil government.

Members from both these churches came to America in the first part of the last century. It was not, however, until the year 1753 that any ministers from the Associate synod of Scotland arrived. In that year Messrs. Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnot came into what is now Eastern Pennsylvania, and soon after, on the 2d of November, 1753, organized themselves into a presbytery. On the 5th of August, 1751, Rev. John Cuthbertson, sent over by the Reformed presbytery of Scotland, landed at New Castle, Del., and immediately began exploring his new field. Two other Reformed Presbyterian ministers, Revs. Matthew Lind and Alexander Dobbin, joined him in 1773; on the 10th of March, 1774, these, with a number of ruling elders, met near Harrisburg, Pa., and organized the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of America. In 1782 nearly all of the ministers and members of these churches united and constituted the Associate Reformed Church, thus retaining in united form the names of both churches. Two ministers of the Associate presbytery, Messrs. Marshall and Clarkson, declined to go into the union, and continued the Associate organization. Receiving accessions of ministers and members from the Associate synod of Great Britain, the body grew and prospered.

All of the Reformed ministers entered the united church, but some of the members here and there throughout the bounds of the presbytery stood out against the union. In the course of time they obtained pastors from Scotland and Ireland. Rev. James Reid came from Scotland in 1789, and after a thorough inspection of the whole field, north and south, he returned to his native country the following year. Rev. Mr. McGarrah, of Ireland, was sent to the scattered societies in 1791, and was joined by Rev. William King, of Scotland, in 1792. For some time they simply acted as a committee of the presbytery in Scotland, but, receiving accessions of both ministers and people, a new presbytery was organized in 1798.

The synod of the Associate Reformed Church of North America was organized November 1, 1782, in Philadelphia, Pa. Dr. John M. Mason was chosen the first moderator. At this meeting nine ministers and six ruling elders were present from the three presbyteries composing the synod. These presbyteries were the Associate presbytery of New York, the Associate presbytery of Pennsylvania and the Reformed presbytery. After the union there was a change of presbyterial names as well as of presbyterial lines.

The First presbytery consisted of Revs. John Cuthbertson, John Smith, James Proudfit and David Telfair, and the churches in Eastern Pennsylvania. The Second presbytery was composed of the following ministers: Revs. Matthew Henderson, Alexander Dobbin, John Rodgers, Matthew Lind, John Murray and William Logan, and the churches west of the Susquehanna river.

The Third presbytery embraced all the ministers and churches in New York and New England. The ministers were Dr. John M. Mason and Revs. Robert Annan, Thomas Clarke and David Annan.

Twenty years after the union the Associate Reformed Church had eight presbyteries, under four synods subordinate to the general synod. In 1786, four years after the union, a new presbytery was organized in New England, called the presbytery of Londonderry. This presbytery, after having formed a loose union with the "Presbytery of the Eastward," and this, too, without the authority of synod, and having fallen into practices contrary to the principles of the Associate Reformed Church, was dropped from the roll of synod in 1801. The general synod itself was dissolved in 1822, as was also the synod of Pennsylvania. All the existing synods of the church now stood independent of each other. They were the synod of New York, the synod of the Carolinas and the synod of Scioto. In 1820 the synod of Scioto was dissolved, and reconstituted under the name of the Associate Reformed Synod of the West. This synod, in 1839, was divided into the First and Second synods of the west. These two synods then organized the general synod, to which they were subordinate. In 1852, the general synod ordered the organization of the synod of Illinois from the Second Synod of the West. The general synod united with the synod of New York in 1856. This general synod of the Associate Reformed Church of North America united with the Associate synod. The union was consummated on the 26th of May, 1858, in City Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America constituted.

We now give a brief sketch of the different branches which became the constituent elements of the United Presbyterian church.

Efforts looking to the union of the Associate and Associate Reformed churches extended over a period of fully forty years prior to the consummation of that union in 1858. Nearly all the ministers and churches of both bodies went into the union. The harmony and unanimity with which the union was effected justified the long-continued and patient efforts by which it was brought about. Since the union, thirty years ago, the church has enjoyed as great a degree of peace, unanimity and prosperity as either of the antecedent churches did in their separate capacity; and perhaps as much as other denominations of Christians. One thing that has contributed to the homogeneousness of the church, and has rendered the maintenance of her principles more easy, was the healthy vigor of the great body of the church, by which she has been enabled, through a gradual and voluntary sloughing-off process, to rid herself of what might have proven, had it remained in the church, a disturbing and disintegrating force.

The United Presbyterian Church was organized upon the basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the single exception that that part of the confession in regard to the civil magistrate was modified to conform with

the relation of the church to civil government in this country. In addition to the confession, the church sets forth her principles in her testimony, which exhibits her views on certain points more fully and clearly than the confession itself.

The articles of her testimony which more particularly distinguish her from some other denominations who hold the Westminster symbols, treat of the following subjects, viz.: Psalmody, Communion, Slavery, Secret Societies and Covenanting.

On the subject of Psalmody she holds: "That it is the will of God that the songs contained in the book of Psalms be sung in his worship, both public and private, to the end of the world; and in singing God's praise, these songs should be employed to the exclusion of the devotional compositions of uninspired men."

On Communion she affirms: "That the church should not extend communion in sealing ordinances to those who refuse adherence to her profession, or subjection to her government and discipline, or who refuse to forsake a communion which is inconsistent with the profession that she makes; nor should communion in any ordinance of worship be held under such circumstances as would be inconsistent with the keeping of these ordinances pure and entire, or so as to give countenance to any corruption of the doctrines and institutions of Christ."

On Slavery she declares: "That slaveholding—that is the holding of unoffending human beings in involuntary bondage, and considering and treating them as property, and subject to be bought and sold—is a violation of the law of God, and contrary both to the letter and spirit of Christianity."

On Secret Societies her position is thus defined: "That all associations, whether formed for political or benevolent purposes, which impose upon their members an oath of secrecy, or to obey a code of unknown laws, are inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, and church members ought not to have fellowship with such associations."

On Covenanting, in the seventeenth article of her testimony, she declares: "That public social covenanting is a moral duty, the observance of which is not required at stated times, but on extraordinary occasions, as the providence of God and the circumstances of the church may indicate. It is seasonable in time of great danger to the church—in times of exposure or backsliding—or in times of reformation, when the church is returning to God from a state of backsliding. When the church has entered into such covenant transactions, they continue to bind posterity faithfully to adhere to and prosecute the grand object for which such engagements have been entered into."

The Associate Church at the time of the union had 198 ordained ministers, 33 licentiates, 293 congregations, 10,621 families, 23,505 communicants. Her contributions to home and foreign missions amounted to $11,451. The total of contributions was $12,585. This did not include pastors' salaries,

congregational expenses or general contributions. She had foreign missions in India and Trinidad. Her theological seminary was situated at Xenia, Ohio.

The Associate Reformed Church had 221 ordained ministers, 32 licentiates, 367 congregations, 14,787 families, 31,284 communicants. Her contributions to home and foreign missions were $9,264. Her foreign missions were in Egypt and Syria. When the union was consummated the United church had 1 general assembly, 4 synods, 49 presbyteries, 419 ministers, 65 licentiates, 14 foreign missionaries, 661 congregations and 54,789 communicants.

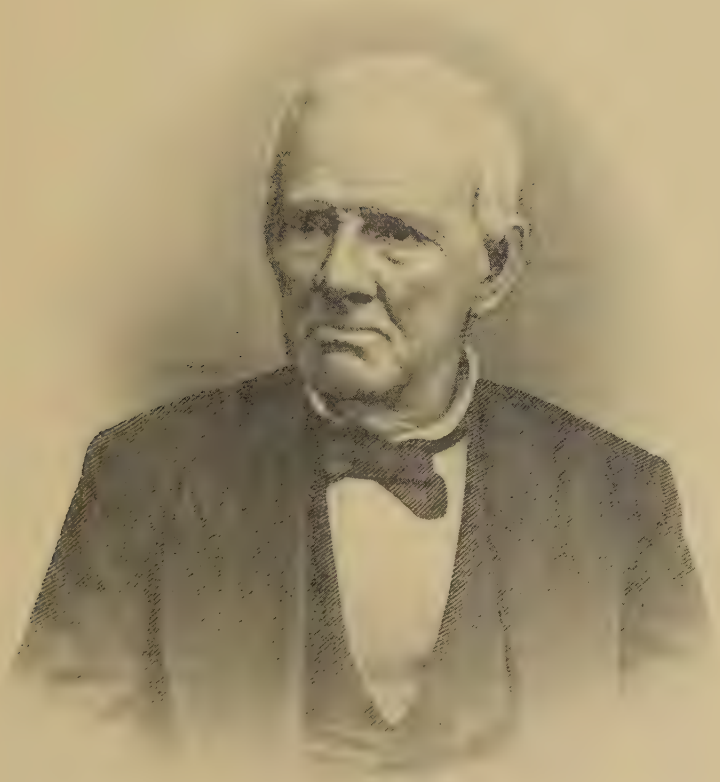
The statistics of 1888 show that there are 10 synods in the United Presbyterian church, 61 presbyteries, 753 ministers, 51 licentiates, 907 congregations and 98,992 communicants. In the foreign field—India and Egypt—there are 22 ordained ministers, 442 laborers, foreign and native; communicants, 6,878; scholars in the Sabbath and week-day schools, 16,361; value of mission property, $237,802. In no department of the church's work has there been so great progress as in the foreign field. At the time of the union there were only about fifty converts in all our missions; the number reported to the last assembly was 6,878. The congregations of the United Presbyterian Church are scattered over a large part of our country. There are two presbyteries in New England and three on the Pacific slope; there is also one in Canada. The great body of the church, however, is in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska.

THE CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

In no part of the country is the strength of the church in proportion to the whole population so great as in Allegheny county, Pa. The United Presbyterian Church, or rather the branches from which it originated, was very weak in this county one century ago. At the time of the organization of the county, September 24, 1788, there were not more than two or three congregations belonging to the Associate and Associate Reformed churches in the county.

The congregation of Bethesda, in Elizabeth township, was organized before that time. Rev. Matthew Henderson became its pastor in 1785. Robinson Run, in South Fayette township, was probably organized about the same time. There were a few other congregations in Western Pennsylvania organized more than a century ago, but all these were outside the present boundaries of Allegheny county. Application was made from Fort Pitt to the Associate presbytery of Pennsylvania for the dispensation of gospel ordinances as early as 1774. The presbytery, however, was unable to respond favorably to this call, and consequently our church was not planted in Pittsburgh until many years afterward. In giving a brief historical sketch of the different United Presbyterian churches of the county, they are here presented in alphabetical order:

Allegheny First Church, organized November 4, 1831. Rev. John Taylor Pressly, D. D., pastor of this church, 1833–70, was born March 28, 1795, in Abbeville district, S. C.;



Thos. H. Benner

was graduated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, in 1812, and studied theology in the Associate Reformed Theological Seminary, New York, under Dr. John M. Mason; was licensed in the spring of 1815, by the Second Presbytery of the Carolinas, and was ordained July 3, 1816, by the same; was pastor of Cedar Springs congregation, South Carolina, July 3, 1816, to November, 1831; was professor of theology in the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, 1825–31; was elected professor of theology by the Associate Reformed Synod of the West October 10, 1831, and entered upon his duties in the Allegheny Theological Seminary on the 5th of January, 1832; was installed pastor of the First Church, Allegheny, August 23, 1833, and continued in the service of the seminary and as pastor of the First Church until his death, August 13, 1870. Dr. Pressly was a thorough scholar, a plain but able gospel preacher, and an eminently successful pastor. As a professor in the theological seminary, particularly in the departments of systematic theology and homiletics, he stood pre-eminent. His particular friend and associate in the seminary, the late Dr. David R. Kerr, speaks of him in these words: "A man of such prominence among his brethren and such usefulness in the church, it must be believed, had some uncommon elements of power. Everything in him and about him as he stood among men, and in every sphere in which he moved, marked him as a man above the general average of men. He had a commanding personal appearance. He was blessed with great bodily strength, in stately form, and moved with a dignity, and even majesty, that commanded attention and admiration wherever he appeared. In social life his presence was always felt as that of a great man, above all as a man of God." In 1873 Rev. W. J. Robinson, D. D., was installed pastor, and has still charge of the congregation, which is one of the largest and most influential in the church. Its present membership is 530; its total contributions for the year ending April 30, 1888, were $17,360. It has a Sabbath-school with 990 scholars and 75 officers and teachers.

Allegheny Second Church, organized October 26, 1837. This church has had three pastors: Rev. James Rodgers, D. D., Rev. J. B. Clark, D. D., and the present pastor, Rev. Dr. W. H. McMillan. Dr. Rodgers' pastorate began in 1838, and continued until 1860. Dr. Clark's extended from 1860 to 1872. Dr. McMillan became pastor in 1873, and is still in charge of the congregation. Dr. Rodgers was a man of great ability in the scriptures, a very earnest preacher, and a most laborious pastor. During the later years of his life he suffered greatly from asthma. He was superintendent of the board of publication from 1859 until his death, July 23, 1868. His successor in the congregation, Dr. J. B. Clark, was a popular preacher, and a remarkably successful pastor. He served as colonel in a regiment of volunteers, for more than a year, in the war of the rebellion. The congregation under its present pastor continues to prosper. It is one of the largest in the church, having 733 members, with a Sabbath-school numbering 521 pupils and 50 officers and teachers.

Allegheny Third Church, organized May, 1854. This church has had five pastors: Rev. J. Holmes, 1855–57; Rev. D. G. Bradford, 1857–63; Rev. J. R. Kerr, 1864–72; Rev. J. W. Bain, 1873–74, and the present pastor, Rev. E. S. McKitrick, since 1875. It has a membership of 462, and a Sabbath-school with 379 scholars and 100 officers and teachers.

Allegheny Fourth Church, organized April 17, 1860. The pastors of this church have been Rev. Charles A. Dickey, 1862–69; Rev. William Fulton, 1870–73; Rev. W. G. Moorhead, D. D., 1875–76, and the present pastor, Rev. James M. Fulton, D. D., since 1877. This church has a membership of 684, with a Sabbath-school of 925 scholars and 102 officers and teachers.

Allegheny Fifth Church, organized November 18, 1862. This congregation has had but two pastors, Rev. D. M. B. McLean, 1863–65, and the present pastor, Rev. James W. Witherspoon, D. D. It has 666 members and 632 scholars in its Sabbath-school, with 53 officers and teachers. Dr. Witherspoon is the oldest pastor in continuous service in the city, having been installed in 1867.

Allegheny Sixth, organized in 1849. Rev. G. D. Archibald served this church, 1850–55;

Rev. J. C. Steele, S. S., 1857–59; Rev. A. D. Clarke, D. D., 1861–84; the present pastor, Rev. D. F. McGill, since 1885. It has a membership of 309, and 250 scholars in the Sabbath-school, with 30 officers and teachers.

Allegheny Seventh, organized April 21, 1880; G. W. McDonald, pastor; members, 150; Sabbath-school scholars, 360; teachers and officers, 37.

Allegheny Lombard Street Mission; members, 43; Sabbath-school scholars, 100; officers and teachers, 12.

Allegheny Fourth Ward Mission; members, 51; Sabbath-school scholars, 446, with 34 officers and teachers.

Allentown, organized August, 1888; members, 29; Sabbath-school scholars, 151; officers and teachers, 12.

Bellevue, organized May 21, 1872; Rev. S. H. Graham is pastor; members, 144; Sabbath-school scholars, 125; officers and teachers, 16.

Bethel, organized in 1801; the pastors of this church have been Revs. E. Henderson, 1802–04; Hugh Kirkland, 1820–34; James Kelso, 1852–65; T. F. Boyd, 1867–74; members, 74. It has been for some years, and still is, vacant.

Braddock, organized July 27, 1864; members, 192; Sabbath-school scholars, 314; officers and teachers, 23. Pastors, Rev. John S. Easton, D. D., 1869–76; Rev. W. S. Fulton, 1877–78; Rev. S. J. Shaw, pastor since 1879.

Buena Vista, organized January 8, 1867; members, 82; Sabbath-school scholars, 30; officers and teachers, 5. Pastors, Rev. J. S. Speer, 1867–73; Rev. D. M. Thorn, 1879–87. At the present time [1888] a vacancy.

Chartiers, organized January 18, 1883; members, 76; Sabbath-school scholars, 196; officers and teachers, 15. Rev. W. E. Paxton, pastor since 1885.

Coraopolis, organized September 21, 1886; members, 23; Rev. J. A. Lawrence, pastor since 1886.

Deer Creek, organized in 1802; members, 149; Sabbath-school scholars, 110; officers and teachers, 13. Pastors, Revs. J. McConnell, 1811–45; A. G. Shafer, 1847–68; S. M. Hood, 1870–.

East Union, organized June 3, 1850; members, 189; Sabbath-school scholars, 100; officers and teachers, 12. Pastors, Revs. James Given, 1854–57; E. N. McElree, 1863–66; W. Weir, 1866–69; J. A. Brandon, 1871–76; J. M. Witherspoon, 1877–82; W. F. Miller, since 1884.

Etna, organized February 13, 1868; members, 185; Sabbath-school scholars, 260; officers and teachers, 24. Rev. A. H. Calvert, pastor since the organization, 1868.

Evans City, organized ——; members, 158; Sabbath-school scholars, 132; officers and teachers, 13. Pastor, Rev. J. M. Dight.

Fleming, organized November 6, 1869; members, 64; Sabbath-school scholars, 111; officers and teachers, 16. Pastors, Revs. D. R. Imbrie, 1872; D. M. Thorn, 1873–76; J. H. Veazey, 1877–83; D. R. Imbrie, 1884–86; A. Flick, 1887–.

Glade Run, organized in 1812; members, 146; Sabbath-school scholars, 100; officers and teachers, 12. Pastors, Revs. J. France, 1820–41; W. Douthett, 1849–54; J. G. Barnes; 1862–70; I. T. Wright, 1872–81; R. E. Lackey, 1884–.

Harmarville, organized October 13, 1838; members, 96; Sabbath-school scholars, 49; officers and teachers, 8. Pastors, Revs. J. Gilmore, 1842–56; W. G. Reed, 1860–.

Hebron, organized August 30, 1860; members, 115; Sabbath-school scholars, 160; officers and teachers, 19. Pastors, Revs. H. C. McFarland, 1858–64; D. Barclay, 1867–.

Homestead, organized March 15, 1888; members, 21; Sabbath-school scholars, 30; officers and teachers, 6. Pastor, Rev. A. R. Van Fossen, June 26, 1888–.

Ingram, organized September 20, 1887; members, 26; stated supply, Rev. J. A. Douthett.

Jefferson, organized October 30, 1857; members, 100; Sabbath-school scholars, 60; officers and teachers, 9. Pastors, Revs. John D. Glenn, 1859–61; J. W. McFarland, 1867–69; C. B Hatch, 1872–73; R. B. Stewart, 1875-79; J. C. Hunter, 1881–85; T. W. Young, 1887–.

Logan's Ferry, organized in December, 1857; members, 45; Sabbath-school scholars, 36; officers and teachers, 9. Pastors, Rev. James Given, 1859–73; Rev. Alexander Young, D. D., LL. D., stated supply, 1875–.

McKeesport, organized October 10, 1851; members, 174; Sabbath-school scholars, 200; officers and teachers, 19. Pastors, Rev. A. G. Wallace, D. D., 1854–57; Rev. M. McKinstry, 1857–61; Rev. A. H. Elder, 1863–75; James Kelso, 1877–85; A. I. Young, 1886–.

Mansfield, organized December 30, 1856; members, 213; Sabbath-school scholars, 140; officers and teachers, 16. Pastors, Rev. Alexander Calhoun, D. D., 1858–61; Revs. G. K. Ormond, 1870–73; C. B. Hatch, 1876–79; T. C. Atchison, 1881–.

Mifflin, organized in 1803; members, 30; Sabbath-school scholars, 53; officers and teachers, 8. Pastors, Rev. Joseph Kerr, D. D., 1804–18; Revs. S. Weir, 1820–44; J. J. Buchanan, 1846–49; H. C. McFarland, 1853–57; J. D. Glenn, 1859–61; C. B. Hatch, 1871–75; J. C. Hunter, 1881–85; A. R. Van Fossen, June 26, 1888–.

Mount Gilead, organized June 27, 1843; members, 52; Sabbath-school scholars, 50; officers and teachers, 8. Pastors, Rev. R. Armstrong, D. D., 1847–53; Revs. J. C. Bryson, 1855–66; D. K. McKnight, 1872–74; G. H. Getty, 1884–85; J. A. Lawrence, 1886–.

Mount Nebo, organized in 1838; members, 103; Sabbath-school scholars, 107; officers and teachers, 15. Pastors, Revs. W. Burnett, 1845–50; James Greer, 1852–55; J. L. Fairley, 1856–69; D. R. Imbrie, 1870–72; W. J. Cooper, 1874–77; D. R. Imbrie, 1878–.

Mount Washington, organized January 27, 1884; members, 67; Sabbath-school scholars, 164; officers and teachers, 18. Pastors, Revs. D. M. Cleland, 1886–87; M. J. Smalley, 1888–.

Noblestown, organized in 1792; members, 71; Sabbath-school scholars, 44; officers and teachers, 9. Pastors, Revs. W. Wilson, 1800–30; J. Rodgers, D. D., 1831–38; J. M. French, 1841–43; F. A. Hutchison, 1850–69; W. P. Shaw, 1870–75; W. B. Cherry, 1878–83; G. T. Scott, 1884–85; vacancy, 1888.

Pine Creek, organized as a Reformed Presbyterian congregation in 1805; members, 57; Sabbath-school scholars, 95; officers and teachers, 13. Pastors (Reformed Presbyterian), Revs. M. Williams, 1805–25; T. C. Guthrie, D. D., 1827–56; T. Johnston, 1860–73; (United Presbyterian) N. E. Wade, 1875–84; R. H. Park, 1885–.

Pittsburgh First Church, organized November 24, 1801; members, 418; Sabbath-school scholars, 225; officers and teachers, 27. (Oakland chapel; members, 75; Sabbath-school scholars, 150; officers and teachers, 15.) Pastors, Revs. Ebenezer Henderson, 1802–04; Robert Bruce, D. D., 1808–46; A. Anderson, 1847–49; H. W. Lee, 1849–55; S. B. Reed, 1857–59; W. J. Reid, D. D., 1862. (Rev. John M. Ross, associate pastor, 1888, in charge of Oakland Chapel.) Rev. Robert Bruce, D. D., the second pastor of the First Church, and who served it nearly forty years, was born in Perthshire, Scotland, in 1776. His family, it is said, traced their ancestry back to Robert Bruce, Scotland's bravest king. He was fitted for college at the high-school of Perth, where he had for one of his fellow-students the late Dr. Alexander Bullion, of Cambridge, N. Y. They both graduated at the University of Edinburgh, and spent five years together in the study of theology under Rev. Archibald Bruce, of Whitburn. They were both licensed at the same time, and came to America together. Dr. Bruce was a man of impressive personal appearance, almost six feet in height, and "portly and symmetrical in form." He was sent as a missionary to this country in 1806 by the Associate synod of Scotland. After traveling in the Carolinas for two or three years he was ordained by the presbytery of Chartiers, December 14, 1808, and installed pastor of the Associate congregations of Pittsburgh and Peter's creek. He was released from the Peter's creek branch in 1813, and gave his whole time to Pittsburgh until his death, June 14, 1846. Dr. Bruce was perhaps the most eminent of the early educators of Allegheny county. He was president of the faculty of the Western University from 1820 to 1843, and provost of Duquesne College from 1844 to 1846. Dr. Bruce was a thorough scholar, an able theologian and an acceptable preacher. He received the title of Doctor of Divinity from Jefferson College in 1824. His publications are an

address delivered before the Pittsburgh Philosophical Society, 1828, and a volume of sermons. When he prepared and delivered his last sermon he probably realized the nearness of his end, his text being John xiv, 2, "In my Father's house are many mansions."

Pittsburgh Second Church, organized in 1815; members, 210; Sabbath-school scholars, 125; officers and teachers, 17. Pastors, Rev. Joseph McElroy, D. D., 1816–24; Rev. Joseph Kerr, D. D., 1825–29; Rev. J. R. Kerr, 1830–43; Rev. J. F. McLaren, D. D., 1846–51; Rev. John Ekin, D. D., 1854–57; Rev. James Prestly, D. D., 1858–66; Rev. T. H. Hanna, D. D., 1867–75; Rev. J. R. Kyle, 1876–79; Rev. A. H. Harshaw, 1881–83; Rev. D. S. Littell, 1886–.

Pittsburgh Third Church, organized April 13, 1836; members, 392; Sabbath-school scholars, 290; officers and teachers, 25. Pastors, Rev. John Ekin, D. D., 1838–39; Rev. W. A. McKinney, 1840; J. L. Dinwiddie, D. D., 1843–44; Rev. R. A. Browne, D. D., S. S., 1844–45; Rev. John G. Brown, D. D., 1846–72; Rev. S. R. Frazier, 1872–79; Rev. J. S. McCrory, 1880–.

Pittsburgh Fourth Church, organized in 1837; members, 314; Sabbath-school scholars, 203; officers and teachers, 13. Pastors, Rev. Moses Kerr, 1837–39; Rev. William Burnett, 1840–41; reorganized in 1849; V. Cockins, 1850–51; R. Gracey, D. D., 1853–67; J. M. Cockins, 1868–71; John Gailey, 1872–77; J. D. Turner, 1878–.

Pittsburgh Fifth Church, organized in 1859; members, 178; Sabbath-school scholars, 65; officers and teachers, 18. Pastors, Revs. S. B. Reed, D. D., 1860–74; Rev. J. M. Johnston, 1874–78; Rev. J. M. Hervey, 1879–84; Rev. T. W. Young, 1884–86; J. W. Harsha, 1888–.

Pittsburgh Sixth Church, organized September 30, 1856; members, 360; Sabbath-school scholars, 290; officers and teachers, 27. Pastors, Revs. H. C. McFarland, 1858–65; J. S. Hawk, 1865–69; R. B. Ewing, D. D., 1870–.

Pittsburgh Seventh Church, organized February 12, 1860; members, 394; Sabbath-school scholars, 400; officers and teachers, 39. Pastors, Rev. W. H. Andrew, D. D., 1860–75; Revs. A. G. McCoy, 1876–78; J. D. Sands, 1880–.

Pittsburgh Eighth Church, organized June 21, 1868; members, 200; Sabbath-school scholars, 270; officers and teachers, 25. Pastors, Rev. John S. Sands, D. D., S. S., 1868–80; Rev. J. M. Wallace, 1882–.

Pittsburgh Ninth Church, organized in 1841; members, 216; Sabbath-school scholars, 140; officers and teachers, 16. Pastors, Rev. L. H. Long, D. D., 1848–49; Rev. G. K. Ormond, D. D., 1852–58; Rev. W. M. Coleman, 1859–75; Rev. J. A. Gordon, D. D., 1876–81; Rev. A. E. Linn, 1882–88; vacancy, 1888.

Pittsburgh Tenth Church (Wylie avenue), organized April 16, 1872; members, 139; Sabbath-school scholars, 185; officers and teachers, 18. Pastor, Rev. W. H. Knox, 1873–.

Pittsburgh Eleventh Church (Temperanceville), organized in 1847; members, 61; Sabbath-school scholars, 154; officers and teachers, 12. Pastors, Rev. L. H. Long, D. D., 1848–49; Rev. Alexander Calhoun, D. D., 1858–61; Rev. G. A. B. Robinson, 1869–72; Rev. G. K. Ormond, D. D., 1874–83; Rev. S. J. S. Moore, 1885–87; vacancy, 1888.

Robinson Run, organized in 1790 (the public ordinances were enjoyed here more or less regularly a considerable number of years before this date); members, 188; Sabbath-school scholars, 203; officers and teachers, 13. Pastors, Rev. J. Riddell, D. D., 1794–1829; Rev. Moses Kerr, 1834–35; Rev. William Burnett, 1836–38; Rev. James Grier, D. D., 1839–78; Rev. J. W. English, 1879–. Dr. Riddell, who was the first pastor of Robinson Run, and who continued in charge of the congregation for thirty-five years, was a small man, with piercing black eyes; was a superior scholar and a powerful debater. No one among the early ministers of the Associate Reformed Church was more strongly attached to the principles of the church, or more able to defend them. Dr. James Grier, another pastor of this congregation for thirty-nine years, was a preacher of more than average ability, possessed of good social qualities, much beloved by his people, and greatly respected by all who knew him.

St. Clair, organized in 1804; members, 182; Sabbath-school scholars, 173; officers and teachers, 16. Pastors, Rev. Joseph Kerr, D. D., 1804–25; Rev. J. Dickey, 1830–39; Rev. A. H. Wright, 1842–46; Rev. Joseph Clokey, D. D., 1848–55; Rev. C. Boyd, D. D., 1858–. Dr. Joseph Kerr, the first pastor of this congregation, was a large man, tall, well proportioned physically, commanding in personal appearance, affable in his manners, kind and sympathetic; "to know him was to love him." As a preacher he stood among the foremost of his time. Though not so able in argument as Dr. Riddell, he was his superior as an orator, and was therefore the more acceptable preacher of the two. After laboring twenty-one years in St. Clair congregation he was, by his synod, transferred to Pittsburgh to take charge of the theological seminary which the synod had established there. He was also called to the pastorate of what is now the Second United Presbyterian congregation of Pittsburgh. Dr. Kerr was the father of a large family. Three of his sons entered the ministry—Moses, Joseph R. and David R. The last named died October 14, 1887. He was the editor of the *United Presbyterian* for forty years, and a professor in the theological seminary nearly as long. No other minister in the church was more admired or more ardently loved by his brethren. He was a man of noble presence, tall, erect, and moved with a majesty that could not fail to attract attention. He was a good preacher. His sermons were constructed after the best models. They plainly, clearly, forcibly set forth the great truths of the gospel in the most appropriate language that could be chosen. He always spoke with genuine earnestness and deep tenderness. In the pulpit and out of it, his whole bearing was that of a man of God. He had occupied the highest positions in his own church, was twice a member of the Pan-Presbyterian council, and as often presided over that most venerable body. No man was ever more universally beloved in life, or more deeply lamented in death.

Sewickley, organized May 3, 1864; members, 132; Sabbath-school scholars, 100; officers and teachers, 13. Pastors, Rev. W. A. McKenzie, 1865–71; Rev. D. S. Kennedy, 1872–78; Rev. W. L. Wallace, D. D., 1879–86; Rev. A. M. Campbell, 1888–.

Springdale, organized November 14, 1873; members, 48; Sabbath-school scholars, 67; officers and teachers, 12. Pastor, Rev. W. G. Reed.

Talley Cavey, organized July 13, 1868; members, 48; Sabbath-school scholars, 50; officers and teachers, 10. Pastors, Revs. D. R. Imbrie, 1878–84; R. H. Park, 1885–.

Tarentum, organized in 1835; members, 206; Sabbath-school scholars, 111; officers and teachers, 16. Pastors, Revs. Jonathan G. Fulton, 1838–39; J. Gilmore, 1842–56; J. H. Timmons, 1860–84; D. R. McDonald, 1885–.

Turtle Creek, organized in June, 1829; members, 215; Sabbath-school scholars, 200; officers and teachers, 19. Pastors, Revs. Mungo Dick, 1829–35; Joseph Osborne, 1836–51; Jonathan G. Fulton, 1852–59; D. H. Pollock, 1860–69; S. A. Taggart, 1870–71; A. I. Young, 1872–85; R. A. Gilfillan, 1886–.

Union, organized in 1794; members, 159; Sabbath-school scholars, 127; officers and teachers, 20. Pastors, Rev. J. Riddell, D. D., 1794–1816; Rev. Moses Kerr, 1819–28; Revs. A. S. Fulton, 1833–39; John Ekin, D. D., 1839–53; William McMillan, 1855–57; L. Marks, D. D., 1860–67; J. D. Turner, 1868–74; J. A. Douthett, 1876–.

Unity, organized April 2, 1833; members, 202; Sabbath-school scholars, 203; officers and teachers, 19. Pastors, Revs. William Conner, 1837–49; James Kelso, 1852–72; E. Z. Thomas, 1873–.

Verona, organized in 1857; members, 184; Sabbath-school scholars, 165; officers and teachers, 18. Pastors, Revs. H. K. Lusk, S. S., 1858–61; R. H. Boyd, 1864–69; J. D. Irons, 1873–87; vacancy, 1888.

West Union, organized in 1842; members, 84; Sabbath-school scholars, 115; officers and teachers, 11. Pastors, Revs. James Given, 1854–57; J. G. Barnes, 1862–70; N. E Wade, 1875–84; R. H. Park, 1885–.

Wilkinsburg, organized November 21, 1882; members, 185; Sabbath-school scholars, 180; officers and teachers, 24. Pastor, Rev. M. M. Patterson.

There are thus in Allegheny county 62 congregations, with 11,591 communicants, 11,833 Sabbath-school scholars, 1,201 officers and teachers and 62 ministers of the gospel.

The value of the church property is not so great as that of some other denominations whose numerical strength is much less, as our people have not generally taken to the ornate and costly in church architecture. Still, almost every congregation in the county has a church building, and the property belonging to some of the congregations would be worth from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand dollars.

Four of the most important boards of the church, viz., the boards of Home Missions, Church Extension, Freedmen's Missions and Publication, are located in this county, and hold their regular monthly meetings in the Board of Publication building, 55 Ninth street, Pittsburgh.

The Board of Publication owns real estate here to the value of $50,000. Its plates, merchandise, etc., are worth $25,000. Its periodicals published here, viz., *The Evangelical Repository*, *Bible Teacher*, *Quarterly Lesson Paper*, *Olive Plants*, *Youth's Evangelist* and *Young Christian*, have a circulation of two million and a half copies, and are among the very best publications of their class in the country.

The United Presbyterian Church in Allegheny county is, at the present time, in a prosperous and promising condition. Her missionary spirit never was better. She is more aggressive in pressing her evangelistic work at all points than ever before. She is taking hold of new fields with a vigor and a confidence that indicate a determination to do her part in advancing the cause of her divine Master. With the blessing of the Head of the church upon her efforts, a prosperous future may be confidently anticipated.

THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland and in the United States claims to be the only church legitimately descended from the Church of Scotland in her period of the greatest purity, that of the Second Reformation. The movement which led to the formation of this church was due to the flagrant and outrageous violations of his oath and most solemn promises by King Charles II, who, after having solemnly sworn to uphold the Presbyterian or Established Church of Scotland, and having gained the throne only upon condition that he would do this, proceeded as soon as he found himself in power to break his oath, and attempted to overthrow the reformation, both civil and ecclesiastical. Cameron, Cargill, Renwick and others protested against this conduct of the king, and declared him to be a traitor to his country. They were outlawed for this and killed. Their followers were cruelly persecuted, and only upon the accession of William of Orange to the throne did they enjoy liberty of worship. During the "persecuting times," some few of these people came to Pennsylvania, and in 1743 met at Middle Octorara and

solemnly renewed the old Scottish covenant. In 1752 the Scottish church sent out Rev. John Cuthbertson to be their minister. In 1774 Rev. Messrs. Linn and Dobbin, from the Reformed presbytery of Ireland, immigrated to the colony, and the three ministers, with their people, formed a Reformed Presbyterian presbytery. In 1782 these three ministers and the majority of their people joined with the Associate Presbyterians, another body on the soil of the New World representing Old-World dissent, to form the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, which in 1858 came to form one of the constituents of the United Presbyterian Church. With characteristic Scotch obstinacy, some of the people refused to join with their leaders in the union of 1782, and in 1792 received again from Scotland a ministry. In 1798 a presbytery was organized in Philadelphia under the name of the "Reformed Presbytery of the United States of America." In 1809 the church organized itself into "The Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America," with three presbyteries under its jurisdiction. At this time it undertook, also, the education of its own ministry in a theological seminary founded in Philadelphia. From the year 1812 the relations of the Covenanting church to the national government were much discussed, it being felt by many that the refusal to allow its membership to perform the duties and exercise the privileges of citizenship, while possibly justified long before in the days of persecution by a bigoted and ungodly king and court, was no longer justifiable under the government of the American republic. In 1833 the "New Lights," as they were called, withdrew and formed the "General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church," taking with them the theological seminary in Philadelphia. The remainder at the time of this withdrawal, nowise disheartened, to all appearance, proceeded to enforce their peculiar views more rigidly than ever, and in 1840 established a theological seminary in Allegheny, Pa., and in 1871, according to their view of the moral duty of covenanting, entered into a covenant with God and each other to serve God, keep his commandments, and adhere to the Reformed Presbyterian principles and testimony. Accordingly, no member of this church can become or act as an American citizen. They do not vote, enlist in the army, accept of government situations, serve on juries, nor in any way identify themselves with the political system in the United States, the constitution of which they hold to be "godless," because neither the word "God" nor "Christ" occurs in the body of the instrument.

"The First Reformed Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh," more commonly known as the "Oak Alley Church," was organized in 1799. Rev. John Black, a native of Ireland and a Bachelor of Arts of the University of Glasgow, was its first pastor. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery at Coldenham, N. Y., in June, 1799, and immediately came to Pittsburgh, where he was installed, on December 18, 1800, as pastor of the "First Reformed Presbyterian congregation of Pittsburgh, and all the other adherent societies in the state of Pennsylvania beyond the Allegheny mountains." Dr. Black

was pastor of the congregation until his death, which took place in Pittsburgh on the 25th of October, 1849. At the time of the disruption, in 1833, Dr. Black adhered to the "New Light" party, and what has therefore been said as to the peculiar tenets of the Reformed Presbyterians does not apply to him or to his successors. Dr. Black was succeeded by Rev. John Douglas, D. D.,* who was ordained pastor of the church in the month of May, 1850, and remained in charge for twenty-three years, when he resigned and became a member of the presbytery of Pittsburgh of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. William Young was the next pastor, and served for four or five years, when delicate health led him to resign. He shortly afterward died. About this time Rev. Nevin Woodside became the candidate of a portion of the church for the vacant pulpit. A serious dissension arose, leading to a division. Rev. Mr. Woodside was deposed from the ministry by the ecclesiastical courts, but has continued to minister to a body of adherents claiming to be the First Reformed Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. This disruption led to protracted litigation and caused much scandal. Rev. S. W. Douglas became the pastor in the regular succession after Mr. Young, but in 1886 resigned and connected himself with the presbytery of Pittsburgh of the Presbyterian Church. The church is at present without a pastor.

In 1870 a number of churches holding to the jurisdiction of the general synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, offended at the action taken in subjecting to ecclesiastical discipline Mr. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, and his pastor, Rev. Dr. Wylie, for using other metrical compositions than the psalms of David in divine worship, withdrew and united themselves with the Presbyterian Church. At this time the Pine Creek Church, now on the roll of the presbytery of Allegheny, took this step.

The Reformed Presbyterian churches owning allegiance to the "Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" are represented in Allegheny county by the following organizations, a brief sketch of the history of each of which is given:

Allegheny Reformed Presbyterian Congregation.—In 1833, after the announcement of the adhesion of Dr. Black and his friends of the "Oak Alley" Church to the "New Side" party, a congregation was organized in Allegheny bearing the name of the "Pittsburgh and Allegheny Reformed Presbyterian Congregation." The organization took place on September 9, and upon May 12 of the year following Rev. Thomas Sproull, D. D., LL. D., was installed pastor. In 1836 a church building was erected in Allegheny at the corner of Lacock and Sandusky streets. In 1865 this congregation was divided, and a second congregation, known as the "Pittsburgh Congregation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church," was formed. From this time forward the word "Pittsburgh" was dropped from the title of the original church. In October, 1868, Rev. Dr. Sproull resigned his charge of the congregation, which upon the December following entered a new church building at the corner of North Diamond and Sandusky streets. In November, 1870, Rev. D. B.

* The writer is indebted to Dr. Douglas for the facts as to the church.

John Dickson M.D.

Wilson was installed pastor. Resigned October, 1875. Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, D. D., installed pastor June, 1877, and resigned May, 1884. Rev. J. R. J. Milligan was installed October, 1885, and is the present pastor.

First Reformed Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, O. S., organized 1865. Rev. A. M. Milligan, D. D., was installed pastor in May, 1866, and continued to serve until his death in May, 1885. During his pastorate the house of worship on Eighth street was erected. In October, 1887, Rev. D. McAllister, D. D., was installed pastor.

Central Reformed Presbyterian Church of Allegheny, organized October, 1870. Rev. J. W. Sproull, D. D., became the pastor, and has remained in charge until the present. In 1871 the church on Sandusky street was erected.

East Liberty Reformed Presbyterian Church, organized November, 1887. Rev. O. B. Milligan installed as pastor in October, 1888.

Wilkinsburg Reformed Presbyterian Church, organized summer of 1848. House of worship erected 1845. Rev. Thomas Hannay, stated supply, 1852; Rev. Joseph Hunter installed April, 1852; resigned 1883; Rev. W. W. Carithers installed June, 1883; resigned January, 1889.

Monongahela Reformed Presbyterian Congregation, organized 1801, Elizabeth, Pa. Rev. William Gibson, 1817–26; Rev. George T. Ewing, 1827–30; Rev. John Crozier, 1834–65; Rev. J. W. Sproull, 1866–71; Rev. T. C. Sproull, 1871–76; Rev. W. J. Coleman, 1879–81; Rev. John M. Wylie, 1883–84; Rev. R. Reed, stated supply, and Rev. D. C. Martin, stated supply, October, 1888–.

Pine Creek Reformed Presbyterian Church, O. S., organized not later than 1807, Talley Cavey postoffice, Pa. Rev. Matthew Williams, 1807–25; Rev. T. C. Guthrie, D. D., 1826–33; Rev. Hugh Walkinshaw, 1835–41; Rev. John Galbraith, 1843–70; Rev. Alexander Kilpatrick, 1876.

The educational work of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Allegheny county has been mainly confined to efforts to raise up an educated ministry for the denomination.

At the time of the division in 1833 the Old Side party of the church was without a theological school, and accordingly in 1836 took steps to organize a seminary at New Alexandria, Pa. Rev. J. R. Willson, D. D., was chosen professor. In 1838 this action was rescinded, and two seminaries were called into being, the Eastern at Coldenham, N. Y., and the Western in Allegheny, Pa., Dr. Willson being the professor in the former and Dr. T. Sproull in the latter. In 1840 the two seminaries were united in Allegheny under the joint professorship of Drs. Willson and Sproull. In 1845 the seminary was removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, Dr. Sproull resigning and Dr. Willson remaining in charge. The step was unfortunate, and in 1851 the seminary was suspended. In 1856 the seminary was reorganized in Allegheny, and has remained there ever since. At the reorganization in 1856 Drs. Christie and Sproull were made professors. Dr. Christie resigned in 1858, and Rev. J. M. Willson, D. D., was chosen his successor. Dr. Willson died in 1866, and the next year Rev. S. O. Wylie, D. D., of Philadelphia, was chosen his successor, but declined to serve. Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, D. D., was then chosen, and, accepting the position, continued to serve in it until his death in 1886. In 1875 Dr. Thomas Sproull was made professor *emeritus*, and Rev. D. B. Willson was elected professor. In 1886 Rev. James Kennedy and in 1887 Rev. R. J. George declined a professor-

ship in the seminary, but Rev. J. K. McClurkin accepted it and was installed. Dr. Thomas Sproull, at the advanced age of eighty-five years, still hears one class in the seminary.

As a feeder to the theological seminary Westminster College was called into being in November, 1848, under the care of the Pittsburgh presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. It was located in Wilkinsburg, and then, in 1850, removed to Allegheny, and in 1858 given up and its property devoted to the theological seminary. A number of men who have become eminent were students in this college. Upon the disorganization of Westminster College, Allegheny City College arose in its place, with Rev. John Newell, D. D., as president. In 1860 Prof. J. R. Newell took charge of the school, and in 1863 it became "The Newell Institute."

The official organ of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States is *The Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter.* It is edited by Rev. J. W. Sproull, D. D.,* and D. B. Willson. The Central Board of Missions is also located in Allegheny, and has charge of the work which is being done by the church at home and abroad. The Central Church of Allegheny and the First Church of Pittsburgh have very successful schools for the Chinese, in operation.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

At the time of the "Great Revival of 1800," which had its birth in the woods of Western Pennsylvania, the presbytery of Transylvania in Kentucky appointed a number of persons who had not received a classical education nor thorough instruction in theology to act as lay exhorters, and in a few cases to preach. In 1802 the synod of Kentucky divided the presbytery of Transylvania and erected a new presbytery, to which was given the name of the presbytery of Cumberland. In April, 1803, the new presbytery met, and proceeded to ordain Finis Ewing and Samuel King, two of the lay exhorters, and to license a number of others. In 1805 complaints were laid before the synod of Kentucky declaring these proceedings to have been irregular. A commission was accordingly appointed, which visited the region, summoned the presbytery and the irregularly ordained ministers, and sought to induce the latter to submit to an examination. This they refused to do, being supported in their determination by the presbytery. The commission accordingly prohibited them from further exercising the functions of the ministry until they should submit to examination and an orderly induction into the sacred office. These "revival members" of the presbytery, as they chose to call themselves, met subsequently as a council, and abstained from presbyterial acts. They sent a memorial to the general assembly, but the assembly sustained the action of the synod, which subsequently dissolved the Cumberland presbytery and re-annexed its members to the presbytery of Transylvania. The council at last

* The writer is indebted to Dr. Sproull for the facts as to the Old Side Covenanter churches embodied in the foregoing narrative.

made an effort at reconciliation, and agreed to submit to an examination of the licentiates, upon condition, however, that all should be received in a body. This proposal the synod declined. On February 4, 1810, Finis Ewing and Samuel King, ordained clergymen, but silenced by the synod, met with Samuel McAdow, an aged minister, and organized themselves into what they called the Cumberland presbytery. The presbytery of Transylvania the spring following suspended Samuel McAdow from the ministry for his schismatical conduct. The point really at issue in this controversy was not simply the irregularity of procedure in admitting candidates to the ministry, but the fact that the persons so admitted had taught and continued to teach doctrines at variance with the standards of the church.

The growth of the new body was quite rapid in Kentucky, Tennessee and the southwestern states generally. Its polity is strictly Presbyterian. Its theology, so far as defined, seems to be an attempt to steer a middle course between the received theology of the Reformed churches, as represented by the great historic confessions of the Reformation period, and the theology of Arminius. Revivalistic measures, "protracted meetings," "camp-meetings," and other devices, the outgrowth of the early life of the church upon the frontier, are still much resorted to and relied upon. A number of colleges have been founded by the church, and are growing in usefulness, and a higher standard of education for the ministry than prevailed in the old days of the backwoods is being insisted upon. The oldest of the institutions of learning belonging to the church, Cumberland College, at Princeton, Ky., was closed in 1861. Waynesburg College, at Waynesburg, Pa., is the only institution for the education of young men in the eastern states belonging to the denomination.

Statistics of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the United States:

1888.

Whole number of churches	2,648
Whole number of ministers	1,584
Whole number of communicants	151,929
Whole number of Sunday-school scholars	85,890
Total amount contributed to benevolence	$ 47,398
Total amount contributed for congregational expenses	489,320

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.*

In 1831 some members of a Presbyterian church in Washington county, Pa., wrote a letter to the president of Cumberland College, and asked that representatives of the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination should be sent to Pennsylvania that they might become acquainted with its doctrines. The matter was laid before the general assembly of the Cumberland Church, and Rev. A. M. Bryan was accordingly sent to Pittsburgh. He began his

*The writer is indebted for the following narrative to Rev. J. B. Koehne, the present pastor of the First Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, and Rev. J. W. McKay.

work as a street preacher, and in 1833 a church was organized, which under Mr. Bryan's labors grew and prospered. A lot was secured upon Sixth street, nearly opposite Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, and a plain brick church capable of seating five hundred persons was erected upon it. Mr. Bryan's life was consecrated to this enterprise, and he died during a "protracted meeting" which he was holding in the church. His death put an apparent end to the prosperity of the enterprise. Feuds broke out in the church. Its membership was decimated by death and removal, and though a long succession of ministers has labored in the field, the old days of prestige and usefulness have never returned. The pastors who succeeded Mr. Bryan have been the following: Rev. Mr. Jacobs, Rev. S. T. Stewart, Rev. Dr. E. K. Squiers, Rev. Dr. A. Templeton, Rev. W. H. Black, Rev. Samuel S. McBride, Rev. J. M. Hubbert and Rev. N. D. Johnson, the two latter as stated supplies. The present pastor is Rev. J. B. Koehne, a graduate of Waynesburg College, who received his theological education in the McCormick and the Western Theological seminaries of the Presbyterian Church, and who was chosen pastor in September, 1887. In 1886 the old church on Sixth street was sold to the Duquesne club. A lot at the corner of Wylie avenue and Congress street was bought in 1888, and in 1889 it is hoped that a new church will be erected. The present membership of the church is about sixty souls. In connection with this church a mission was started, under the care of Rev. J. W. McKay, in the fall of the year 1888, in East Liberty.

The other Cumberland Presbyterian churches in Allegheny county are the First Cumberland Presbyterian Church of McKeesport, the Cumberland Presbyterian church of Tarentum, and a mission church in Allegheny City, organized in 1883, and at present under the care of Rev. J. H. Barnett. The church in McKeesport, which is the outgrowth of a feud in the First Presbyterian church of McKeesport, is numerically the strongest of all these enterprises. The communicant membership of the Cumberland churches in the county may be stated as being about three hundred and fifty souls. No reliable statistics as to benevolent and congregational expenditures are available.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (GERMAN).

The church recently known by this name, but more commonly designated by the older title of the German Reformed Church, represents the historical continuation in the United States of the Reformed branch of the Protestant reformation in Germany.

The Reformed church of Germany had its chief seats in the Rhine provinces, which, originally accepting the reformation movement as molded by Melancthon rather than Luther, in 1559, under Frederick II, surnamed the Pious, passed over from the Lutheran to the Reformed faith. The disorders of the times, the petty warfares and the endless oppression of the upper classes, coupled with the gratuitous offer of land by William Penn, led a good many

Wm H Brown

Germans at the beginning of the last century to forsake the Rhine provinces and come to Pennsylvania. Until 1747 the religious condition of these emigrants was very sad. Without ministers, churches, schools, and even books, except a few bibles, catechisms and hymn-books they had brought with them, and widely separated by language from those among whom they had settled, they were in danger of lapsing into a condition of most profound religious ignorance and degradation. For the first twenty years during which a German immigration had taken place, *i. e.* from 1727–47, there were at no time more than three or four ordained German ministers in the entire country.

In 1746 Rev. Michael Schlatter, a Reformed minister from St. Gall, in Switzerland, was sent out by the synods of North and South Holland to labor among the German settlers of the Reformed faith. He was a man of great energy and zeal, and visited all the German settlements in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and on September 29, 1747, in the city of Philadelphia, brought about the organization of the first coetus or synod of the German Reformed Church in the New World. This synod was composed of five ministers and twenty-six elders, representing forty-six churches. It stood under the jurisdiction of the synod of Holland, and its proceedings for the period of forty-six years which followed, or until 1793, were annually submitted to the synod of Holland for review and confirmation. In 1793 the coetus assumed the right to govern for itself, adopted a constitution of its own, and laying aside the name of "coetus" took that of "synod" instead. The church became, in contradistinction from the *Nieder-deutsche* or Dutch Reformed Church, the *Hoch-deutsche Reformirte Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika.* The period which followed this step was characterized by great numerical increase in the membership, and a development of financial resources, but it was also characterized by retrogression in the matter of ministerial qualifications. The clergy were no longer drawn, as had been the case formerly, from the ranks of educated men in Europe, but secured an education as best they could under the tuition of the pastors and clergy scattered through the country. This state of affairs lasted until in 1825, a period of thirty-two years, when a theological seminary was established at Carlisle, Pa., whence it was removed in 1829 to York, and then finally established at Mercersburg in 1835. The period which has followed has been one of constant growth. Considerable controversy was excited by the attitude of Dr. John W. Nevin, the professor of systematic theology at Mercersburg, whose views appeared to those who did not fully comprehend his spirit to be tinctured by the tractarianism of Oxford, with which he was familiar. The discussions aroused now more than forty years ago by his teachings have long since died out, not, however, without leaving their mark upon the life of the church. The growth of the church in the years subsequent to the close of the great civil war has been very rapid, owing to immigration, especially in the west. In the eastern part of the country English has supplanted the German language in pulpit dis-

course to a very large degree. In the west, among the newer settlements, German is still prevalent. The name of the church was changed by formal action of the general synod, in session at Lancaster, Pa., in 1878, by dropping the word "German," hitherto invariably prefixed to the title.

The statistics of the church throughout the United States show, in 1887, the following facts: Number of synods, 7; number of classes or presbyteries, 54; number of ministers, 817; number of congregations, 1,481; number of communicants, 183,980; number of Sunday-school scholars, 122,695; number of candidates for ministry, 186; amount of contributions for benevolence, $141,122; amount of contributions for congregational support, etc., $804,321; total amount of contributions, $945,443.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

The German element in Allegheny county appears at a very early date to have been possessed of considerable religious zeal; and the "Smithfield Street Church," as it is commonly known, is the junior of the First Presbyterian Church, on Wood street, by only a few years. The rationalizing tendencies, which were so powerfully at work among the German churches of Europe, and to some extent in those of America, in the first half of the present century, having asserted themselves to a large degree in this old church, and a considerable population having sprung up which, while forgetful of the German speech, was found to be attached to the history and traditions of the German Reformed Church, an effort was put forth not long prior to the war of the rebellion to establish a German Reformed church in Pittsburgh. The result was the organization in 1854 of "Grace Reformed Church." The leading spirits in the maintenance of this now strong and vigorous organization were W. E. Schmertz and wife, George Rauhauser, Rev. D. Diffenbacher, George Reiter and wife, Mrs. M. Walker. Rev. Dr. Henry Harbaugh presided at the organization. Rev. George B. Russell was the first pastor. The first services were held in a small church edifice which at the time stood at the corner of Smithfield street and Virgin alley, and had been the place of worship for a then defunct Unitarian church.

1854. *Grace Reformed Church*, corner Grant and Webster streets, Pittsburgh.—Rev. G. B. Russell, D. D., May 1, 1854–December 1, 1862; Rev. E. E. Higbee, D. D., LL. D., February 1, 1863–January 10, 1866; Rev. J. H. Wagner, February 22, 1866–March 10, 1870; Rev. L. J. Barkley, June 1, 1870–November 12, 1879; Rev. John H. Prugh, May 1, 1880–.

1868. *St. Paul's Reformed Church*, Forty-fourth street, Lawrenceville, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Rev. A. Krahn, 1868–70; Rev. J. Heffley, 1870–72; Rev. Mr. Saul, 1872–74; Rev. Mr. Ebbingshaus, 1874–79; Rev. M. Dumstrei, 1879–87; J. Harold, July 1, 1887–.

June 19, 1870. *Trinity Reformed Church*, Wilkinsburg, Pa.—Revs. L. B. Leasure, 1870–July, 1871; Thomas F. Stauffer, September, 1871–April, 1877; John M. Souder, April, 1877–December, 1878; J. William Knappenberger, January, 1879–November, 1883; Milton F. Frank, May, 1884–December, 1885; James S. Freeman, November, 1886–.

1872. *Zion's Reformed Church*, East Liberty, Pittsburgh.—Rev. George B. Russell,

D. D., 1872–75; H. D. Darbaker, 1876–78; J. W. Knappenberger, 1879–83; M. F. Frank, 1884–85; J. W. Miller, 1886–.

October 8, 1882. *First Reformed Church*, McKeesport, Pa.—Rev. H. D. Darbaker, 1882–.

1882. *First Reformed Church*, Turtle Creek, Pa.—Rev. H. D. Darbaker, 1882–88; E S. Hassler, 1888–.

1888. *First Reformed Church*, Braddock, Pa.—E. S. Hassler, 1888–.

Statistics of the Reformed church in Allegheny county:

Total number of churches and missions	7
Total number of ministers	6
Total number of communicants	928
Total number of Sunday-school scholars	796
Total amount contributed to benevolence	$2,260
Total amount contributed to congregational purposes	7,817

CHAPTER XVI.

CHURCHES (Concluded).

Protestant Episcopal—Formation of the Diocese of Pittsburgh—Methodist Episcopal—The Book Depository—German Congregation—Lutheran—Baptist—Disciples of Christ—Catholic—Jewish Congregation.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.

The records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the vicinity of Pittsburgh do not extend beyond the year 1792. There can be little doubt that its services and sacraments were frequently celebrated before that date; for from the year 1758 Fort Pitt was occupied as an English military station, and the site of the present city of Pittsburgh was laid out and building begun about 1764, by settlers almost exclusively of English descent. It is hardly probable that such an important point was wholly neglected by the clergy of the Established church, or that so many families of church people as then resided in the neighborhood would have been content to give up entirely the Christian privileges to which they had been used.

However this may have been, it is certain that no definite attempt was made to organize or perpetuate the Church of England in this part of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, or the American Episcopal church after it, until toward the closing years of the last century. Even the venerable "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," to which we owe so largely the planting and the nurture of the church before the separation from the mother-country, appears to have made no effort to care for its members in Western Pennsylvania.

In Bishop Perry's voluminous collection of historical documents relating to

this time and region there are but two incidental references to Fort Pitt, and they have no connection with the work of the church. The farthest station westward seems to have been at Carlisle.

The timidity and inertia of the bishops, clergy and laity in the eastern part of the church, during the fifty years following the war of independence, are notorious, and would be surprising did we not know the difficulties which they had to contend with. The popular prejudice which existed against the clergy, who for the most part had adhered to the king's side in the great struggle, extended to the liturgy and the whole system of the church to which they belonged. The Episcopal church was everywhere on the defensive. It was considered as essentially monarchial and aristocratic in its spirit and influence, unsuited to the wants of the people of a republic. So strongly did this public sentiment affect the rulers of the church that for a long time nothing more was done than to keep alive existing congregations. The idea of extending the work of the church into new regions was hardly thought of. We are told on good authority that up to the year 1811 not only was there no growth throughout the United States, but a positive decrease, especially of clergy, and one of the foremost of the bishops expressed the opinion that its ultimate extinction was only a question of time. Nevertheless, we have unquestionable proof that in the whole region west of the mountains, of which Allegheny county is a part, there was a numerous body of people by birth and education attached to the church, who would have gladly welcomed its services and might easily have been kept in its communion. Our principal authority on this point is Rev. Joseph Doddridge, M. D. He was himself born in Bedford county, Pa., within 100 miles of Pittsburgh, in 1769, and for some time resided in Washington county, in the near neighborhood. To him we owe many interesting details of the condition of things in the church about the close of the last century, and it was mainly through his persistent efforts that the attention of eastern churchmen was gained to the work to be done in this region, He was himself a clergyman of the Episcopal church, and spent his life in constant missionary labor in Western Virginia and Southern Ohio. In his letters he speaks of the great numbers of church people then living in these parts, destitute of all pastoral care. In one of them he says: "For the spiritual benefit of the many thousands of our Israel, I was most anxious for the organization of the Episcopal church in this country (*i. e.*, west of the mountains) at an early period of its settlement. How often have these people said to me in the bitterness of their hearts, 'Must we live and die without baptism for our children and without the sacrament for ourselves?' " Year after year he continued to plead with the authorities of the church in the east to send out a missionary bishop to care for these shepherdless flocks, but without success. His final words on this subject are full of despondency and chagrin. "I lost all hope," he writes, "of ever witnessing any prosperity in our beloved church in this part of America. Everything connected with it fell into a state of languor. The vestries

were not re-elected and our young people joined other societies. I entertained no hope that my own remains after death would be committed to the dust with the funeral services of my own church." Again he says: "Had we imitated the example of other church communities, employed the same means for collecting our people into societies and building churches, we should by this time have four or five bishops in this country, surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of clergy, instead of having our very name connected with a fallen church. Instead of offering a rich and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary we should have occupied the first and highest station among the Christian societies of the west."

When at length, after years of inaction and neglect, the effort was made to organize the Protestant Episcopal Church in these parts, the work was far more difficult than it would have been had Dr. Doddridge's plea been listened to. A great opportunity had been lost and did not return. Not only were the thousands of its members, whom Dr. Doddridge assures us then lived in this region, alienated from it, but a change had taken place in the character of the immigration to this western country. The early settlers at Pittsburgh and in its vicinity were very largely members of the Episcopal church. But in after years there came an influx of hardy, thrifty Scotch-Irish people, who in a short time became the dominant element throughout Western Pennsylvania. They brought with them not only their energy and thrift, but a sturdy, aggressive Presbyterianism, which was intolerant toward episcopal government and ritual worship. In their eyes such things were but little removed from popery itself. Under such adverse circumstances it is not to be wondered at that we find no organization of the Episcopal church in Allegheny county until the year 1790; and it is significant that this was made, not at Pittsburgh, where we would naturally look for it, but among a rural population in Chartiers township, about six miles from the city, under the name of St. Luke's Church. The records read: "The first Episcopal church west of the mountains was organized and the church built by several persons, viz.: Gen. Johnson Neville, his son, Pressly Neville, Maj. Isaac Craig and others." The lot, ten perches square, was given by William Lea for a site and graveyard. The church building was begun in 1790 and furnished in the following year, but not entirely finished until some time afterward. By whom the services were given, or who had charge of the flock, is not mentioned. But we learn that Mr. Francis Reno was taken under the care of Gen. Neville and educated and prepared for the ministry of the church. In due time he was ordained by Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, and called to the rectorship of the church at Chartiers. He officiated there for some years, until an insurrection (the whisky insurrection of 1794) disturbed the public peace and drove the supporters of the church from the locality. Some time afterward we find that Mr. Reno was engaged to officiate alternately at Chartiers and Pittsburgh, but soon left the neighborhood. The church appears to have been closed, and, being built of wood, soon fell into

decay, and almost every trace of the building was removed. The record goes on to state that no decided step was taken to rebuild the church until 1851. However this may be, the insurrection could not have completely discouraged the congregation, for we find in Dr. Doddridge's memoirs a report of a convention of four clergymen held at St. Thomas' church, Washington county, Pa., September 26, 1803, Mr. Reno being one of them, at which it was resolved that the next convention be held at the church near Gen. Neville's old place, on Chartiers creek, Pa., to commence the Saturday before Whitsunday. In the year 1851, through the efforts of Rev. Dr. Lyman (now bishop), then rector of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, a new church was begun on the site of the old one, and regular services resumed. From that time until 1871 the church was kept open and the congregation held together by various rectors, who seem never to have remained any length of time. Since then only occasional ministrations have been given. The building up of other centers of population at Mansfield and Crafton, and the founding of churches there, have divided the already diminished flock until almost nothing remains of what was once a numerous congregation. The church building is occasionally occupied during the summer months, and, with its old graveyard around it, stands as a monument of the first effort of reviving life in the church in Allegheny county.

What steps were taken to establish the Episcopal church in Pittsburgh previous to 1797 is not known. But as Rev. Mr. Reno is recorded to have officiated there in connection with Chartiers shortly after 1794, it is likely that there was some movement toward that end. In 1797, however, we learn from the records of Trinity Church that the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church residing in Pittsburgh invited Rev. John Taylor to officiate for them; but it was not until September, 1805, that a regular parish organization was formed by obtaining from the governor of Pennsylvania a charter "making and instituting Rev. John Taylor, the minister of the congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the borough of Pittsburgh, Pressly Neville and Samuel Roberts, the wardens of said church, and Nathaniel Irish, Joseph Barber, Jeremiah Barber, Andrew Richardson, Nathaniel Bedford, Oliver Ormsby, George McGunnigle, George Robinson, Robert Magee, Alexander McLaughlin, William Cecil and Joseph Davis, the vestrymen of said church, and their successors duly elected and appointed in their place, a corporation and body politic in law and in fact, by the name, style and title of the minister, church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh." Such was the decisive step which gave to the church in Allegheny county a definite standing and a center of growth. From this time for many years the history of Trinity Church is virtually that of the church in Allegheny county and in Western Pennsylvania. From the mother-parish nearly all new enterprises took their start or looked to it for support. About the same time with the organization, the building of a church was begun. It stood on the triangular lot at the intersection of Sixth street with Wood and Liberty streets, now occupied by a business block. In

order to conform with the shape of the lot it was built in oval form, and was known as the Round church. "Father" Taylor, as he came to be called, held the rectorship until 1817, when he resigned. But few traditions of his ministry survive. He seems to have been a faithful and devout clergyman, of blameless life, who probably did as much for the church in those days as any ordinary man could. It is said that he was killed some years afterward by a stroke of lightning, near Georgetown, Mercer county, Pa. In the short space of six years between Father Taylor's resignation in 1817 and July, 1823, three clergymen were chosen to the rectorship, served for brief periods, and in turn resigned. No statistics of the parish for these years exist. Of the success or the growth of the congregation, of its hope and outlook, no records remain. But from the fact that in 1823, when after two years' service Rev. William Thompson resigned the charge of the parish, no attempt was made to elect a successor, it may be inferred that the prospects of the parish were not very encouraging. Nor could it have reasonably been expected that an Episcopal church situated in a region so remote as Pittsburgh then was, deprived of the care of a bishop and without the privilege of confirmation for its children, by which alone new communicants could regularly be admitted, would make any striking progress in a hostile community. It is rather a matter of surprise that it survived at all. During this period of twenty-five years or more, repeated efforts were made to enlist the sympathy and support of the church at the east, and to obtain for the whole region west of the Allegheny mountains then settled the erection of a diocese and the consecration of a bishop. Dr. Doddridge, though not then residing in Pennsylvania, never ceased to urge it. In 1810, at a meeting of Episcopal clergymen held at St. Thomas' church, Washington county, he was authorized to open correspondence with Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of obtaining through him permission from the general convention of the church in the United States to carry out the project, such consent being necessary under the canons of the church. The petition was presented by Bishop White, and at one time there seemed to be hope of its favorable consideration; but the matter was dropped, as usual, and the clergy sending the memorial never so much as heard of its fate until nearly two years afterward through the chance visit of a clergyman from the east. But symptoms of interest in the state of the church west of the mountains began to show themselves about the same time. The formation of "The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania" took place in 1812. This was the first attempt to make an organized effort to plant the church on new ground. Shortly after the founding of this society Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterward a missionary bishop of the northwestern territories, visited Pittsburgh and its vicinity, and on his return made an interesting report, which has been lost. In 1814 Rev. John Clay, D. D., then a deacon from Philadelphia, was sent out on a visit of inquiry, and supplied Mr. Taylor's place at Trinity church for three Sundays, while he made a missionary tour to various

points where services were desired. It is also on record that Rev. Mr. Richmond, a missionary in the employment of the society, supplied Trinity Church with services for a short time. Probably these were the first clergymen from the east who had ever seen Pittsburgh, as it was certainly the first and only time that Trinity Church received ministrations through the agency of the church at the east. Elsewhere the new missionary society had begun its active operations, so efficient and successful in after-time in planting churches which have become strong and flourishing.

An event now took place which explains partly the failure to elect a new rector in the place of Rev. Mr. Thompson, and which is really the first of two decisive events in the history of the church in Allegheny county. We are told that, at the request of the vestry, after Mr. Thompson resigned in 1823 John H. Hopkins, Esq., then a layman of Trinity Church, was invited to hold services. Years before, Mr. Hopkins had removed to Pittsburgh, studied law, and very soon became a prominent member of the bar. It is said that his income at this time was $5,000 per annum. He had been brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church, but through friendship and social influence had, like so many other members of the church, been led to attend the Presbyterian services. His musical abilities led him to take charge of the organ and choir of Trinity Church. Very soon he became a communicant, and finally a candidate for holy orders. Shortly after, he was invited to read service for the congregation as a layman. He was also elected rector of the parish in advance of his ordination, which took place December 14, 1823. A week later he entered upon his duties as rector of Trinity Church, and from that time dates a new order of things in the church in Allegheny county, and in fact throughout the whole of Western Pennsylvania. Almost immediately there were signs of reviving hope and courage. The project of building a new church, which had for some time been talked of, was put into execution. Mr. Hopkins made the plans of the new church, and with his own hands did a large part of the interior decoration. It was the first example of gothic architecture not only in Pittsburgh but in the country. The new church, estimated to seat 1,000 persons, was completed and consecrated in June, 1825. It was a great step forward for that day, and meant that the church intended to stay and to grow. Up to that time no bishop had ever crossed the Allegheny mountains. In 1824 Bishop White made an attempt to visit the western part of his diocese, but meeting with an accident at Lewistown, he returned to Philadelphia. In 1825 he made a second effort, and succeeded in reaching Pittsburgh to consecrate the new edifice of Trinity Church. During his visit he also confirmed nearly one hundred and fifty persons belonging to the congregation, the first time that ordinance had ever been administered in the west. Within one year the list of communicants belonging to Trinity Church was increased from forty to about two hundred, so that it became at once the third parish in numerical strength within the diocese. From that time it took its place in the front ranks of influential

parishes in the country, and was the recognized representative of the church west of the mountains, and an important center of expansion. The varied and remarkable gifts of the rector, as a preacher, a writer, a theologian, a musician, a lawyer and an artist, gave him a wide influence throughout the church, as well as in the city of Pittsburgh. Mr. Hopkins did not confine his labors to his own parish. He made a missionary tour as far north as Meadville and eastward to Greensburg, holding prolonged services in both of these places, gathering numbers into the church (in the former place about sixty), and laying the foundations of future parishes. No less than seven new parishes were thus established by him in as many years. Not content with such personal efforts, he also tried to supply the need of additional workers in the field. He saw that if a sufficient number of clergy were to be secured for the then remote west it must be done by training them up on the ground. When it took a week's time or more to make the journey from Philadelphia or New York to Pittsburgh it was in vain to look for any considerable number of promising recruits from the east. He therefore began a theological training-school for clergymen in his own house. He had, before entering upon the ministry, purchased a large tract of ground on the Ohio river, in the very heart of what is now Allegheny City, but was then open country. On this he built a large brick house, which still stands as one of the landmarks of sixty years ago. In this house Mr. Hopkins fitted up a chapel and recitation-rooms, and received into his family such young men as desired to prepare for holy orders. In 1829 four young men thus trained by him were ordained deacons, and four others were among the candidates for orders reported by the bishop in his annual address. At the same time he was urging earnestly upon his eastern friends the wisdom of establishing a theological seminary under the authority of the diocese in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. A memorial was drawn up and signed by those interested, and presented to the convention of the diocese. At one time it looked as if something might come of it. The memorial was referred to a committee, which reported favorably upon it, and the convention passed a resolution declaring it expedient to do what was asked. But, like every other measure having in view the development of the church west of the mountains, it was quietly smothered in the convention of the next year. Had Mr. Hopkins succeeded in carrying out his plan, the whole history of the church in Allegheny county would have been different. As it was, however, the vigorous impulse already given to church extension west of the Alleghenies never wholly died out. In fact Mr. Hopkins virtually performed a large part of the duties of a missionary bishop, without the dignity of the office or its authority. Henceforth the rector of Trinity Church had to be taken into account in the counsels of eastern churchmen. He was a power in the convention of the diocese and in the general convention of the church, and very soon he was advanced to the episcopate, as were three out of four of his immediate successors in the rectorship, so prominent and lasting was the position which he gave to the parish

which he practically founded. In 1830 Christ Church, Allegheny City, was organized on the north side of the river, to accommodate the growing population of that suburb. Its progress was for a long time slow, Trinity Church naturally attracting a large proportion of the new settlers. Among its earliest rectors was Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, the brother of the ex-president of the United States. As late as 1857 Christ Church was still feeble in numbers and in pecuniary resources, and the building had a neglected and shabby look. But about that time it secured Rev. Dr. David Carter Page as rector, once a man of great influence and reputation in the church, but then somewhat past the maturity of his powers. He was still, however, of commanding personal appearance, distinguished manners, and striking as a reader of the liturgy and as a preacher. Under his ministry Christ Church began to show signs of improvement. The old church was remodeled and improved, and in the next twenty years it reached a position only second to the more popular of the Pittsburgh churches.

About the same time with the formation of Christ Church, Allegheny, St. Paul's, Laceyville (now part of Pittsburgh), was founded, and had for its rector Rev. Dr. C. W. Andrews, afterward the rector of St. Andrew's Church, and later on a famous man in the diocese of Virginia.

In 1837 a still more important step was taken, in the formation of St. Andrew's parish, by the union of such churchmen as held what were known as "Low Church" views of doctrine and ministry and the minimum of ritual observance. At this period party lines were sharply drawn in the diocese of Pennsylvania, and it was inevitable that as soon as that element in the church became sufficiently strong and numerous it would set up for itself. The result was the foundation of St. Andrew's Church, a congregation which for many years had a powerful influence in all church movements, and is still one of the wealthiest and foremost in all good works in the two cities. One after another, as the population drifted farther and farther from the old centers, new parishes were organized, until Grace Church, Mount Washington, St. James' and St. John's churches, Pittsburgh, and St. Mark's, Birmingham, took their places in the ranks. But the most striking example of the rapid growth of the church took place afterward. About the year 1850, under the ministry of Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Lyman, the old Trinity church, built in Bishop Hopkins' time, began to be too small for its overflowing congregation. The project of building a new and costly edifice in its immediate neighborhood began to be talked of, and was soon carried out. The intention was to provide what is known in England as a chapel of ease for the congregation of Trinity. Accordingly a site only a few blocks distant from the old church was purchased, and St. Peter's Church erected upon it. It was intended that the two churches should form but one parish, and be served by the clergy belonging equally to both. The new church was built on the strict gothic style, then but recently revived in this country. It was modeled after the beautiful building of St.

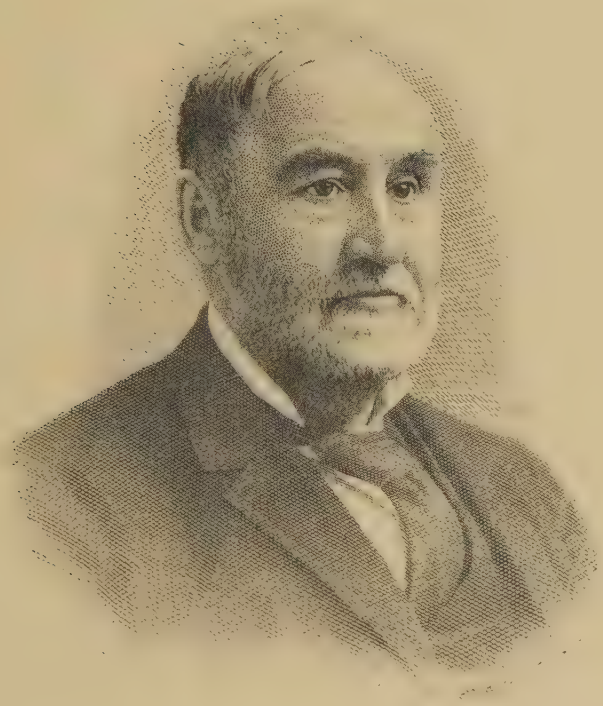
Mark's church, Philadelphia, and when completed it was by far the most beautiful and costly church edifice within hundreds of miles of Pittsburgh. And when, with all its attractiveness of architecture and furnishing, Rev. Dr. E. M. Van Deusen, of Wilmington, Del., was called to take charge of it, it became something more than the favored daughter of the mother-parish. In a short time St. Peter's grew to be by all odds the most flourishing congregation of the Episcopal church in Allegheny county. Accessions were numerous and constant, and perhaps the church was stronger in numbers and wealth, relatively to population, during the time of St. Peter's palmy days than ever before or since. It was not to be expected that an arrangement such as was at first contemplated should continue long under these circumstances. St. Peter's Church soon sought and obtained a separate organization as an independent parish, and under Dr. Van Deusen's ministry until very near its close (when dissension arose, growing out of political questions relating to the civil war) it maintained its supremacy.

But as the facilities for communication increased, the tendency to move out of town amounted to something like a general emigration, especially toward the little village of East Liberty, which since 1860 has been the most fashionable quarter; the "East End," as it is now called. In 1856 a small parish was organized there, and for a while worshiped in a disused Methodist meeting-house, little thinking then of the future in store for it. But the growing disposition to remove from the dirt and noise of the business parts of the city built up the new congregation, year by year, until Calvary Church, East Liberty, with its nearly seven hundred communicants, its splendid corps of workers, and its thorough organization, is the leading church of the county and diocese. But the growth was a serious drain upon the old parishes of the city, and for a time materially reduced their numbers, and made manifest the fact that the building of St. Peter's so near Trinity was an error, though perhaps it was impossible to forecast what happened in the movement of population. The years from 1850 to 1860 were active and encouraging days for the Episcopal church in Allegheny county. The rapid growth of the two cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny had fairly begun, and has ever since been maintained. The parishes were filled with rectors who not only drew to themselves the love and confidence of their congregations, but also put the church in its best light before the community at large. With Dr. Lyman, now bishop of North Carolina, at Trinity, Dr. William Preston as the genial rector of St. Andrew's, Dr. E. M. Van Deusen, whose memory is still cherished as the model of a parish priest and as an eloquent preacher, at St. Peter's, and, for a part of the time, with Dr. D. C. Page at Christ Church, the parishes of the city might well congratulate themselves on their good fortune at this period. In addition to this, the number of influential laymen whose names were enrolled upon its list of communicants gave it a standing which has never been surpassed. We find during these years the distinguished names of Judge Wilson McCandless, Judge

Shaler, Gen. George W. Cass, Maj. T. J. Brereton, Hill Burgwin, Esq., John H. Shoenberger, F. R. Brunot, Josiah King, George R. White, Joseph H. Hill, with others of equal note, whose names any church might be glad to inscribe upon its register. If not so strong numerically as afterward, it may be confidently said that it was at the very height of its influence. The new life which at this time began to be felt among church people in Pittsburgh very soon brought to the front again the question of setting up a separate diocese in the counties lying west of the Allegheny mountains. The project had never been entirely abandoned, but for a time the increased and rapid means of communication with the east had rendered the need of a bishop on the ground less urgent. It was now easier to reach the most remote missionary station in the northwest corner of the diocese than it was to get to Lancaster or Harrisburg in the early days when Dr. Doddridge and his friends were pleading for a bishop and a diocese for the west. Besides, the consecration of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk in 1828 as assistant to Bishop White gave more adequate episcopal supervision, and quieted for a time the demand for a separate jurisdiction. The election of Bishop Alonzo Potter in 1845, with his splendid physique, commanding powers and untiring labors, still further tended to satisfy churchmen in the west with their condition for the time being. But in 1860 came the discovery of petroleum in the northern counties, and with a great rush of fortune-seekers, not only to the oil-producing country, but to Pittsburgh, as the center of the trade at that time. The increasing need of episcopal labor, especially in these parts of the state, and Bishop Potter's failing health, led to the election of Dr. Samuel Bowman as assistant bishop. From the very first he took the liveliest interest in the church in the western counties, and with all his might pushed forward the plan for a new diocese with its own bishop. His sudden death by the wayside, while making a missionary journey in this part of the diocese, did but fix the determination of churchmen in Pittsburgh and its vicinity never to give up the agitation until their prayer should be granted. For six years longer the conservatism of the east and other influences delayed the step. But at length the persistency and skillful management of a few determined men won the day, and in the year 1865 consent was reluctantly given to the formation of the new diocese, and what Dr. Doddridge and his fellow-workers had sought in vain more than fifty years before was at last obtained.

To this consent, however, was attached the condition that a capital sum of not less than thirty thousand dollars should be secured as an endowment for the bishopric. The condition was readily complied with, though under protest as being unlawful and unwise. All preliminary steps required by the general canons of the church having been taken, the primary convention of the diocese of Pittsburgh met in Trinity church, Pittsburgh, November 15, 1865.

It was the second decisive step forward for the church in Allegheny county and the western part of Pennsylvania, as Bishop Hopkins' entrance upon the



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rectorship of Trinity Church had been the first. Many were the prophecies of new life and progress, and high were the hopes indulged by the victorious churchmen of the west. And on the other hand not a few predicted only failure and embarrassment for the diocese. Warm and something more than earnest was the canvass that preceded the meeting of the convention and the election of a bishop, for, as has been said, party spirit was strong in Pennsylvania in those days, and now that the formation of a new jurisdiction was settled upon, those who had opposed it turned their attention toward gaining the control of it. The after-results of this struggle of twenty-five years ago are felt to-day, and have been sufficiently serious to modify the actual benefits realized by the division. The candidates nominated for the bishopric were Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, D. D., then president of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., some of whose devoted students at St. James' College, Maryland, were among the leading spirits in the movement for the division of the diocese, and Rev. Frederic Dan Huntington, D. D., now bishop of Central New York. Dr. Kerfoot was elected on the first ballot by a large majority, and on the 25th day of January, 1866, he was consecrated first bishop of the diocese of Pittsburgh in Trinity church. The event created unusual interest throughout the church, being the first case in which a new diocese had been formed out of an old one since 1838, when Western New York was similarly formed, and also because of the long contest which had preceded the event. All eyes were turned toward the western part of the state, and the results of the experiment were warmly watched.

Bishop Kerfoot entered upon his duties with the energy and abilities which belonged to him. His decided character and deep religiousness made a strong impression from the start. But he found himself hampered from the outset by the want of unity in the counsels and feeling of the churchmen of Pittsburgh. The differences of opinion and the sharp controversies which had accompanied the formation of the diocese and the election of the bishop could not at once be put aside and forgotten, and for a long time interfered with the efficient working out of his plans. Very naturally his first thoughts were directed to the development of the church in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny. To this end, taking up the idea of Bishop Hopkins more than fifty years before, he projected the University of St. Augustine, with special reference to the training of young men for the ministry; but this plan fell through now, as it had in Bishop Hopkins' day. He also organized the City Missionary society, intended to carry on the work of church extension in the two cities, and the Church Guild, which it was hoped would bring into harmonious working the members of the various churches and accomplish much charitable work. A desirable building was purchased, in which the bishop had his office. There was a reading-room opened, a night school for young men and a free dispensary established. For a time everything seemed successful, and promised well; but within two years interest declined, and finally the whole thing was given

up. Bishop Kerfoot also reorganized and placed on a permanent footing the Bishop Bowman Institute, a school for girls, which had been started some time before with a rather uncertain future. Under the bishop's guidance it has grown to be the leading school of its kind in Allegheny county. The City Missionary society continued in active operation for about two years, doing some work among the poor and neglected, and establishing two missionary parishes, one each in Pittsburgh and Allegheny. The former has gone out of existence, after experiencing various fortunes; the latter has finally taken shape as Emmanuel Church, a rapidly growing parish, with a good prospect of future strength and influence. With all the drawbacks mentioned, however, the formation of the new diocese more than justified the hopes of those who had so earnestly pressed it. Although the numerical growth was not at once so large as might have been expected in the two great cities, there was an immediate effect in bringing out the dormant powers of the church, especially in its giving power. Not only was the support of the bishop easily provided for, but the missions of the diocese were liberally sustained and many new points occupied; the contributions of the churches for general missions and charities were at the same time enlarged, and the far larger part of the money for such purposes naturally came from Allegheny county, where the strength of the church was concentrated more than elsewhere. The rate of increase in the church in Pittsburgh was also more rapid after the separation, though not so striking as in some other parts of the diocese. In order to appreciate the difference we must remember how slow had been the growth in former years.

When Bishop Hopkins assumed the rectorship of Trinity Church, in 1825, there was but the one organization west of the mountains, with 40 communicants. The impulse given at that time continued long afterward, and in 1840 the number of organized parishes in Allegheny county had increased to five, three of them reporting 416 communicants. In 1850 the list of parishes is still the same, but four of them report 520 communicants. In 1860 there were twelve parishes, and the number of communicants reported by six of them was 750. If the other six had even as many as one-third of those reporting, there must have been 1,000 enrolled communicants at that date. Supposing these figures to be accurate, the period from 1850 to 1860 must have been the most prosperous in the history of the church in Allegheny county up to that time. Part of this growth was doubtless due to the rapid influx of population, for Pittsburgh and its suburbs had grown from a town of a few thousand inhabitants in 1825 to a great manufacturing city of 150,000 in 1860. But it is also true that, but for the new life that had sprung up in the church, her members might have been neglected and lost to her, as they had been before Bishop Hopkins' time.

When the diocese of Pittsburgh was formed, in 1865, there had been no increase of parishes since 1859, and the number remained stationary until 1868. But these same parishes had vastly developed in working power and in

liberality as well as in numbers. The communicants had grown to 1,300, and the money raised for all purposes, which had amounted to $15,000 or $16,000, now reached over $40,000. After 1868 the constant supervision of the bishop and his incessant labor began to have their effect upon the church in the whole county. New churches came rapidly into existence, and in a few years St. Stephen's Church, Sewickley; St. Thomas', Verona; The Nativity, at Crafton; St. Luke's, Bloomfield; St. Stephen's, McKeesport, and the Good Shepherd, Hazelwood, took their places on the list with the older parishes. Nor was this all. St. Andrew's Church replaced its plain old building with a costly structure, expending something over $100,000. In 1871 the cathedral-like edifice of Trinity, with its beautiful appointments, costing, with chapel, $200,000, took the place of the old church, which was the wonder of Bishop Hopkins' day. Christ church, which had already been remodeled, was still further improved, and Calvary, East Liberty, had to enlarge its proportions to accommodate its growing congregations. At the time of Bishop Kerfoot's death, in 1881, there were sixteen parishes and three mission stations in Allegheny county. The communicants had increased to more than two thousand five hundred, and the contributions had reached an annual average of over $70,000, rising as high as $150,000 in a single year. While these figures are very far from being as they should be, they show a vast improvement over the conditions which existed so long.

The great disappointment of Bishop Kerfoot's episcopate was the failure to establish institutions for education and for charity. He found when entering upon his work one such agency already existing, the Church Home for Aged Women and Children, and at the close of his life it remained the only diocesan charity. There are many reasons for this backwardness in a communion so wealthy and numerous as is the Protestant Episcopal Church in these cities, but the main one is that already mentioned, the want of thorough, united effort in such good works. The bishop labored faithfully to realize his hopes for founding a system of diocesan institutions such as the church should have, but the time for them was not yet. Aside from this obstacle it is to be remembered that the population of Pittsburgh and Allegheny is overwhelmingly Presbyterian and Methodist, and in some sense hostile to the Episcopal church. The tendency of these denominations is to organize charities and institutions of all sorts upon what is called the "non-sectarian" basis. The united wealth and social influence of these powerful bodies make it easy to carry out any project in which they unite, and as a consequence the members of the church, finding little help outside themselves in establishing their own institutions, fall in with the prevailing method, and "do in Rome as the Romans do." Enough has been contributed by members of the Episcopal church to such charitable projects to found at least a part of the institutions so much needed for her own work. The laborious and fruitful episcopate of Bishop Kerfoot ended at Meyersdale, Somerset county, July 10, 1881. He literally wore himself out in the service

of the church. His labors were incessant, and at the same time his highest pleasure. His memory will long be cherished in the diocese, and the monuments of his zeal and devotion will tell the story of his unselfish life to other generations.

Shortly after the death of Bishop Kerfoot a special convention was called to meet in Trinity church, Pittsburgh, and at this convention Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, D. D., rector of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, Pa., was chosen his successor. His consecration took place, as did Bishop Kerfoot's before him, on St. Paul's day, January 25, 1882, in Trinity church, Pittsburgh. Since his accession to the episcopate the growth of the church in the suburbs of Pittsburgh and Allegheny has been rapid, but it may confidently be said that it is only beginning to be something like what it should be and might have been years ago had it not been for the delay in giving to the church in the west a head of its own. The enormous immigration setting into the county of Allegheny during the past few years is very largely composed of iron-workers and glass-blowers, who have been brought up in the English church, and naturally belong to the Episcopal church of this country. The numbers of workmen of this class employed by the immense establishments at Braddock and Homestead and McKeesport, to say nothing of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, are counted by thousands. It requires only missionary clergy in sufficient numbers and a liberal outlay of money to form them into permanent congregations. But for want of prompt looking after, the habit of a lifetime and the associations of their old homes are broken up by their new surroundings, and to a great extent they become negligent and hard to win back when the church does look after them. There are, however, signs of a better state of things. Within the last two years, especially, churches and chapels have been rapidly multiplied among the working people in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, and missions begun which will before long have their own places of worship. Five such chapels have been opened within a short time, and one new church built in a totally different community, at Bellevue; while the new Church of the Ascension at Shadyside, now being erected, will add in a few years another strong and wealthy parish to the list. Everything points to a more rapid development of church extension in Allegheny county than at any previous time.

The statistics taken from the last convention journal are as follows: Families, 2,304; confirmations, 354; contributions, $105,233.83; value of church property, $601,000. Yet such statistics, impressive as they are compared with the state of things when the diocese was formed, give but little idea of what they would be if the church in Allegheny county could keep within its fold all who rightly belong to her by birth and baptism. In that case its members would be numbered by thousands where it counts hundreds now. There are districts in which there are from five to ten times the number reported, who ought to be upon its parish lists. And if its numerical strength were com-

William A. Herron

puted as the Roman Catholic church counts its membership, the Protestant Episcopal Church would stand at any rate third or fourth in the list of ecclesiastical bodies.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

PREPARATORY PERIOD—FROM 1784 TO 1796.

Well-authenticated tradition says that in the spring of 1784 Mrs. Mary Gaut, a widow and a devout Methodist, came from Ireland to the home of her brother, Thomas Wilson, in the village of Pittsburgh. Through her influence the three daughters of her brother were converted, and these four persons were accustomed to hold religious services, which consisted of singing, prayer and the reading of one of Mr. Wesley's sermons. These were probably the first Methodists in the village, and their meetings the first Methodist services. But the entire family shortly afterward removed to the neighborhood of Sandy creek, and even these private services ceased in Pittsburgh. The first Methodist sermon ever preached in Pittsburgh, of which we have any account, was by Rev. Wilson Lee, then one of the preachers on the Redstone circuit, who preached here in the autumn of 1785, in a tavern which stood on Water street, near Ferry street. But no organization or regular services followed this.

Pittsburgh circuit was organized in July, 1788, at a conference held at Uniontown, Pa., and Rev. Charles Conaway was appointed the preacher in charge. It embraced the village of Pittsburgh and the surrounding country. No members were reported at the close of the year. Mr. Conaway was re-appointed in 1789, and at the close of that year reported ninety-seven members; but there is good reason to suppose that none of these were in Pittsburgh. July 19, 1789, Bishop Asbury made his first visit to the place. His journal says: "Sunday, 19th.—Came to Rowlett's and dined; thence we set out and reached Pittsburgh, twenty-five miles; I preached in the evening to a serious audience. This is the day of small things. What can we hope? Yet what can we fear? I felt great love for the people, and hope God will arise and help and bless them. Monday, 20th. I preached on Isa. lv, 6, 7. Had great zeal, and the people were very attentive, but alas! they are far from God and too near the savages in situation and manners. We were not agreeably stationed at ——'s, who was continually drunk, and our only alternative was a tavern. Tuesday, 21st.—I spoke on 'The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.' We were crowded, and I felt more courage. The night before the rude soldiers were talking and dancing about the door, but now they were quiet and mute. This, I judged, might be owing to the interference of the officers or magistrates." He does not say where he preached. The day following this last entry he says: "We left Pittsburgh and came by the Allegheny river to Wilson's"—the same family, no doubt, as that mentioned as containing the first Methodists in Pittsburgh. No mention is made by him of any members in Pittsburgh. The preachers who served the circuit during this period were:

1788, Charles Conaway; 1789, Charles Conaway and Pemberton Smith; 1790, George Callahan and Joseph Doddridge; 1791, Charles Conaway; 1792, Valentine Cook and Seely Bunn; 1793, Daniel Hitt and Alward White; 1794, John Watson and Richard Ferguson; 1795, John Watson and Richard Ferguson; 1796, William Beauchamp. This brings us to the close of the preparatory period.

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST SOCIETY TO THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST CHURCH—1796 TO 1810.

Down to the opening of this period there was no organization in this city. If there were any converts they were so few that no church resulted. But we have positive proof of the organization of a class at this time, of the circumstances of which we now speak.

In the autumn of 1796 John Wrenshall, an Englishman, settled in Pittsburgh and became a leading merchant and one of its most honored citizens. His store was on the corner of Market and Fourth streets. He was the progenitor of a large and highly respectable family, some of whom are still here, and among the most distinguished of whom is his granddaughter, Mrs. Gen. Grant. Mr. Wrenshall, was a convert to Wesleyanism in England, and had been a local preacher there for sixteen years. He was a man of culture, deep piety and great earnestness, Finding no regular service here, and the people destitute of public religious privileges, he began to hold meetings himself. It would seem that the itinerants came now but irregularly, and the Presbyterian church was without a pastor or supplies from 1795 to 1799. Touching these events I quote Dr. F. S. DeHass, who has in his possession the manuscript journal of Mr. Wrenshall: "Soon after his [Wrenshall's] arrival, as there was no minister or preaching of any kind in the place, he commenced holding meetings in an old, deserted log church belonging to the Presbyterians, which stood on Wood street near Sixth avenue, where Dr. Herron's church was afterward erected. His first sermon was from the text, 'Worship God,' and appeared to be greatly enjoyed by all in attendance, many of whom were officers and soldiers from the garrison. The congregations continued to increase, but after a few Sabbaths a padlock was placed on the door of the log meeting-house, and a notice served on Mr. Wrenshall that he could not have the use of the house any longer. In this emergency Mr. Peter Shiras, who lived at the Point and owned the site of Fort Pitt, kindly offered a room in the barracks of the old fort, which was gladly accepted. Thus Fort Pitt, which cost Great Britain over $250,000, became the first regular place for Methodist preaching in Pittsburgh. The society, consisting at first of J. Wrenshall, wife and daughter, Peter Shiras and wife, Robert McElhenny and wife, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Chess and James Kerr, continued their meetings here for six years, when Mr. Shiras, in 1802, sold the fort to Gen. James O'Hara, and returned to his former home in New Jersey. The removal of Mr. Shiras, their class-leader, was a great loss to the church in the wilderness; but shortly

after, in the summer of 1803, Thomas Cooper, Sr., and his family, all Methodists, settled in Pittsburgh, and proved a great acquisition to the little flock, now without a fold."

The coming of Mr. Cooper put new life and hope into the little band. He became their class-leader, instead of Peter Shiras, and the newly organized band again began to grow. This event, because it is so marked in the history of Methodism in this city, is quite generally supposed to have been its origin, but this is an error. This was but a reorganization of the little band gathered in 1796, and which had been temporarily disturbed by the loss at the same time of its class-leader and its place of worship, and the origin of Methodism in Pittsburgh must be dated 1796, and not 1803. From this time forward it never halted in its march. Mr. Cooper was an Englishman who never lost his English accent, nor his love for Englishmen and English ways. He was a devout Christian, and a thorough and loyal Methodist who never faltered in his devotion to the church. He and John Wrenshall kept open houses to Methodist preachers and people.

Again I quote Dr. DeHass: "The circuit preachers still came round and held services every other Sabbath, in a small one-story frame building, or kitchen, back of Mr. Wrenshall's store, on the corner of Fourth and Market streets. The place, however, was too inconvenient and contracted; other places were tried with like results, until in 1806 Sabbath preaching was removed from Pittsburgh and given to McKeesport. In October, 1807, Nathaniel Holmes and Edward Hazelton, with their families, came from Ireland and connected themselves with our church. They were men of deep piety and sterling integrity, and added very much to the future growth of Methodism in Pittsburgh. In the meantime Thomas Cooper, Jr., who was living in a large stone dwelling on the corner of Smithfield and Water streets, opposite where the Monongahela House now stands, offered a room in his house for public services, and in 1808 Sabbath preaching was re-established in Pittsburgh, half the time by the itinerant ministers, the other half by the local preachers."

Let us pause a moment, for here are names which Pittsburgh Methodists should never forget, nor cease to honor. To John Wrenshall belongs the honor of founding Methodism in this city. He was born in England December 27, 1761; came to Philadelphia in 1794, and to Pittsburgh in 1796. For forty-one years he was a local preacher, the friend of Asbury, the bishop's host when in Pittsburgh, and the first minister ordained by him west of the Ohio. He was five feet nine inches in height, slender, a little stooped, of solemn countenance and great seriousness of manner, a fine musician; retained his English accent to the close. He died September 25, 1821, in a house still standing on Fourth avenue, corner of Chancery lane, and sleeps in a vault immediately in the rear of the First Presbyterian church, Wood street. To Thomas Cooper belongs the honor of bringing new life and hope to the discouraged little band in 1803, and becoming for years its leader. He, too,

was an Englishman, of medium height, tending to corpulency in after years, smooth face and bald head. He was a fine singer, and occupied a seat in the altar, and "raised the tunes." We would call him to-day the precentor. He was for years an alderman. He lived until the middle of the century, and was buried in the Methodist burying-ground on the hill. With these two Englishmen should be named the no less honored Irishmen, Nathaniel Holmes and Edward Hazelton, of the former of whom a sketch may be found elsewhere in this volume. Of Mr. Hazelton I have been able to learn almost nothing in the way of biography, but it is certain that he stood among the more honored of his brethren.

But during all this time the little flock was suffering, as we have seen, from the inconveniences and uncertainty of having no settled place of worship—no church. First they were in the little log church; then in the fort; then in the room in the rear of Mr. Wrenshall's store; at another time in the courthouse, and again in the residence of Thomas Cooper. They sorely needed some better accommodations. In 1803 Bishop Asbury visited Pittsburgh again. Under date of Saturday, August 27th, he writes in his journal: "We had a dry, sultry ride to Pittsburgh. In the evening William Page preached. In the courthouse I spoke on Sabbath day to about four hundred people. . . . I would have preached again, but the Episcopalians occupied the house. I come but once in twelve years, but they could not consent to give way for me. It is time we had a house of our own. I think I have seen a lot which will answer to build upon." No doubt he did, but the good bishop would find it far easier to see the lot which would be suitable than to find the money with which to purchase it and erect the needed church. At all events it was not secured, and seven years more passed by before this desired end was attained. Then it came.

The preachers during this period were: 1797–98, Robert Manly; 1799, James Smith; 1800, Nathaniel B. Mills and James Quinn; 1801, Lasley Mathews and Isaac Robbins; 1802, Benjamin Essex and Noah Fidler; 1803, William Page and Lewis Sutton; 1804, William Page and William Knox; 1805, Jesse Stoneman and Thomas Church; 1806, Thomas Daughaday; 1807, R. R. Roberts and J. W. Harris; 1808, Frederick Stier and Thomas Daughaday; 1809, William Knox and Abraham Daniels; 1810, William Knox and Joseph Langston.

FROM THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST CHURCH TO THE COMPLETION OF THE SECOND—1810 TO 1818.

In June, 1810, a lot was purchased for the first church built in the city. It was situated on Front street, now First street, nearly opposite the lower end of the present Monongahela House. The erection of a church was commenced at once, for on August 26th of that year Bishop Asbury preached on the foundation of it. His journal says: "Preached on the foundation of the new chapel to about five hundred souls. I spoke again at 5 o'clock to about

B. H. Jones

twice as many. The society here is lively and increasing in numbers." The building was a plain brick structure, 30x40 feet. We do not know certainly when it was completed, but probably in the autumn of 1810.

In this church the society continued to worship in peace and prosperity for eight years. But near the close of this period it had become too small, and a new and larger one became a necessity. Consequently, in May, 1817, three lots were purchased on the corner of Smithfield and Seventh streets, and the erection of a larger church commenced. It was completed the following year.

The preachers during this period were: 1811, J. M. Hanson; 1812, Jacob Dowel; 1813, John Swartzwelder; 1814, L. R. Fechtig; 1815, Jacob Dowel; 1816, Thornton Fleming and John McElfresh; 1817. Andrew Hemphill; 1818, Lewis R. Fechtig.

FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST CHURCH TO THE END OF THE CITY MISSION SYSTEM—1818 TO 1835.

The second church, on the corner of Smithfield and Seventh streets, was dedicated in 1818. It was a large brick structure, having a gallery on the two sides and one end, as was the custom of that day. In this "new meeting-house," as it was called for many years, the rapidly growing society worshiped and prospered. In 1819–20 the church was visited by a very extensive revival of religion under the ministry of Rev. Samuel Davis. The entire community was moved. Business was suspended to a considerable extent, and people gave their time and attention to the subject of religion. As a result many were added to the society, and the church was greatly strengthened. Not a few of those who belonged before and who were added at this time were persons of intelligence and culture, and, for that day, of considerable wealth. For years they had peace and prosperity. About 1827 a serious trouble arose. At this time the "Radical Controversy," which had begun to make itself felt in other parts of the church, appeared here, and this for a time was the theater of some of its fiercest struggles. It related to the economy of the church, which the "Reformers," as they called themselves, denounced as tyrannical and undemocratic. They demanded lay representation in all the councils of the church, and the radical modification, or abolition, of the offices of bishop and presiding elder. The "Old Side," or loyal party, were satisfied with the economy as it was, and stood up manfully for its defense. The discussions were heated, and party spirit ran very high. In May, 1829, the "Reformers" called Rev. George Brown, a minister then stationed at New Lisbon, Ohio, to come and organize them into a separate church. He accepted, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and came to Pittsburgh. After some preliminary skirmishing and preparation they formally organized as a separate church on the 24th of June, 1829.

From the time of Mr. Brown's arrival until some time in the following autumn the two parties both worshiped in the "new meeting-house," the

"Reformers" on Sundays at 9 A. M. and 3 P. M., and the "Old Side" at 11 A. M. and 7:30 P. M. But this joint occupancy was terminated before the holidays of that year, by Mr. Brown and his followers taking forcible possession of the church at the hour of service belonging to the "Old Side," and thus shutting them out. The excluded party then repaired to the Front Street church, and held services there. After waiting a reasonable time, and seeing no hopes of regaining possession of the property, the trustees who remained loyal sued out a writ of ejectment, in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, against those whom they claimed held the property illegally. When the case came to trial it was decided in favor of the plaintiffs. The defendants asked a new trial, which was refused, when they took an appeal. The supreme court decided, on grounds that need not here be traversed, that the Methodist Episcopal Church was not entitled to recover, and further, in brief, that the property was held by the trustees of the local corporation for the benefit of all its members. This included both of the parties to the controversy, so that, as far as they were concerned, they came out of court just where they went in. The court then granted a new trial, but at the same time advised the litigants to settle their differences amicably. This advice was accepted; committees were appointed on each side, and a division of the property was made by which the Smithfield Street church was returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the cemetery, where the Union station now stands, and $2,000 given to the Methodist Protestant Church, as it had now come to be called. Thus ended the trouble between the parties. This adjustment was made in August, 1833. The membership was pretty equally divided between the two churches, probably the larger part of the wealth going to the new organization.

During the pendency of this litigation the third church was erected—Liberty Street—still standing, on the corner of Liberty and Fourth streets. The lot was purchased from Anthony Dravo in March, 1831. The church was erected at once, but just when it was completed we can not now determine. Rev. Wesley Browning, the junior preacher at that time, was the architect, and personally superintended the work.

After the Smithfield Street Church was returned to their possession, in August, 1833, the members divided between the two places of worship, Smithfield Street and Liberty Street, according to preference, thus forming two societies; but the original corporation, chartered in 1828, remained unmodified, and continued to manage both properties until 1837, when, by an amicable arrangement, a division was made. Liberty Street Church procured a charter, and its property was transferred to it. Henceforth they were two separate societies in all respects, as they had been in all other respects since 1832.

In 1830, and probably as early as 1829, the members living in "Allegheny-town" were organized into a class, and soon after into two classes. The first leaders of these classes were George Adams and William Colledge. As their numbers and necessities increased public services were held for them by their pastors

from the Pittsburgh side. The first place of public worship was a frame building on what is now known as Park way. In November, 1831, a lot 60x60 feet, situated on Beaver street (now Arch street), was purchased from Hugh Davis. It was on the corner of what is now known as North Diamond street. On this a small frame building was erected, which was the first church owned by the denomination in that city. This was afterward enlarged, and served the purposes of the growing society until 1838, when, as we shall see presently, another was built. The first preacher appointed to "Alleghenytown" was Rev. Alfred Brunson, in July, 1832.

In 1831 a Sunday-school was organized in Birmingham, in Saulsbury Hall, situated where the present market-house stands. Soon after this a class was organized, and regular preaching was established as early as 1833 by the Pittsburgh preachers. The first church was built on a lot purchased from Hannah Duncan, situated on Bingham street, adjoining, on the south, the present Bingham Street church. Soon this became too small, and it was exchanged for an unfinished Presbyterian church on Center street, which the society completed and occupied until it bought the lot and built its present church, on the corner of Bingham and Thirteenth streets, in 1857.

When, therefore, we reach the close of this period, 1835, we find four churches—Smithfield Street, Liberty Street, Alleghenytown and Birmingham. We have also the Pittsburgh *Conference Journal*, now a little over a year old; and the nucleus of the book depository, started by Rev. Matthew Simpson. The church was now in the midst of the most successful decade, so far as the increase of membership is concerned, in its history, as may be seen by the statistical table appended.

The preachers during this period were: 1819–20, Samuel Davis; 1821, John Baer and T. J. Dorsey; 1822, Richard Tydings and H. B. Bascom; 1823, Richard Tydings; 1824, Asa Shinn; 1825, William Stevens; 1826, Charles Cooke; 1827, John Waterman and Robert Hopkins; 1828, William Lambden and Jacob Flake; 1829, Robert Hopkins; 1830, Z. H. Coston and Wesley Browning; 1831, Charles Elliott and Wesley Browning; 1832, Martin Ruter and Thomas Drummond; 1833, Martin Ruter, P. M. McGowan and Hiram Gilmore; 1834, T. M. Hudson, Matthew Simpson and William Hunter.

FROM THE END OF THE CIRCUIT SYSTEM TO THE PRESENT TIME—1835 TO 1888.

Up to the conference of 1835 all the churches in the city were included in one pastoral charge, or circuit, and each was served in turn by one of the three preachers assigned to the work. But at this conference this system was abandoned, and each church was made a station, having its own pastor. At the opening of the present period, therefore, we have Smithfield Street, Charles Cooke; Liberty Street, Matthew Simpson; Birmingham, G. D. Kinnear; Alleghenytown, C. Jones.

During the year the foundation of another organization was laid, in Bayards-

town, afterward the "old Ninth ward," which took the name of Wesley Chapel. The following year it was connected with Smithfield Street, and received regular preaching from the preachers of that station, Revs. Charles Cooke and Wesley Smith. A lot was purchased on the corner of Liberty and Seventeenth streets, on which a brick church was erected, and this soon became a strong, flourishing society. About 1882 this property was taken by the Penn Incline Company, and the society bought a lot on Penn avenue, near Eighteenth street, on which a small church was built, in which it now worships. In 1838 the South Common Church was organized in Allegheny, taking its name from the street on which it located its church, that which is now called Church avenue. The church was located a few hundred feet east of Federal street. Rev. Simon Elliott was the first pastor of the new organization. It continued to occupy this church until it was condemned as unsafe, in 1884, when services were held in a hall on Federal street for several years. In 1886, under the pastorate of Rev. J. J. McIlyar, a lot was purchased on Buena Vista street and the present brick structure commenced. The lecture-room was occupied first in May, 1887, and the audience-room in September, 1888. After the organization of South Common Church, the old church in Allegheny took the name of Beaver Street, which it retained until the name of the street was changed, in 1871, to Arch street, when it took that name. In 1838, under the pastorate of Rev. Robert Hopkins, the old frame building was replaced by a brick structure, which in turn was removed, in 1888, under the pastorate of Rev. W. F. Conner, to give place to the fine stone structure now occupying that site. East Liberty appears first in 1839, although services had been held there for some time before that. It was taken out of the circuit and made a station in 1863, with Rev. H. Sinsabaugh as preacher, and the name was changed to Emory in 1870. In 1840 a class of Primitive Methodists was organized at Temperanceville. Making but little progress, they connected themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1845, and became an appointment on the Chartiers circuit. This society became a station in 1848, with Rev. S. B. Dunlap as pastor. Their first church was built in 1850, and it was torn down in February, 1888, under the pastorate of Rev. H. C. Beacom, to make room for the elegant stone structure now nearing completion. What is now Fifth Avenue first appears in 1842 as Asbury Chapel. Its first church was located on Townsend street, and is still standing. In 1860 the society removed to its present location and took the name of Pennsylvania Avenue. About 1874 the name was changed to Fifth Avenue. Manchester became an appointment in 1846. What organization there may have been before this I can not tell. The first church was a small brick. In 1867 the location was changed to the present site and the name changed to Union Church. What is now Carson Street received its first appointment in 1848 as South Pittsburgh, although it is known that services were held there before that. In 1871, the railroad having taken its building, it removed to its present loca-

tion and took the name of Carson Street. The Ninth Ward Mission became an appointment in 1853. The church was located on Twenty-fifth street and the name changed to Trinity in 1856. Christ Church was organized in 1853 or 1854, and built its church at once. It received its first preacher, Rev. Alfred Cookman, in 1855. Its church was one of the first, if not the very first, of the fine churches, of modern architecture, built by the Methodists of this country. Lawrenceville received its first preacher in 1855. Its first church, a small frame, stood on the south side of Fortieth street, immediately below the schoolhouse. It is now occupied by the German Methodists. The present site was purchased in 1866, under the pastorate of Rev. J. W. Baker, and a subscription for the new church taken. The following year the church was built, under the pastorate of Rev. J. A. Miller. The lecture-room was dedicated in February, 1868, and the audience-room in June, 1869. Ames Church was organized by members withdrawing from Liberty Street, under the lead of "Auntie Adams," because of their opposition to instrumental music, in 1862. They received their first pastor in 1863. In 1876 the charter, property and all were removed to Hazelwood, and are still in the present church of that name at that place. Centenary, organized by the Ladies' City Mission, received its first appointment in 1866. Simpson Church, known as Duquesne Borough until 1869, first appears in 1858. The Sunday-school out of which Walton Church grew was organized in 1864. Some time afterward a class was formed, and in 1870 a preacher was sent. It was then called East Birmingham. The following year the church building was commenced and the name changed to Walton. The church was built one story high, covered in, and left with a heavy debt, under which the people struggled until April 1, 1881, when by the aid of the Pittsburgh Church Union it was paid off. After this Hon. Joseph Walton, who had already contributed liberally to the church, put the second story on, and finished it at his own expense. Wood's Run became an appointment in 1870; Oakland, 1872; St. Paul, 1872; Homewood, 1872; and Brown Chapel, then known as Squirrel Hill, in 1876. The lot was bought and the Mount Washington church built in the spring of 1866. The dedication took place June 10th of that year. A Sunday-school was started at once, and an organization effected. It was supplied by James Dermitt, a local preacher, until the conference of 1868, when it became a regular appointment. South Street was first known as Allentown. A class was organized in 1873. It was supplied with preaching by Jacob Shaffer, a local preacher, until 1876, when it became a regular appointment. The lots for the McCandless Street Church were bought about December, 1882, and the building erected during the following summer. In the autumn of that year the society was organized. Haven church was built in the summer of 1880, and a Sunday-school maintained in it from that time, and also occasional preaching. A class was organized on August 23, 1884, and a preacher assigned to it at the following conference.

In many of these cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine exactly when the first organizations took place, but the dates given will indicate the time at which they attained "churchhood," and are, therefore, sufficiently accurate.

Near the close of the year 1880 a movement was inaugurated which is worthy of special mention. For several years prior to this five of the churches—Walton, Carson Street, Oakland, Centenary and Fifth Avenue—had been embarrassed by heavy debts, which they were unable to pay. At the time above named the presiding elder of the district, who had just been appointed to that office, undertook the work of relieving them. The "Church Union," comprising all the churches of the city, was organized, and a central fund started, from which help should be given to the needy churches. The result was that in less than a year Walton and Oakland churches were freed from debt; Carson Street soon followed, and the other two were practically relieved within three years, although their debts were not finally all paid for some time afterward. Through the work of this Union, Pittsburgh Methodism was freed from debt.

MEMBERSHIP BY DECADES.

1790	97	1850	2,643
1800	478	1860	3,249
1810	428	1870	4,269
1820	597	1880	6,682
1830	633	1888	8,314
1840	1,868		

THE GERMAN CONGREGATIONS.

In the year 1838 the English Methodists requested Dr. William Nast, the father of German Methodism, to come to Pittsburgh and preach to the Germans. He accepted the invitation, came and preached daily for some time. He also distributed copies of the discipline of the church and religious literature. The result was a gracious revival, and the organization of two classes with a total of thirty-five members. Among the converts was Englehardt Reimenschneider, a talented young man, who afterward became an influential minister in this country and in Germany. At the close of the year the congregation numbered one hundred devoted and active members. Pittsburgh had at that time thirty-five thousand inhabitants and only one German church, that located on the corner of Smithfield street and Sixth avenue.

At first the services were held in a building which stood where the Union depot now stands. The new congregation met with great opposition, and was so greatly persecuted, especially by the Roman Catholics, that the police had to interfere. Nevertheless it prospered. Both the pastor and people were deeply spiritual and intensely earnest. The work spread over a large territory, reaching many of the neighboring counties. But, unfortunately, just at this time the cause met with a great misfortune in the strange defection of a

pastor, which retarded its growth for a time. But, providentially, Dr. Doering was sent as pastor in time to avert much of the damage and save the little band. He rented a chapel on Smithfield street, and the cause again began to prosper. Soon a church became a necessity, and the English Methodists aided them to get it. A lot was secured on Strawberry alley, in the rear of Seventh avenue, and a two-story brick building erected on it. But this location was a great mistake. The people would not go to a church in an alley. This mistake, and the misfortune alluded to above, greatly retarded the growth of the cause for many years.

In 1840 the work extended to Allegheny City, and grew so rapidly that a preacher was sent there that year, Rev. J. Smith. This congregation worshiped in a little frame church on Chestnut street until 1857, when it secured the now valuable property on Ohio street, corner of Union avenue. This soon became one of the most influential congregations in the Central German conference, but during the panic of 1873 it suffered severely in members and wealth, and only in the last few years has recovered its strength.

In 1840 a congregation was started on the South Side. Its first church was built upon the hill. Ten years afterward the little brick church was secured from the English church, on Bingham street, above Thirteenth. In 1882 the third church was built on Sixteenth street, near Carson.

A society was organized in 1868 by the members living in Lawrenceville. They bought the church formerly occupied by the Butler street English congregation, and still occupy it. This is a growing and enterprising church.

The first church, situated on Strawberry alley, removed to Ross street in 1870, into a building which had been occupied by the English Methodists. The property was good, but it was in the midst of an Irish Catholic population, so that very little advantage was gained by the change. In a few years this society was united with that on the South Side, the Bingham street and Ross street properties were both sold, and the proceeds put into the new Sixteenth street church.

A mission was organized in East Liberty in 1885, services being held at first in Hall & Nelson's hall, by Rev. C. Golder, of the Lawrenceville church. In the autumn of that year Rev. P. Magley was sent as pastor. He received much encouragement and help from the English congregation, under the lead of its pastor, Rev. A. L. Petty, D. D., and built a neat frame church on the corner of Park avenue and Carver street.

The Germans have, therefore, four churches, valued in the aggregate at $63,500, and all free from debt. Their present membership is 550. They are a liberal, energetic people. They are especially active in the distribution of religious literature, circulating four thousand copies of the *Hausbesucher*, a local paper, every month, carrying them from house to house.

COLORED CONGREGATIONS.

Until 1881 there was no congregation of colored people in either city belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church. There were a number of churches of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, but none of the Methodist Episcopal. But in the spring of that year Bishop Wiley sent Rev. Benjamin Myers from the Washington conference, and he organized the first society during that year. Their first place of meeting was on Spring alley. In 1882 Rev. G. W. W. Jenkins became pastor, and remained for three years. During his pastorate they removed from Spring alley to Eureka Hall, on Arthur street. From 1885 to 1886 Rev. Henry Sellers was pastor. After that Rev. J. H. Watson, the present pastor, was appointed. The congregation removed to the Franklin schoolhouse, and November 21, 1888, into its new church, then nearly completed, on Fulton street, corner of Clark.

About the year 1887 Rev. G. W. W. Jenkins commenced to hold services in the lower end of Allegheny City, and shortly afterward organized a society among them. It worshiped in the schoolhouse until the latter part of 1888, when a lot was purchased on Market street, and a neat little church commenced, which was dedicated January 13, 1889. The Pittsburgh church has 122 members and 125 Sunday-school scholars. The Allegheny church has 40 members.

METHODIST CHURCH STATISTICS.

Total membership of the two cities: English, 8,314; German, 550; colored, 162; total, 9,026.

THE PITTSBURGH CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.

In 1826 a resolution was introduced into the Pittsburgh Conference, by Revs. George Brown and Alfred Brunson, in favor of the establishing of a religious newspaper in Pittsburgh, but action was postponed until the next year. In the meantime the *Christian Advocate and Journal* had been started at New York, and the conference resolved to support it. But the matter did not rest long in this way. The question of a home paper continued to be agitated until 1833, when, on September 15th, the first number of the Pittsburgh *Conference Journal* was issued, with Rev. Charles Elliott as editor. No further issue was made, however, until February 1, 1834, when the regular publication of the paper commenced. It was known as the Pittsburgh *Conference Journal* up to October, 1840, when it was changed to the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*, which name it has borne ever since. Dr. Charles Elliott continued to edit it from the time it was started until June, 1836, when, having been elected by the general conference editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, he removed to Cincinnati. For two months Dr. Charles Cooke acted as editor, until Dr. William Hunter was elected in August, 1836. He served until August, 1840, when Dr. Charles Cooke was elected, and served

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until August, 1844. From 1844 to 1852, Dr. Hunter was again editor; 1852 to 1856, Dr. H. J. Clarke; 1856 to 1860, Dr. I. N. Baird; 1860 to 1872, Dr. S. H. Nesbit; 1872 to 1876, Dr. Hunter again; 1876 to 1884, Dr. Alfred Wheeler; 1884 to the present time, Dr. C. W. Smith, whose present term will expire in June, 1892.

The paper was started as the organ of the Pittsburgh Conference, and as the territory of that conference has been divided, it has continued to supply all the conferences formed out of it, viz.: The Pittsburgh, Erie, West Virginia and East Ohio conferences. Its chief circulation, therefore, is in Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio and West Virginia. It has had an honorable and successful career, and has been influential in aiding and directing the church in this region.

THE METHODIST BOOK DEPOSITORY.

Rev. Jacob Flake kept the first stock of Methodist books ever offered for sale in Pittsburgh, and probably opened it in the year 1831. But it was a private enterprise, and was wound up when Mr. Flake went elsewhere. In 1835 Rev. M. Simpson, afterward bishop, procured a stock of books and kept them for sale. Dr. Charles Elliott, then editor of the *Conference Journal*, soon afterward joined him in the enterprise, and the books were kept at his office. When, in 1836, Dr. William Hunter succeeded Dr. Elliott as editor, he took charge of the embryotic bookstore. In 1840 a regular depository was established, under the superintendency of Rev. Z. H. Coston, who was succeeded in a few years by Rev. Robert Hopkins, and he in turn by Rev. J. L. Read. At that time the agents were elected annually by the Pittsburgh conference. Dr. Read served until 1868, when Rev. Dr. Joseph Horner was appointed agent by the book-agents at New York, the depository having in the meantime passed into their hands. Dr. Horner still holds the position.

About the year 1868 a new and commodious building was erected on Smithfield street, corner Virgin alley, for the accommodation of the depository and the *Christian Advocate*, which is the property of the church.

This has been one of the most successful depositories in the church. It has done a large and profitable business. Its trade is drawn chiefly from Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio and West Virginia, to all of which territory it supplies the most of its Methodist literature.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

The history of the Baptist denomination is a history of its churches. The nearly three million Baptists of the United States are bound together by no ecclesiastical organization. They are not independent, but interdependent, joined in Christian endeavor, and coöperating in religious and educational enterprises. Their growth is more affected by contingencies than in the case of those of other faiths. Depending largely on individual enterprise and local

influences, they take root and grow where, in the movements of population, the seeds have fallen and the environment favors and fosters. In Allegheny county, and especially in the centers of population, immigration was not favorable to the early planting or the vigorous growth of the faith of this people; and hence, in comparison with other parts of our country, the progress of the denomination has not been rapid, and in our teeming population the percentage of Baptists is very small. In attempting to give a history of the denomination in this county we will endeavor to adopt, as the guiding thought, the figures employed, and note the fall of a seed here and there, and in the cities regard the growth as the tracing, from the beginning, of the continuity of the trunk, and putting into the picture a sufficient number of the principal branches to give some conception of the whole growth. Many things must be passed without notice, and wearisome detail avoided. At the close of our sketch we will, in a brief summary, give the present numerical strength of the denomination in the included limits.

The pioneer Baptist ministers in Western Pennsylvania were John Sutton and John Corbly. The first church organized by them was at Big Whitely, Greene county, in 1770. This church still enjoys vigorous life. In 1870 interesting centennial services were held. Drs. Weston, of Crozer Theological Seminary, and Woodburn, of Allegheny City, delivered discourses. A vivid picture of that early time was presented in the well-preserved records. At that early date churches were also organized at Uniontown, Fayette county, and at Turkey Foot, near the modern Confluence, Somerset county. The early pioneers endured hardships in the services they rendered to the little bands to whom they ministered. Rev. John Corbly, in addition to the hardships of frontier life, had a trial of peculiar severity. On a Sunday morning he was on his way to a service at Big Whitely, about half a mile from his cabin. He was absorbed in the subject of his discourse, and lingered so that his wife and five children walked some distance in advance of him. He was aroused from his reverie by the shrieks of his family, ran to their relief, and found that they were attacked by a number of Indians. He was unarmed, and his noble wife called to him to make his escape, which, although closely pursued, he succeeded in doing. His family were all left for dead by the savages. Two children, however, though tomahawked and scalped, finally recovered, and his descendants are numbered among the good citizens of Greene county.

The first church in Allegheny county was organized November 10, 1773. It is known as the Peter's Creek Church, and is located at Library, about twelve miles south of Pittsburgh. It celebrated its centennial with appropriate services in 1873. It now occupies its third meeting-house, which was erected a few years ago, and is one of the most commodious and beautiful rural church edifices in the county. Rev. I. K. Cramer is the pastor, and the organization is in a flourishing condition. Among those who have served as pastors during the life of this church are the names of many of the pioneer

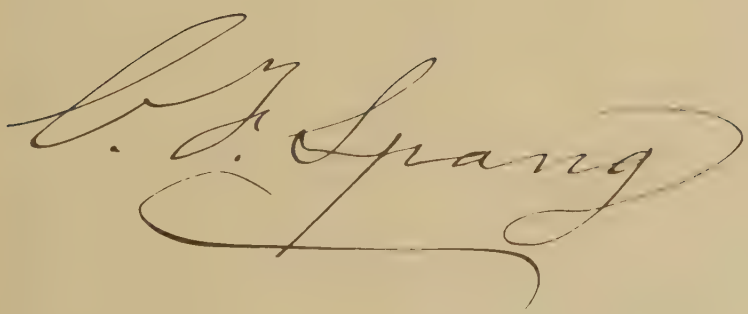
ministers of Western Pennsylvania. David Philips, whose descendants form a large circle, was among the first ministers. Dr. James Estep closed his long and eminently useful life as pastor of this people; Rev. William Shadrach, D. D., who still lives at an advanced age, and whose name is linked with the history of many churches and institutions in Pennsylvania, began his ministry with this church.

The first church in Pittsburgh was organized in April, 1812. The city then had about five thousand inhabitants. The nation was agitated by preparation for the conflict with England, and the members of the little community at the head of the Ohio river were doing their share in furnishing men and material for the war. The church was independent in its origin. It was not an outgrowth of earlier churches, but the planting of a new seed. Some of the honored ministers of the Redstone association, however, were present and assisted in the organization. This was the first "association" west of the mountains, and the second in point of age in the state. It embraced a large territory, and in the year 1809 had on its roll thirty-three small churches, with an aggregate membership of 1,323. The Redstone association is now extinct. Some of the churches connected with it were "hyper-calvinist" in doctrine and "anti-mission" in spirit, and these have passed away, and with them the association to which they adhered. New associations now occupy the territory. The Beaver association was formed in 1809, and the Monongahela association in 1833. The First Church, Pittsburgh, withdrew from the Redstone association, and was a member of the Monongahela association, to which all the churches in Allegheny county belonged until 1839, when the Pittsburgh association was formed. In the latter organization all the churches in the county now unite in coöperative effort. The constituent members of the First Church, Pittsburgh, representing six families and numbering about twelve, had come from Old and New England, including Rev. Edward Jones, who was their first pastor. The church after its organization had no edifice for some time, but worshiped in private houses and rented halls. Its early history was varied by alternating periods of prosperity and adversity. The great influence of the celebrated Alexander Campbell, who was the founder of the denomination now known as "Disciples," or "Christians," caused trouble, and encouraged defection in the membership of many Baptist churches, and this influence was felt in Pittsburgh. The church secured its first charter in 1822, and heading the list of charter members is the name of Sidney Rigdon, who became afterward a noted man from his association with Joseph Smith in the early history of Mormonism. It is generally regarded as an established fact that the "Book of Mormon" was given to the world through Rigdon's coöperation. The unpublished work of Solomon Spalding, entitled the "Manuscript Found," it is asserted, came into the possession of Rigdon, who was a printer by trade, and was used in the composition of the "Book of Mormon." It is, however, claimed by lifelong friends of Rigdon that he was incapable of deliberate

fraud. The later years of his life were passed in comparative obscurity, and he died, respected by those who knew him, in 1876, at Friendship, Allegany county, N. Y. Sidney Rigdon was born and reared on a farm in this county, and when quite young was baptized by Rev. David Philips, and became a member of the Peter's Creek Church. He united with the First Church, Pittsburgh, in 1822, and became pastor, but before the end of a year trouble arose, and he was excluded from the ministry by a council of Baptist ministers for teaching "baptismal regeneration" and other erroneous doctrines. From causes which have been indicated the growth of the church was retarded.

When Rev. Samuel Williams became pastor, in 1827, the church had only thirty-six members, although there were doubtless many more Baptists in the community. During the pastorate of Mr. Williams, which continued for twenty-eight years, the church prospered; a large number was added to their fellowship. In 1843 four hundred and fifteen members were reported, and many had been dismissed to form new organizations. Rev. Samuel Williams exerted a wide influence, and was an early and ardent advocate of anti-slavery principles. His later years were passed in New York city, where he died in 1887, after sixty-three years' service in the ministry, and was buried in this city.

Almost all the existing churches in the two cities and suburban localities have had in their constituency original members of the First Church, and some that were formed in the past have become extinct, or reunited with the parent body. In 1841 the Grant Street Church was organized, with Rev. N. G. Collins as pastor. Among the leaders in this enterprise were some who have long been identified with the business interests and the religious and philanthropic movements in this community, such as B. L. Fahnestock and John Owens, recently deceased, and Prof. L. H. Eaton, the active and energetic principal of the Forbes public schools. During the pastorate of Rev. T. C. Teasdale, in 1846, the celebrated Elder Jacob Knapp visited the city and preached a series of sermons in the Grant Street Church; two hundred and eight persons were baptized, and immediately succeeding this large accession a number withdrew and formed the Berean Church. After four years of separate life the two interests, the Grant Street and Berean, united and assumed the name of the Union Church. This church had a very creditable history, numbered in its membership many of the prominent workers of the cities, and had for its pastors many able men, including Rev. Drs. Shadrach, Dickinson, Sawyer, Young and Herr. In 1873 a basis of union was adopted, and the Union and First churches united to form the Fourth Avenue Church. The united body, according to agreement, was to occupy the building of the First Church, and the property of the Union Church was sold, and is now occupied by the Reformed Presbyterian congregation, of which Rev. N. Woodside is pastor. Of the proceeds of this sale $10,000 was invested as a church extension fund of the Pittsburgh association. The property of the First Church alluded to is located on



Fourth avenue. The first brick building occupied by the First Church was erected in 1833, on the corner of Grant street and Third avenue, at a cost of $4,000. This building was destroyed in the great fire of 1845, and was replaced, at an expense of $8,000, by a building which was sold and is now occupied by a Jewish congregation. Under the pastorate of Rev. J. S. Dickerson, D. D., a lot was purchased on Fourth avenue, and a stone chapel was erected, at a cost, including lot, of $40,000, and was dedicated in 1867. Under the pastorate of Dr. Dickerson and his successor, Dr. Rowland, the church prospered, and when the latter resigned to assume the pastorate of the Tenth Church, Philadelphia, the "union" to which allusion has been made was effected. Rev. R. W. Pearson, D. D., entered on the pastorate of the united body—the Fourth Avenue Baptist Church—in 1873. He was a very eloquent orator, and soon the chapel was insufficient to meet the demands of the increasing congregation, and the main edifice, fronting on Ross street, a magnificent structure with a seating capacity of 1,300, was erected, at a cost of $86,000. It was dedicated November 28, 1876, Rev. E. G. Robinson, D. D., LL. D., president of Brown University, preaching the sermon. During the pastorate of Rev. J. H. Hartman, who succeeded Dr. Pearson in 1879, the entire remaining debt on the property was liquidated.

Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes became pastor in 1882, and during his ministry the church was greatly strengthened, and its working forces developed to an extent unknown in its former history. Large amounts have been given to the national societies of the denomination and expended in local work. A chapel was erected at Linden Grove, Oakland, and a prosperous mission established, which is under the charge of an associate pastor. After the resignation and removal of Mr. Barnes to Newton Centre, Mass., the church called to the pastorate Rev. Howard B. Grose, of New York, who, with the associate pastor, Rev. E. T. Fox, late of Erie, Pa., has undertaken the work in this venerable church, that has maintained a continuous life through seventy-six years. The present members number 631. In the records of this body are the names of prominent citizens and the ancestors of those who have exerted a large influence in the community. Of the living representatives in the present membership the names of Everson, Porter, Lippincott, Lincoln and King and many others might be enumerated.

In 1835 fifteen persons were dismissed from the First Church, who united in an organization in the borough of Alleghenytown, which had at that date a population of 4,000. The now venerable Dr. Shadrach was then a student at the Western Theological Seminary, situated on what is now known as Monument hill, and became the pastor of the infant church. Dr. James Estep and Rev. Samuel Williams assisted at the organization. This church has had a continuous history for fifty-three years. It was named the First Baptist Church of Alleghenytown, and it is now known as the Sandusky Street Baptist Church. The church occupied at first a room in the Pittsburgh Academy

building, which was located in the present park grounds, near Marion avenue. Very soon a frame building was erected on Robinson street. In 1843 a building was erected on Sandusky street, which has been remodeled several times, and is still occupied by the church. In the early records of this organization are the names of prominent workers, such as Wright, Trevor, Lippincott, Morgan, Beck and others. Faithful pastors served the church in the intervening years, such as Collins, Downer, Taylor and Sawyer; but the church has enjoyed the largest and most constant prosperity since 1859, when Rev. A. K. Bell, D. D., who died in 1888, entered upon his work in this field. Dr. Bell was a man of great energy and devotion, and has filled a large place in the history of the Baptists here and elsewhere. During his pastorate a large number were added to the membership, and the work of the church was enlarged and extended. He resigned in 1870, and was succeeded by the present pastor, B. F. Woodburn, D. D., who is now in the nineteenth year of his pastorate. The church is in a prosperous condition, and has a membership of 454.

Among the names of those enrolled in the later history of the church are many who were and are well-known citizens, such as Hoskinson, Bown, Eaton, Torrance, Myler and Cooper. Representatives of this church in the persons of former members are found in many organizations. Two young ladies, Miss Zillah Bunn and Miss Agnes Whitehead, are now in Burmah as missionary teachers.

In 1867 the constituent members of the Nixon Street Church, Allegheny City, were dismissed from the Sandusky Street Church. This body occupies a promising field. Among its ministers Rev. A. G. Kirk, the first pastor, and Rev. J. S. Hutson served longest in the pastorate, and have been identified with its most prosperous and progressive years. Rev. John Brooks is the present pastor, and the membership is 172.

In 1868 sixteen colored persons who had been members of the Sandusky Street Church were dismissed, and formed the first colored Baptist church in the county. Since that date five additional organizations have been effected. These churches, named in the order of their organization, all support pastors, and are prospering: Green Street, Allegheny, Rev. J. J. Jones, pastor, membership 66; Ebenezer, Pittsburgh, Rev. J. H. Pryor, pastor, membership 239; Tabernacle, Allegheny, Rev. J. C. Taylor, pastor, membership 94; Antioch, Pittsburgh, Rev. J. H. Robinson, pastor, membership 39; Siloam, E. E., Pittsburgh, Rev. W. Duvall, pastor, membership 130; Shiloh, Allegheny, Rev. I. Lafayette, pastor, membership 35.

In 1874 a church was organized on Mount Washington, which grew out of a mission school established largely through the efforts of Mr. W. T. Bown, a deacon of the Sandusky Street Church. This church has had a number of faithful ministers, including Revs. Messrs. McKinney, Blaine and Macrory, their late lamented pastor; Rev. George T. Street is their pastor-elect. In

this work some well-known Baptists have shared, such as F. J. Rebbeck, clerk of the Pittsburgh association, and Prof. Coffin, of the Western University.

In 1826 a Welsh church was organized in Pittsburgh from members dismissed from the First Church. For a number of years Rev. William Owens was pastor, conducting services in the Welsh language in their edifice on Chatham street. New life has been infused into this body in recent years under the ministry of their present pastor, Rev. D. R. Davies. They have erected a new edifice on the old site on Chatham street, and have built a chapel and conduct services at Homestead.

In 1862 a German Baptist church was organized, which has prospered. They have a commodious and tasteful edifice on Nineteenth street, South Side. They are distinguished for their devotedness and for the amount of their benevolent contributions. Rev. E. J. Deckman, recently deceased, was their pastor for a number of years, and during his life was called by his associates in the ministry "the model pastor of the Pittsburgh association." Rev. L. H. Donner is the present pastor, and the church numbers 235.

In 1876 two churches, known as the South Pittsburgh and East Birmingham churches, united and took the name of the Union Church. During the pastorate of Rev. William Hildreth, D. D., the church erected a convenient and commodious edifice. The main audience-room is built in amphitheater style, and is seated with chairs. Rev. J. W. Riddle, their present pastor, entered upon his work in 1884. The growth and efficiency of the church in all departments have been constant in recent years. A mission has been established at Allentown, and a chapel erected.

In 1859 a church was constituted, now known as the Thirty-seventh Street Church, Pittsburgh. It has a good edifice, and a membership of 379. It occupies a field second to none in its importance. Rev. A. I. Bonsall was pastor when the present edifice was built. Rev. T. H. Chapman served the church for the longest period as pastor.

In 1873 a church was organized and an edifice partly completed on Penn avenue, East End. Rev. J. D. Herr, D. D., was the first pastor of this new interest, and was succeeded by Rev. J. S. Wrightnour. After several years' efforts, owing to the unfavorable location of their edifice, and in view of its incomplete condition, the property was disposed of so as to liquidate their indebtedness. Property has been purchased on Shady avenue, and the church organized under the name Shady Avenue Church. Under the leadership of their present pastor, Rev. E. D. Hammond, they are worshiping in a hall, while a new edifice is in process of erection. They number 270 members, and in their fellowship there are and have been some of the most efficient workers of the denomination, such as Fahnestock, Verner, Lusk, Van Gorder, King, Black and Morris.

Among the churches of this county none is more worthy of mention than the McKeesport Baptist Church. In the early records it appears under the

name of the "Forks of Yough Church," and it was organized in 1820. Its present pastor, Rev. William Codville, D. D., has been indefatigable in his efforts during the twelve years of his pastorate, and has reaped large results. It owns a fine property, including the church edifice, a parsonage and a mission chapel. It numbers four hundred members, including some of the most reputable and influential citizens, such as Hon. A. B. Campbell and Messrs. Penny, Baillie and Riggs. Through the coöperation of an efficient body of workers three mission interests are maintained.

In the early records of the Baptists a church at Deer creek is mentioned. This early organization is now represented by the Sharpsburg Baptist Church, with a membership of 198 and a good church edifice. Faithful men have filled the pastorate of this church: Revs. John White, David Williams, T. J. Lewis and S. Drummond. Rev. Alex. McArthur has recently removed from the field. In the membership appear the names of persons of great worth and influence, such as Crowther, Campe, Ingham and others.

Of the more recent offshoots of the denominational tree we can not speak. The churches at Mansfield, Braddock, Fifth avenue, Pittsburgh, Homestead, Sewickley, Fair Oaks, Industry and Coultersville, as well as the church at Elizabeth, which was organized in 1842, must be omitted to avoid unduly lengthening our sketch.

The following statistical summary has been prepared to represent the existing condition of the churches: There are in Allegheny county 27 Baptist churches, with 25 church edifices, valued at $318,100, and having a seating capacity of 9,660. The total membership of the churches is 4,544.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

While the details of the settlement of Lutherans in Allegheny county are unfortunately wanting, it is certain that a considerable number of them had found a home here more than a hundred years ago; for in 1783 Pittsburgh was visited by a learned German traveler by the name of Schœpf, who gathered information about his countrymen in America, and published the result in two volumes. He states that in Pittsburgh he saw a small church which was used alternately by the Lutherans and the Reformed. And further proof is found in the fact that the heirs of William Penn donated a large lot on the corner of Smithfield street and Sixth avenue to "the two German religious communions or congregations in the aforesaid town of Pittsburgh and its vicinity, one of the said communions or congregations being known and distinguished by the name or designation of the Protestant Evangelical Church, which adheres to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and the other of the said communions or congregations known and distinguished by the name or designation of the Protestant Reformed Church." This document is dated in the year 1787. For many years the two congregations worshiped under the pastoral care of one minister, whom they jointly elected and supported Some

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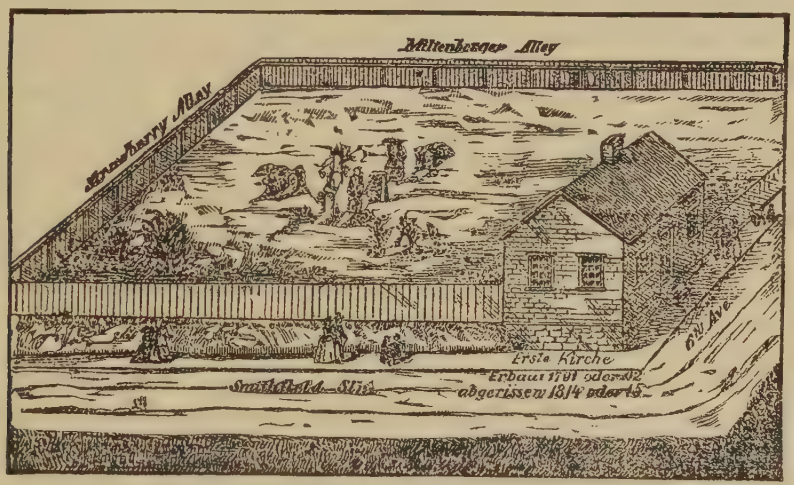
of these were Lutheran ministers, as Revs. Steck, Jacob Schnee and Henry Geissenhainer. But, in the course of time, this arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and the Lutherans longed and labored to secure a spiritual home which they could call their own.

THE PARENT CHURCHES.

The First English Evangelical Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh.—As early as 1833 the Lutherans residing in Pittsburgh and vicinity were visited by Revs. D. P. Rosenmiller, G. Yeager, Thomas Lape and others, each of whom held a few services with them. But no serious effort to organize a distinctively Lutheran congregation was made until the winter of 1836 and 1837, when Rev. F. Heyer, of apostolic spirit, was sent to this city from the eastern part



THE OLD UNITED EVANGELICAL CHURCH.
[From cut in the Pittsburgh *Commercial Gazette.*]

of the state to labor among the German Lutherans. On his arrival he entered earnestly into his work. Almost immediately an effort was made to induce him to hold English services, and to endeavor to organize an English congregation. The good man gave his consent, and accepted a call to labor in that direction. Public services were now held regularly, and on January 15, 1837, the congregation was formally organized. The first entry in the record is as follows: "Pittsburgh, January 15, 1837.—Inasmuch as circumstances seem to require the immediate formation of an English Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the city of Pittsburgh, under the care of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania, the following-named persons made application to have their names recorded and to be considered as members of the church to be organized." The names of twenty-two persons are appended to this brief paragraph, and the first on the list is that of George Weyman, of blessed memory. The following officers were elected: Elders George Weyman and F.

A. Heisely, Deacons Jeremiah Ritz and W. J. Anshutz, and they were installed in the evening by the pastor, after he had preached a sermon to the little flock. The first communion service was held on Easter Sunday, March 26th of the same year. Rev. Heyer served the congregation a little more than a year, and at the same time ministered to the German Lutherans of this city and Allegheny. The services in both languages were held at first in the Unitarian church on Smithfield street, and afterward in the Second Associate Reformed church. But this privilege was not of long duration, and the services were next held in a schoolhouse, where the Monongahela House now stands, at the corner of Smithfield and Water streets. But soon they were obliged to give up this refuge also, and then they assembled in private houses. But they were a second time granted the free use of the Unitarian church by the kindness of Mr. Benjamin Bakewell, who owned it, the church being at that time without a pastor. This privilege was continued until June, 1838, when the Unitarians secured a pastor. But when, in the course of a few months, he retired from his position, the Lutherans were again permitted to use the church for their public services. When they were again compelled to leave this church they held their services in the old courthouse, which is described as forbidding and gloomy to the last degree. They occupied it only because they could find no other place, having been refused the use of other churches. Here the services were continued more than two years. January 24, 1838, a committee, consisting of George Weyman, Jeremiah Ritz and F. A. Heisely, was appointed "to look around for a building lot." After a long search they finally bought the lot at the corner of Seventh avenue and Strawberry alley, now Montour way, for $8,400. October 2, 1838, under the guidance of Rev. John N. Hoffman, the following action was taken: "Resolved that, in reliance upon divine aid, we forthwith commence operations in view of the erection of an English Evangelical Lutheran church."

Rev. Heyer was succeeded by Rev. Emanuel Frey, who served the congregation only a short time on account of failing health. He was called November 19, 1838, and closed his ministry before the end of the year. After fruitless efforts and weary waiting for a pastor, one was secured in the person of Rev. John McCron, who began his labors here May 9, 1839. He was cordially received by the congregation, and, on this very day, it was resolved to proceed with the building of a church. The new pastor was requested to seek aid for this purpose from the older churches in the east, and he made several such journeys to collect funds. The erection of the new church was begun in the spring of 1840, and finished the following October, at a cost of $14,000. It was consecrated on the first Sunday in that month, during the convention within its walls of the West Pennsylvania synod. The first sermon was preached in the basement, by Rev. Augustus H. Lochman. The sermon at the consecration was delivered by Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, who was assisted by Rev. C. P. Krauth, Sr., D. D., and the pastor, Rev. J. McCron. The con-

vention of the synod and the consecration services produced a very happy effect on the congregation and the community. But two years later the congregation was again left without a pastor by the resignation of Rev. McCron, which took effect November 9, 1842. His departure was deeply regretted.

The purchase of the lot and the building of the church involved the little flock in great financial trouble, under which they struggled for a number of years. But, by the grace of God, their earnest efforts and self-sacrificing gifts enabled them ultimately to free themselves from the oppressive burden. For this deliverance great praise is due to George Weyman for his sound judgment, earnest personal efforts and extraordinary liberality, and to his wife, who encouraged him in every good work.

The next pastor was Rev. William H. Smith, of Charleston, S. C., whose ministry continued from April, 1843, to March 4, 1844, when he withdrew on account of ill health. He was a good and faithful man. But the vacancy did not last long; for, on the 22d day of April following, Rev. William A. Passavant, of Baltimore, was elected pastor, and entered on the discharge of his duties on the 1st of June. He served the congregation until May 1, 1855, with great zeal and marked success. The membership was largely increased, and the entire debt provided for. A most worthy successor was found in the person of Rev. Charles P. Krauth, Jr., of Winchester, Va. He was elected September 1, 1855, and assumed charge of the congregation one month later. He rendered this congregation and the Lutheran Church at large invaluable service, and left on both an indelible impression of his own exalted conceptions of the right faith and life of the true church. He was a giant among great men. And when he resigned his office, September 12, 1859, and moved to Philadelphia, the people deeply regretted their great loss, and followed him to the close of his life with their thoughts and affection, and when he died they draped their chancel and bent their heads in sincere sorrow.

The next pastor was Rev. Reuben Hill, who was called November 16, 1859, and served his people until July 1, 1866. He proved himself to be a faithful, laborious and affectionate pastor. His whole heart was devoted to the welfare of the congregation. Rev. Samuel Laird was elected pastor January 30, 1867, and assumed the office on the 1st day of the following May, and remained pastor until August 1, 1879. He was a strong man, and his ministry was very acceptable to the congregation and fruitful of happy results, and his departure was the source of sincere grief. November 19, 1879, the congregation elected Rev. Edmund Belfour, of Chicago. He began his ministry February 1, 1880, and is the present incumbent.

The long-cherished desire and purpose of the congregation to build a new church edifice was brought up for definite action by the proposition to purchase the lot at the corner of Grant street and Strawberry alley, having a frontage of 120 feet on Grant street and running back to Foster alley. At a congregational meeting held August 12, 1885, the council was instructed to make the

purchase, and this was consummated on the 4th day of the following month, at a cost of $55,900. In the following December the congregation sold a property, which it had owned for a number of years, on the corner of Penn avenue and Ninth street, for $75,000. On the newly acquired lot the congregation has built a magnificent gothic church and chapel of gray stone, with tower and spire. The interior is finished in hardwood. It has a large and superior organ, and the chancel is adorned with sedilia, lecturn, pulpit, marble altar and reredos, and a duplicate of the baptismal font, known as the "Angel of Baptism," made by the famous sculptor, Thorwaldsen, for the Metropolitan Lutheran Church in Copenhagen, Denmark. The consecration of the noble edifice took place on Sunday, November 4, 1888. The pastor, Rev. Edmund Belfour, D. D., presided, and performed the act of consecration, while the sermon on the occasion was preached by Rev. Samuel Laird, D. D., and other parts of the services were performed by Revs. Reuben Hill and John A. Kunkelman, D. D. The cost of the church was $90,000.

This congregation has been exceptionally liberal in its benefactions, in aiding missions, the poor, the orphans, the sick, and in the educational work. It has sent twelve young men into the ministry. Its life-blood is now flowing in congregations in Allegheny City, East Liberty, the South Side, Braddock, McKeesport and many other places. It has two Sunday-schools, two benevolent societies and a fund for the poor. The congregation adheres strictly to the faith of the Lutheran Church, as taught in its confessions, and to its conservative life and work.

The First German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh.—It has already been stated that Rev. Heyer labored among the German as well as the English Lutherans. The German services were held in the same places as the English, and therefore we need not name them again. Just one week after the organization of the English congregation, namely, January 22, 1837, the indefatigable pastor organized the first German Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Pittsburgh. The church council was installed February 5, 1837, and consisted of the following members: Elders Michael Thomas and Matthias Kinzer, Deacons Jacob Kuntz, George Grossmann, Matthias Reuschler and George Stegmeier.

Want of means prevented the congregation from securing a church property at an earlier day, but on the 14th of July, 1839, they resolved to build a church. They bought a lot on the corner of Sixth avenue and Grant street for $4,500, and consecrated the new church April 5th of the same year. They immediately opened a parochial school in the basement of the new building. Rev. Heyer resigned his office in the autumn of 1840, and went to another field of labor. He was succeeded by Rev. Friedrich Schmidt, who was elected October 11th of the same year. It was during his ministry that, January 17, 1841, the congregation was incorporated. He was succeeded by Rev. Gottfried Jensen, who served with fidelity until his death, which occurred February 19,

1847. His remains rest in the cemetery of the church, and the spot is marked by a monument erected by the congregation. During the next four months the pastoral services were performed by neighboring ministers, Revs. Mechling, Madulet and Hoelsche. June 10, 1847, Rev. Jacob Vogelbach was chosen pastor, and continued in the office three years.

But the prosperity and growth of the congregation were such that a larger church was needed. In January, 1848, it was resolved to purchase a lot on the corner of Wylie avenue and High street, for the sum of $6,000. The work of building the new church was prosecuted with energy, and it was consecrated on the first Sunday in Advent. The old church property was sold to a Baptist congregation for $5,500.

Rev. Vogelbach was succeeded by Rev. J. G. Zeumer, November 18, 1850. During the pastorate of the latter greater efforts were made to strengthen the inner organization of the congregation by the adoption of very strict rules regulating all its spiritual affairs. It was decided, among other things, that persons belonging to secret societies must not be admitted to membership in the congregation, and this rule is rigidly enforced to this day. The pastor resigned June 10, 1856. During the vacancy the congregation was served by Rev. A. Ernst. At this time the practice of hearing "trial sermons" before electing a pastor was abolished. In the spring of 1857 Rev. E. A. Brauer, of Addison, Ill., assumed the pastoral office. Various changes were now introduced in the services of the church, and the charter and constitution were altered. A provision put into the charter will sooner or later make serious trouble for the congregation. It is that the divine services of the church must never be conducted in any other language than the German.

The ministry of Rev. Brauer was very acceptable, and it was with great regret that the congregation gave him up, when, in the spring of 1863, he went to St. Louis, and became professor of theology. He was very soon succeeded by Rev. J. A. F. W. Mueller. During his ministry the congregation was compelled to seek another location for church, schoolhouse and parsonage. A railroad company had built a tunnel which ran under the church and ruined it. The company paid the damages inflicted on the church only after a prolonged and expensive litigation, when compelled by the court. For a time the congregation worshiped in Lafayette Hall, on Wood street, and when that was destroyed by fire they were granted the use of the Third Ward schoolhouse, on Grant street. A large lot was bought for $25,000, on High street, near Fifth avenue, on which the congregation erected a large gothic church, a three-story schoolhouse and a parsonage. The consecration took place August 9, 1868. The name of the church is now Trinity Church.

In 1871 Rev. Mueller was succeeded by Rev. J. P. Beyer, and he was followed in 1880 by Rev. F. A. Ahner, the present incumbent, who is a very faithful pastor. While the congregation is very large, four other congregations have gone out from it.

St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Allegheny City.—The organization of this congregation is immediately connected with that of the two preceding ones, and is the work, under God, of Rev. F. Heyer. At first the German Lutherans of Allegheny attended the services held by him in Pittsburgh. When the Germans of the two cities began to discuss the project of building a church, a difference of opinion arose in regard to the location. And when the brethren in Pittsburgh insisted that the church must be built in that city, those who resided in Allegheny determined to build for themselves in their own city. The precise date of the organization of St. John's Church in Allegheny can not be fixed, but certain circumstances indicate that it was near the close of 1837. Thus in one year, by the labors of one humble, plain servant of the Lord, three churches were founded, which, with their offshoots, have grown to be a mighty host and are doing a great and noble work. The newly formed congregation, through its trustees, on the 30th of January, 1838, bought two lots on the corner of Main street and Beach alley for $1,100. But it was many years before the amount was paid. On this lot was built a small frame church, forty-five feet long and twenty-five feet wide, at a cost of $450. These will appear to be small sums, but it must not be forgotten that the people were poor and that at that time a laborer received only thirty-seven and one-half cents for a day's work. The consecration took place January 1, 1839, and the services were conducted by Revs. Heyer and Schweizerbarth, the latter of Zelienople, Pa. This is the second Lutheran church built in Allegheny county. As Rev. Heyer could not serve the congregation regularly on account of his labors in Pittsburgh, Revs. J. Mechling and M. J. Steck, of Greensburg, Pa., occasionally filled his place.

In the early part of 1839 Rev. H. P. R. Mueller was elected pastor. He served until 1841, when he was succeeded by Rev. W. Bauermeister. He was a faithful and energetic pastor, and is still held in kindly remembrance by the older members, though his pastorate lasted only about one year. He was followed by Rev. Karl Kobler, who made a bad record, and was soon dismissed. During the vacancy Rev. Schmidt, of the Pittsburgh church, rendered the congregation valuable service. At this time a charter of incorporation was secured, which contained important safeguards.

In 1843 Rev. Herman Eggers became pastor, but he remained only a short time, and was followed in 1844 by Rev. Jacob Hoelsche. In 1846 it was resolved to build a new church, as the congregation had outgrown the one it had. The frame church was sold to a Methodist congregation and moved to the corner of Chestnut street and Carpenter alley. The cornerstone of the new church was laid April 15, 1847. The pastor was assisted by Revs. Mechling and Passavant, D. D. The building was finished and consecrated September, 1847. The pastor performed the act of consecration and Rev. Schweizerbarth preached the sermon.

Rev. Hoelsche's ministry in the congregation was brought to an unpleasant

close in 1848, and he was succeeded by Rev. C. G. Friedrich, of Lancaster, Pa. He was an eloquent preacher, and the congregation prospered under his care for some time, when unhappy contentions arose and he was compelled to leave his post. He was followed by Rev. C. E. A. Brandt, a thoroughly educated minister, who served until 1856, when he withdrew under a cloud.

The next pastor was Rev. F. Schiedt, who was elected July 6, 1857. He filled the position twenty-five years, and exercised a powerful influence over his people. Important changes were made for the better administration of the affairs of the church, and the progress was very marked. The question about secret societies was earnestly discussed, and it was resolved that persons belonging to such could not be members of the congregation, but at a subsequent meeting this action was rescinded. The membership had greatly increased, and again it became necessary to build a larger church. A lot was bought on the corner of Liberty street and Madison avenue, being 82x157 feet, at a cost of $6,800. On this the congregation built a large and elegant church, which cost $50,000, and a few years later a parochial school at the large outlay of $13,000, and a parsonage and teacher's house for $9,000. In 1884 Rev. A. Ebert was called as assistant pastor, and shortly thereafter Rev. Schiedt resigned, after a service of twenty-five years, and in the autumn the assistant died, greatly lamented by the congregation, who had learned to love him.

In 1885 Rev. H. J. Shuh took charge of the church, having been unanimously elected. The question about secret societies was again brought up, and it was decided that members of such societies can not be members of the congregation. This resolution is strictly enforced. One result was the withdrawal of a considerable number of members and the organization of another congregation. But while this was regretted, the old congregation is now in a very flourishing condition. Besides the seceding party, four congregations have been formed out of St. John's, and the mother is still the strongest. In addition to providing for the living, the congregation owns a large burying-ground, or, as the Germans call it, a "God's acre."

From the time when the laborious and trying work of laying the foundations of the church in the new territory was accomplished until the present day the progress has been very marked and constant. In giving statements of this progress we shall not go into the particulars to the extent that we did in presenting the history of the three parent churches.

CHURCHES IN PITTSBURGH.

St. Peter's German Evangelical Lutheran Church, in East Liberty, was originally organized in 1839, as a United Church, by Rev. Weitershausen. Afterward it was reorganized as a Lutheran church and served by the following ministers: Revs. J. Hoelsche, W. Berkemeier, H. L. Hoehn, H. B. Kuhn, R. Neumann, J. Kucher, C. Bauman, C. A. Fritze, F. H. Reichman and H. Schmidt, the present pastor. At its organization the congregation was very small. The

membership has, however, increased to a marked degree, and now it numbers 200 heads of families. A parochial school has always been maintained, and it now has two teachers and 120 pupils, and the Sunday-school numbers 225. In 1852 a church was erected on Frankstown avenue, and in 1864 the present church edifice was built on the corner of Collins avenue and Station street, and a schoolhouse was recently erected near the church.

St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran Church, South Side, was organized in 1850, with fourteen voting members. At present it has 980 communicant members. The following pastors have served it: Revs. G. A. Neuffer, C. Popp, J. H. C. Schirenbeck, H. Gilbert, F. A. Herzberger and P. Brand, the present incumbent. The first church edifice was consecrated in 1850, and the present one in 1866; the parsonage was built in 1868, and the schoolhouse in 1881. Four teachers are employed, who have 250 scholars under their care.

The Second German Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's Church was formed in 1852, under the care of Rev. W. Berkemeier, with but a few members. Mr. Berkemeier was followed by Revs. R. Neumann, G. A. Wenzel, D. D., F. Lindeman and N. Soergel. The first church building stood on the corner of Sixth avenue and Grant street. The present church was built on Pride street in 1870, mainly through the efforts of Rev. Dr. Wenzel. The congregation has 400 members, and a parochial school with two teachers and 112 pupils.

Grace English Evangelical Lutheran Church, on the South Side, was organized in 1852 by Rev. H. Reck, with sixteen members. The first place of worship was a hall, and the present church edifice was built in 1853, on South Seventh street. The congregation also owns a parsonage. Their present membership is 280. A good Sunday-school is maintained. The following have filled the pastoral office: Revs. H. Reck, C. D. Ulery, H. W. Roth, D. D., and J. K. Melhorn.

St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized by Rev. Graff in 1857. During the first thirteen years the pastoral changes were very frequent. In 1870 Rev. F. Schaeffer was elected, and he was followed by Revs. H. E. Seipel, A. Bauer and S. M. Reidenbach. The church, which was built in 1862, is located on Fortieth street, below North street. There are 400 members; two teachers and 60 pupils in the parochial school.

German Evangelical Lutheran Church, on the corner of Thirty-seventh and Bank streets, was formed in 1868, as a mission, and in the same year it became self-supporting. The pastors have been Revs. C. Engelder, F. Reichman and Mr. Hein. The first church was erected in 1868, and the present one in 1876. The congregation numbers 500 members, and has two teachers and 150 scholars in its parochial school.

Christ English Evangelical Lutheran Church was established as a mission in 1869 by Rev. J. Q. Waters. At first service was held in a schoolhouse,

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but a chapel was soon built on the corner of Broad street and Sheridan avenue, which is still the place of worship. There are 141 members. The following pastors have had charge: Revs. J. Q. Waters, L. Geschwind, J. S. Lawson and W. A. Passavant, Jr.

Bethany Lutheran Church was organized in 1888, with forty members. The place of worship is a public hall at the corner of Highland and Ellsworth avenues. The pastor is Rev. G. L. Hamm.

The Swedish Lutheran Church was organized several years ago, and worshiped in the basement of the First English Lutheran Church, on Seventh avenue, but it was not until 1887 that it attained much strength. At that time Rev. Nelsenius labored successfully among his countrymen, and helped them to build a substantial church on Center street, near Forty-third street. The present pastor is Rev. M. J. Englund.

There is also an English mission on Forty-third street, in charge of Rev. C. A. Brick.

CHURCHES IN ALLEGHENY.

Trinity English Lutheran Church was the outcome of a mission Sunday-school held in Friendship engine-house, on Anderson street, in about 1855. The congregation which grew out of this work was organized in the autumn of 1860, with thirty-two members, by Rev. W. A. Passavant, D. D. A considerable number of members from the First Church in Pittsburgh entered this organization. Rev. H. Reck took pastoral charge. The place of worship was a frame chapel on Washington street, which was bought from a Presbyterian society. The present church edifice was erected in 1872, on Stockton avenue. Mr. Reck was succeeded in 1863 by Rev. J. G. Goettman, D. D., who is still in charge of the congregation. Recently the twenty-fifth anniversary of his pastorate was celebrated with much spirit, and the event was signalized by paying off the debt resting on the church, and giving the pastor tangible evidence of appreciation and affection. The congregation numbers 500 and the Sunday-school 600.

Mount Zion's English Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1877 by Rev. G. H. Gerberding. The church is on the Perrysville road, near West View. A parsonage has been built by the side of the church. Rev. Gerberding was succeeded by Revs. W. P. Shanor and F. P. Bossart.

St. Matthew's German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1873 by Rev. J. P. Beyer. It was at first a mission on the corner of Third street and Gerst alley. The present edifice, on the corner of North avenue and Middle street, was built in 1877, and a parsonage has since been added. Mr. Beyer was followed by Revs. A. H. Bauer, F. Wambsganss and E. H. Wischmeyer The number of communicants is 450, and there is attached to the church a parochial school with two teachers and 130 pupils.

St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran Church was formed in 1880 by Rev. Pfeiffer. In the course of one year it became self-sustaining. The

present house of worship, on the corner of Chartiers and Adams streets, was built and donated by Mr. G. D. Simon. Rev. Pfeiffer was succeeded by Revs. O. von Zech and A. R. Kuldell.

St. Paul's English Evangelical Lutheran Church, worshiping on the corner of James and Second streets, was commenced by Rev. E. Pfeiffer, who held the first service in July, 1882, in the Reformed Presbyterian church on Sandusky street. The mission was organized to meet the wants of those members of St. John's German Church who need English services. The congregation was organized January 7, 1883, with sixteen members, by Rev. G. W. Lose, the present pastor. Under his ministry a church was built on the corner of James and Second streets, and it was consecrated in September, 1887.

Memorial English Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized by Rev. W. P. Shanor in 1883, and a church edifice was built the same year. The present pastor is Rev. W. J. Finck, under whom the work is prospering.

Emanuel English Evangelical Lutheran Congregation was organized by Rev. J. Q. Waters in 1886, and a chapel was built on Juniata street the following year. Its membership and Sunday-school are prosperous.

Grace English Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized by Rev. W. J. Finck, March 25, 1888. It has a flourishing Sunday-school, and is at present worshiping in a public hall.

Trinity German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1888, from members of St. Paul's Church, by Rev. A. R. Kuldell, on Wood's Run avenue. A church edifice was at once erected and Rev. E. Goessling called as pastor.

St. Thomas German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in November, 1887, by Rev. Ivan Dietrich. A neat church was erected the following year, and duly consecrated. A considerable number of members has already been gathered.

CHURCHES OUTSIDE THE CITIES.

There are Lutheran churches scattered over every part of the county, which we will enumerate without special descriptions. Chartiers, one English church; Natrona, two German and one English; Springdale, one English; Greenock, two German; McKee's Rocks, one German; Braddock, two English, one German and one Swedish; Tarentum, one German and one English; Glenfield, one German; Homestead, one English and one German; McKeesport, one English and one Swedish; Franklin township, one German; Wilkinsburg, one German; Sharpsburg, one English and one German; Turtle Creek, one English; White Hall, one English; Dorseyville, one German; Perrysville, one German; Mansfield Valley, one German; Mount Washington, one German; near Perrysville, one German and one English.

There are, hence, in the county, including the cities, fifty-five Lutheran churches, of which twenty-three are English, twenty-eight German and three Swedish. The number of communicants is over ten thousand.

There is a hospital in Pittsburgh, and orphans' homes at Rochester and

Zelienople, a little beyond the county line, which are connected with the Lutheran Church, and are under the special care of their founder, Rev. Dr. W. A. Passavant, who has devoted most of his life to eleemosynary institutions in the east and the west.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, OR THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

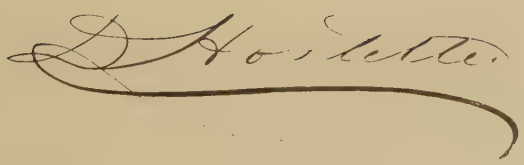
The religious movement with which these churches are identified took its rise in the first quarter of the present century. It was in the beginning a vigorous protest against the religious intolerance and sectarian spirit which then dominated and distracted the religious world. At the opening of the century we find a number of small congregations in England and Scotland, and three, at least, in this country, one at New York city, one at Danbury, Conn., and one at Pittsburgh, Pa., which, having discarded human creeds, were endeavoring to build on the Scriptures alone. These churches, though very similar, and all tending in the same direction, had but little intercourse with each other, and were without unity and concert of action. As a distinct historic movement, therefore, we trace its history from the labors of Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, who, more than all others, succeeded in bringing all these separate movements into sympathy and coöperation. Thomas Campbell was a minister in the Seceder church in Ireland, and in the year 1808 emigrated to this country, and began preaching in Washington county, Pa., under the jurisdiction of the local Seceder presbytery. Soon he drew upon himself the disapproval and formal censure of the presbytery by his very generous and liberal treatment, both in teaching and practice, of other religious denominations. However, his bold arraignment of the sectarian spirit of the age, and his eloquent appeals for a Christianity broad enough to comprehend all believers in Christ, soon gained for him an intelligent and enthusiastic following.

About this time his son, Alexander Campbell, followed him to this country, ardently espoused his father's teachings, and became at once the fearless and eloquent advocate, and soon the acknowledged leader, of the now rapidly growing movement. From this time the movement, both in the formulation of its principles and its methods of organization, took definite shape, and was called by its friends "The Reformation." Its followers called themselves, not invidiously, but that they might be scriptural in name, "The Disciples of Christ," and their organization "The Christian Church." The cardinal principle of the movement was that sectarianism, in the light of God's word and the light of history, was sin, and must be abandoned. It had but one simple plea, namely, for the unity of God's people into one body on God's word. It protested unceasingly against the projection of human authority into the realm of religious faith and practice as treason against Christ. Rigidly rejecting all human creeds, confessions, books of discipline, and decisions of synods and councils, it steadfastly pushed forward and upward the New Testament Script-

ures as the only and all-sufficient book of faith and discipline, and the only basis on which the followers of Christ could be united. It aimed continually to reproduce the pure and simple gospel as taught by Christ and his apostles, and to restore the primitive integrity of the church as the apostles left it, as the only possible fulfillment of the Savior's prayer for the unity of his people in order to the conversion of the world. That the Christian world was ripe for such a movement is evidenced by its marvelous growth. In less than three-quarters of a century it numbers, in this country alone, 6,450 churches, 3,600 preachers, and not less than 750,000 members. It has over forty institutions of learning, and from twenty-five to thirty periodicals and magazines, besides a large number of Sunday-school and other publications. It is strictly congregational in its polity, and maintains voluntary associations for missionary purposes only. Of these, besides state and district, it has three general associations, the General or Home society, the Foreign society and the Christian Woman's Board of Missions. These societies, during the year ending October, 1888, raised for missionary work $232,937.95. Besides home work, missions are sustained in Jamaica, Scandinavia, Turkey, India, China and Japan.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ALLEGHENY CITY.

The first church of the Disciples in Allegheny county had its origin in an independent Baptist congregation of the Haldane school, established in Pittsburgh by George Forister as early as A. D. 1810. A number of members residing in Allegheny by mutual consent withdrew, and on the second Lord's day in March, 1835, organized the first Christian church in Allegheny City. Their first house of worship was a single-story brick building on the bank of the Allegheny river below the Sixth street bridge, capable of seating about three hundred persons. This building was burned in 1859, and for nine years services were held for the most part in Excelsior Hall. In 1868 the church completed and occupied its present commodious building on the corner of Arch street and Montgomery avenue, adjacent to the North park. The following have served the church as regular preachers: Samuel Church, William James, Walter Scott, J. S. Benedict, W. J. Petigrew, B. F. Perkey, Robert Ashworth, Thomas Farley, Theobald Miller, W. S. Gray, Isaac W. Tener, T. C. McKeever, Joseph King and William F. Cowden, the present pastor. Besides these regular ministrations, the church has been favored at times by the presence and preaching of many of the great leaders of the reformation. To no service, however, is the church so largely indebted for her growth and prosperity as to the long-continued and self-sacrificing ministrations of Samuel Church and Joseph King, the former covering sixteen, the latter twenty-two years of her history; the former laying well the foundations, the latter building and embellishing the spiritual temple. During her history the church has contributed largely of her membership for the establishment of new churches. In October, 1882, a mission school was established on Fifth avenue, Pitts-



burgh, chiefly through the energetic labors of Miss Carrie Merrick, since deceased, and Mr. Robert Latimer, for five years its faithful superintendent. For the use of this mission a lot has been recently purchased, at a cost of $3,500, and buildings are soon to be erected thereon. The church has enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace and prosperity, and is now united, active and prosperous, with a membership of 925, and church property worth $70,000, free from debt. The congregation is characterized by a broad missionary spirit, and is doing much to extend the cause of Christ in the city and the surrounding country.

The Peter's Creek Church.—This church, located near Library, was organized by Edward Riggs, with six members, in 1836, and met in his house until 1839, when a house of worship was completed. Its first officers, Elder Riggs and Deacons James Boyer, Obadiah Higbee and William Morrison, were ordained by Elder Thomas Campbell in 1840. David Newmire was the first preacher. Among the resident preachers the following may be noted: James Darsie, William Lloyd, E. L. Allen, Brother Lawrence and William Loos. James Darsie's work extended over three years. A number of brethren from the Allegheny church visited and preached for the infant church, and from time to time Edward Riggs, Henry Bennett and Thomas Strathren from Braddock. They enjoyed occasional visits, also, from many of the leaders in the reformation, the Campbells, Bosworth, Robert Milligan, Benjamin Franklin, C. L. Loos, L. P. Streator and many others. Elder Daniel Higbee has done a great work in the development of this church, having labored efficiently with it for fifty years, most of the time serving as elder. This rural church has never had a large membership, being constantly depleted by emigration. It has rather been a feeder for other congregations. But it has moved quietly and steadily on its course, and received into its fellowship about one hundred and fifty members. Its history is full of lights and shadows, but in the midst of it all a strong faith has kept it steadfast and devoted to the cause of truth and righteousness. Its present pastor is O. H. Phillips, of Allegheny.

The Church at Braddock.—As early as 1840 a few Disciples residing in Braddock held occasional meetings in the schoolhouse. About this time a meeting was held in a grove near by, at which Alexander Campbell did the preaching. Soon after a church was organized, and Thomas Strathren was for many years its faithful elder and preacher. In 1854 a house of worship was built, largely through the agency of Isaac Mills. Among its preachers may be mentioned A. S. Hale, W. B. Higbee, Eli Regal, James Darsie, L. S. Brown, J. L. Pinkerton, George P. Slade, E. A. Bosworth and W. S. Lane, the present pastor. In 1874 the house of worship was burned, and was a total loss. It was rebuilt soon after, but was not completed until 1886. This church has had a diversified history, but in recent years has enjoyed peace and prosperity. It has a membership of over two hundred, and an excellent church property free from debt.

The Church at Hazelwood.—This church was organized December 21, 1868, with nineteen members. O. A. Bartholamew was the first pastor, followed in order by Alanson Wilcox, George P. Slade, J. L. Pinkerton, Levi Marshall and H. K. Pendleton, the present pastor. It has had a slow but steady and healthy growth, numbering over two hundred members, with a beautiful house of worship. The church is in a happy and flourishing condition, and, possessed of large resources of wealth and social influence, is moving steadily on to the accomplishment of greater achievements for God and his cause.

The Church at McKeesport.—The church here was organized by George P. Slade on the 17th of February, 1879, with fourteen members. Mr. Slade was followed by E. W. Gordon, L. C. Jackson and W. H. Applegate, the present pastor. It numbers 120 members, who have a comfortable house of worship free from debt, and though not wealthy in this world's goods, are united, zealous and self-sacrificing, and according to their ability accomplishing a great work.

The Church at Banksville.—Rhys T. Davis began preaching here in 1882, secured a lot, and succeeded in building a house of worship, which was dedicated January 6, 1884, and a church organized with eighteen members. He continued to be their pastor to the time of his death, March 11, 1887. Since then the pulpit has been regularly supplied by a number of brethren from the Allegheny church, with occasional visits from neighboring pastors. The church now numbers about fifty members. It has its church property paid for, and is a faithful, loving band of Disciples, zealous of good works.

The Church at East End, Pittsburgh.—In April, 1885, William F. Cowden, pastor of the church in Allegheny, began Sunday afternoon services at the residence of John M. Addy, at East End. These services continued with but little interruption until the end of the year, when a church property on Emerson street was purchased, at a cost of $2,500. On the 3d day of January, 1886, this house of worship was rededicated, and a church was organized with thirty members. Measures were at once taken to secure regular preaching, and in the following October the present pastor, T. D. Butler, entered on his labors. In December, 1887, the church purchased a lot on the corner of South Highland and Alder streets, at a cost of $5,550, removed and remodeled its house, and now has a beautiful and valuable property in one of the most desirable locations in the city. This young and vigorous church now numbers about one hundred members, is united, enterprising and consecrated, and has before it a bright and promising future.

Mansfield.—In 1884 Rhys T. Davis began regular preaching in this place. He was followed by Samuel Williams, also a member of the Allegheny church. In the fall of 1887 Mr. Williams was elected agent of the American Bible Society, and in May, 1888, the work was transferred to the district missionary society. Under the energetic management of the board, this mission is being vigorously pushed. Prof. O. H. Phillips has been placed in

charge of the work, and by the aid of a number of active members of the Allegheny church, some of whom reside in Mansfield, it is hoped that a church will soon be planted in this thriving city.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY.

The Catholic Church was the first of the various religious denominations that now occupy the soil of Allegheny county to hold religious service in Southwestern Pennsylvania; and to the Jesuit Father Bonnecamp, who accompanied the expedition sent down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in the summer of 1749 by the Marquis de la Gallissonière, governor-general of Canada, under the command of Capt. Louis de Céloron, belongs the honor of having officiated. The expedition reached the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers early in August. Five years later, when the French under Capt. Contrecœur took possession of the territory at the confluence of the two rivers, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands, as will be found fully narrated in another part of this work, the army, according to the universal custom of the French, was accompanied by the chaplain, who performed regular religious service for the soldiers. The chaplain during the occupation of Fort Duquesne was Rev. Denys Baron, a member of the Recollet branch of the Order of St. Francis, whose register of baptisms and interments, kept during the French occupation, is one of the most valuable historical documents extant relating to this section of country. In July, 1757, the Jesuit father, Rev. Claude Virot, established a mission among the Indians at Sakung, a village at or near the mouth of the Beaver river, from which, however, he was soon compelled to withdraw by the hostility of Pakanke, a chief of the Wolf or Loup tribe of Indians. His name is not mentioned in the register of Fort Duquesne.

The missionaries withdrew with the expulsion of their countrymen, and we hear no more of the presence of members of the Catholic religion, except that Christian Frederic Post says there were a number as servants among the traders; but it may safely be believed that their number was small, and their religion still less. With the settlement of the country, however, a few began to mingle with the general population, principally in the Monongahela valley, at Pittsburgh and about the mouth of Chartier's creek, some three miles below. The number of these became so considerable that in the year 1784 a petition was drawn up by them and sent with one Felix Hughes, a member of the church, to the superior of the clergy in the United States, at Baltimore, asking for the ministration of a priest, at least at distant intervals, for some seventy-five families living about Pittsburgh and in the Monongahela valley; but owing to the scarcity of priests it was impossible at that time to comply with their request, and they were left to depend for the consolations of religion on the occasional missionary who stopped on his way to Kentucky or to the old French settlements in the Illinois country. These visits were only made at distant intervals, and many of the people had grown so indifferent in matters of religion that

they did not care to avail themselves of such opportunities when presented. Probably the first of these to pass through Pittsburgh was the Carmelite Father Paul, who was here in 1785. Rev. Charles Whelan stopped for a short time in the year 1787. In 1792 Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, afterward first bishop of Bardstown, Ky., stopped for some weeks, awaiting a rise in the river, and during that time ministered to such as he found, among whom were some French soldiers in the forces which Gen. Wayne was then training previous to leading them against the Indians. Revs. Badin and Barrière were at Pittsburgh in 1793, but how long they remained or what they did history has not recorded. Rev. Michael Fournier, who was on his way to Kentucky in the winter of 1796–97, was detained for fourteen weeks at Pittsburgh, but, though he held service every Sunday, the people were so indifferent that only six ever came to enjoy the privilege of assisting. It must be borne in mind, as a palliation of their conduct, that all the priests who passed through, with rare exceptions, were Frenchmen, who possessed little or no acquaintance with the language of the people. Two other priests, Messrs. Maguire and Bodkin, spent the same winter at Pittsburgh. The people already began to talk of petitioning the bishop of Baltimore, to whose jurisdiction the whole country belonged, for a resident pastor; and measures were also contemplated looking to the erection of a church. In 1798 Rev. H. John Dilhet stopped for a short time, and found the people very anxious to have a resident priest. He wrote to the bishop, presenting their petition; but nothing could be done at that time.

As early as 1789 a priest took up his residence at the spot now occupied by St. Vincent's abbey, near Latrobe, Westmoreland county, which was then called Sportsman's Hall; but he does not appear to have visited Pittsburgh or its immediate vicinity before the year 1798. About this time Rev. Patrick Lonergan, who was then at Sportsman's Hall, withdrew with a number of families, and, after looking around for some time, formed a settlement not far from Waynesburg, Greene county. From there he visited Pittsburgh at distant intervals for about two years. Rev. Peter Helbron, who came to Sportsman's Hall in the latter part of 1799, also visited the place about once or twice a year till a resident pastor was appointed. He was accustomed to lodge in the house of Col. James O'Hara, who, though he had fallen away from the church to which he originally belonged, still favored it, and had a room in his house known as "the priest's room," where the occasional missionary who came to the town was accustomed to put up. He afterward donated the lot upon which the first church was built. Rev. Mr. Helbron officiated for a time in the house of a Mr. McFall, that stood at the corner of Liberty and Water streets, and later in other private houses.

But though the number of Catholics really devoted to their religion was as yet very small, the future prospects of the town were flattering, and it was felt that the presence of a resident priest would go far toward furthering the interests of the church. After meeting with several disappointments the people at

Calvin Wells

length succeeded, and in the early part of November, 1808, Rev. William F. X. O'Brien, lately ordained in Baltimore, was appointed the first resident pastor of Pittsburgh. He took up his residence in a house on Second avenue near Grant street, and set apart one of the rooms for a chapel. About the same time the first church, "Old St. Patrick's," which stood at the corner of Liberty and Washington streets, immediately in front of the present Union depot, was commenced. It was completed with difficulty, owing to the small number and poverty of the people, and was dedicated by Bishop Egan, of Philadelphia, on his visit, the first visit of a Catholic bishop to Western Pennsylvania, in August, 1811.

The Catholic population increased but slowly, and in 1816, when Very Rev. Felix de Andreis passed through the city on his way to Missouri, he wrote to a friend in Rome that "among a population of ten thousand the Catholics number scarcely three hundred. They are all generally very poor, so that the church is almost destitute of everything." Rev. Mr. O'Brien had also to minister to the scattered families in all Western Pennsylvania beyond the limits of Westmoreland county, so that the writer quoted above could truly say: "The pastor of Pittsburgh has under his jurisdiction a parish nearly equal to ten dioceses, and is constantly engaged in visiting his parishioners." Broken down in health, he at length withdrew to Maryland, his native state, early in 1820, and died at Baltimore November 1, 1831. He was succeeded, in March, 1820, by Rev. Charles Bonaventure Maguire. "Priest Maguire," as he was commonly called, was one of the most noted men of Pittsburgh in his day. A polished scholar, a gentleman of the old school, yet sociable and witty, firm in his religious convictions, yet tolerant of the opinions of others, he was universally esteemed. Born in Ireland, though educated in Germany, he had traveled much, taught theology in Rome, executed several important commissions for distinguished personages in Europe; was sought after by the French in the Reign of Terror; was present on the field of Waterloo immediately after the battle; he had, in addition to his education, a vast experience, which made him familiar with almost every topic that could be broached in conversation. When the academy was opened in Pittsburgh, soon after his arrival, he accepted the chair of Greek, and filled it for a number of years. At first he visited a number of places outside the city, in addition to his duties there, but as the population increased his labors were soon confined to the members of his church residing in Pittsburgh and the immediate vicinity.

Gradual as had been the increase of his congregation, the little church was soon too small to afford accommodation for all, and about the year 1825 he found it necessary to enlarge it. With the commencement of work on the Pennsylvania canal, a year later, the number of Catholics became so considerable and the future prospects so encouraging that it was deemed advisable to erect a second church; and the more so as a strong German element was now beginning to infuse itself into the population. Measures were accordingly

taken in August, 1827, looking to the purchase of property for that purpose, and that at the corner of Fifth avenue and Grant street, upon which the present cathedral stands, was bought. Work was commenced on the new building, and the cornerstone was laid on the 29th of June, 1829. The Germans were promised the old church in case they aided in the erection of the new one, and in this way all resources were turned upon the one great work. But Father Maguire was not destined to witness the completion of his favorite undertaking. With the completion of the canal many of the laborers withdrew, and the activity of business in the city suffered a temporary check, and work had to be discontinued on the church for a time. Before it was resumed Father Maguire died of the cholera, July 17, 1833. Rev. John O'Reily, who had been his assistant since the previous October, now became his successor, and resumed work on the unfinished edifice. It was completed early in the following summer, and was dedicated on the 4th of May. At the time of its completion it was most probably the largest and most elegantly furnished Catholic church in the United States.

Rev. Francis Masquelet now organized a German congregation in the old church; but the terms upon which the use of it was granted by the English congregation not being acceptable to all, there was a division among the Germans, and one of them purchased an old cotton-factory at the corner of Liberty and Fourteenth streets, where St. Philomena's church now stands, and fitted up a room in it which served as a church for a number of years. At length, in 1838, a union was effected between the two elements, and a few years later the present St. Philomena's church was built, and dedicated in November, 1844.

Owing to the increase of the population and the distance to Philadelphia, where the bishop resided who exercised jurisdiction over Western Pennsylvania, the propriety and necessity of having a bishop appointed for Pittsburgh began to be felt. At first all the territory subject to the crown of Great Britain was under the jurisdiction of the vicar of London, who was accustomed to appoint a vicar-general for the American colonies. But when the French gained possession of the valley of the Ohio, that territory formed a part of the extensive diocese of Quebec. After the expulsion of the French it reverted to the vicar of London, and was governed as before. But at the close of the war of the Revolution it was evident that this could not with propriety continue; and the few priests of the country, most of whom were found in Maryland and Eastern Pennsylvania, met together and petitioned the pope for a superior depending immediately on the Holy See. Their petition was favorably received, and Rev. John Carroll, one of their number, was appointed prefect apostolic of the American clergy in June, 1784. Six years later he was consecrated the first bishop of the United States, with his see at Baltimore. In 1808 this extensive district was divided, and four new sees erected, one of which, at Philadelphia, embraced, among other territory, the entire state of Pennsylvania.

But the growing population and importance of the western part of the state

seemed to demand a separate ecclesiastical organization. As early as 1823 Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin, the Russian prince-priest, who had founded a colony at Laretto, in Cambria county, in the first years of the century, exerted himself to have a bishopric established at that place. Few, however, would have regarded it as a suitable location, and the proposition never attracted any attention among the church authorities. Nothing was attempted till 1835, when the proper ecclesiastical authorities took the matter in hand. All the preliminaries were arranged in 1837, but the matter was permitted to rest for some time longer. In the meantime Rev. Michael O'Connor was sent to Pittsburgh in July, 1841, as the vicar-general of the bishop of Philadelphia for the western part of the state, which supplied in a measure the need of a bishop. At length the provincial council, which met in Baltimore in May, 1843, decided upon recommending to the pope the erection of an episcopal see at Pittsburgh, and proposed the name of Rev. Michael O'Connor as the most fitting person, in their opinion, to fill it. Both recommendations were approved at Rome, and on the 7th of August Dr. O'Connor was named, and on the 15th was consecrated first bishop of Pittsburgh. He spent some time in Europe in securing missionaries and teachers for the new diocese, and did not reach home before the early part of December. He commenced with his wonted energy the work not only of ruling, but also, it might be said, of creating his diocese; supplying it priests, religious teachers, schools and charitable institutions—in a word, with all that the rules of the church and the circumstances of the place demanded, in all of which he met with marked success. He was a man of superior education and remarkable natural ability, as his episcopate of seventeen years amply proves.

The second English congregation had in the meantime been organized at St. Patrick's church, with Rev. E. F. Garland as pastor, in October, 1840. The number of persons attending the two English churches was estimated in 1844 at seven thousand, and four thousand Germans; but many of these resided beyond the limits of the cities. The extensive manufactories for which Pittsburgh was even then noted drew a large foreign population, among whom was a considerable number of Irish and German Catholics, which necessitated the building of additional churches for their accommodation. St. Bridget's, on the hill, was undertaken in the summer of 1853, for the convenience of those residing in that district, which has since been replaced by a much larger edifice. A year later the Catholics residing in the Lawrenceville district felt the necessity of building a church for themselves rather than going to Sharpsburg or to one of the churches of the city, and as a result St. Mary's, on Forty-sixth street, was erected under the direction of Rev. A. P. Gibbs, one of the most noted priests of the city, who continued pastor of it till the time of his death, a period of more than thirty years. In time the church was enlarged, and finally gave place to the present imposing edifice. The English Catholics of the East End, after attending religious service in the German

church, or in one of the churches of the city, built one for themselves in the summer of 1873, which, like nearly all the others, has since been replaced by a much larger one. When the theological seminary was transferred to Glenwood, on the Monongahela, in the fall of 1858, a public chapel was attached to it for the accommodation of persons residing in the vicinity, which, after serving its purpose for some fifteen years, gave place to the present St. Stephen's Church. Other churches have been formed from the outskirts of existing congregations, till the number of English churches between the two rivers has reached nine.

On the 6th of May, 1851, the cathedral was destroyed by fire, and the present magnificent structure was built to replace it. In the erection of this cathedral much credit is due to Very Rev. E. McMahon, then vicar-general of the diocese. Though not completed, it was sufficiently advanced to be dedicated and opened for divine service in 1855, and the solemn ceremony was performed on the 24th day of June. The erection of the towers and the completion of other minor details was the work of subsequent years.

Turning to the South Side, we find a large population of both English and Germans, for the former of whom St. John's Church, Fourteenth street, and St. James', Temperanceville, were opened early in the summer of 1854, the former of which has since been enlarged, and the latter, after having undergone the same improvement, has been replaced by a more stately edifice. In addition to these there are on the South Side four other English churches.

Crossing the river to Allegheny, it is found that the first Catholic families there attended religious service at the cathedral or St. Patrick's church, Pittsburgh. Soon, however, their numbers increased, and in September, 1848, a movement was made to secure property for the erection of a church on their own side of the river. Lots were purchased on Anderson street, and work was soon after begun; but it was not until April, 1850, that the church was finished and opened for religious service. This church may be justly called the school of bishops, for of its four pastors three are now wearing the miter: Right Rev. James O'Connor, bishop of Omaha, and brother of the first bishop of Pittsburgh; Right Rev. Tobias Mullen, bishop of Erie, and Right Rev. Richard Phelan, coadjutor bishop of Pittsburgh. The fourth pastor, Very Rev. E. McMahon, was for a long time vicar-general of the diocese of Pittsburgh, and at times administrator. The congregation of St. Peter's was divided at the close of 1863, and St. Andrew's Church, in the lower part of the city, was cut off, which, from small beginnings, has now become one of the most important congregations of the western part of the state. Still St. Peter's church was too small, and lots for a new church were purchased at the corner of Ohio street and Sherman avenue, where the present magnificent pile stands, and a church was built, which was dedicated in July, 1875. It was burned some two years ago, but has risen from its ruins more stately than before. With the erection of the see of Allegheny, in January, 1876, St. Peter's became a cathedral, or bishop's church.

It has already been stated that the German Catholics organized a congregation of their own nationality as early as the year 1834, which is now represented by St. Philomena's Church. From this parent stock have branched off the following flourishing congregations: In the city proper, in the latter part of the year 1857, Holy Trinity parish, on Center avenue, was organized for the benefit of those living on the hill; in the autumn of the same year the congregation of SS. Peter and Paul, in the East Liberty district, was cut off; in the spring of 1860 St. Augustine's congregation, Thirty-seventh and Butler streets, was formed for the Germans residing in the Lawrenceville district, and which has since grown to be one of the most important congregations of the diocese; in 1868 St. Joseph's congregation, Bloomfield, was cut off from it, which, like all the others, has steadily increased, and is now worshiping in a large and elegant church erected some three years ago.

On the South Side, St. Michael's, the largest German congregation in Western Pennsylvania, numbering more than six thousand souls, was organized in 1848. There are nine hundred children in the schools of this parish, in two large buildings, erected at a cost of over ninety thousand dollars. From this congregation have been formed three others: St. Joseph's, Mount Oliver, in the summer of 1870, which, though located immediately beyond the city limits, draws the greater part of its worshipers from within the city. In the beginning of the following year St. Peter's congregation was organized in the upper part of the South Side, and has since become very flourishing. [For further particulars of St. Peter's Church see biographical sketch of Rev. John B. Duffner.] About the year 1884 St. George's parish was formed, in Allentown, on the hill back of the South Side.

St. Martin's congregation, in the West End, was formed in the summer of 1869, and is keeping pace in numbers with the growth of the general population.

The German Catholic population of Allegheny is very strong, and early claimed the privilege of having a church of its own. It was ready to receive them in December, 1848. Shortly after its completion it was placed in charge of Rev. John Stebiel, and from that date until the time of his death, in January, 1869, no person deserved better of the German Catholic population of the two cities than he, by his prudence, energy and zeal in laboring for their spiritual and temporal welfare. Some years ago the Benedictine Fathers took charge of this congregation, and it is now the second in size among the Germans in this part of the state. Its growth necessitated its division, and in the summer of 1866 a new parish was formed from its southern end, St. Joseph's, which itself has lately been divided by the formation of the congregation of St. Leo's at Wood's Run. On the north another parish was also cut off from St. Mary's in the summer of 1866, the Church of the Holy Name, on Troy hill, which was dedicated in August of that year, and soon after placed in charge of Rev. S. G. Mollinger, whose name is well known throughout the country. There are few sections of the country in which the German Catholic population is stronger than it is in Pittsburgh and Allegheny.

The colored Catholics, a few of whom were found in the city at an early date, were the objects of Bishop O'Connor's solicitude. Soon after his appointment he opened a chapel for them in a room at the corner of Diamond and Smithfield streets, and placed it in charge of Rev. R. H. Wilson. The zeal of the pastor and his frequent visits among the people soon gathered a considerable number to his humble chapel. But a minister of one of the denominations of the city declared from the pulpit of one of the colored churches that Dr. Wilson was a pro-slavery man, who, when he had collected a sufficient number of colored people, intended to seize them, carry them to the south and have them sold into slavery. The trick had the desired effect; the poor, simple people took the alarm, and the congregation was dispersed about a year after its organization. Nothing more was done for the colored Catholics, except assigning them a place in the several churches they frequented, till the year 1867, when Rev. James P. Treacy, pastor of St. Bridget's Church, in whose neighborhood the greater part of the colored people lived, undertook, at the request of the bishop, to build them a church. Although services were held in it, it was never finished, and soon the people were sent back to the churches they had frequented before. An attempt, which promises to meet with better success, is now being made to organize them into a separate congregation.

From an early day a number of Bohemians made their homes in Allegheny, and during the life of Rev. John Stebiel, who understood their language, were ministered to by him. But soon after his death they united together and purchased a Protestant church on Main street that was exposed for sale, and converted it into a place of worship for themselves, in the year 1871. Four years later the Poles, a large number of whom had found employment about Pittsburgh, purchased the Fourth Presbyterian church, on Penn avenue, near Sixteenth street, and made it the nucleus of a congregation of their nationality. Another Polish congregation was formed on the South Side, and a church was built for them about the year 1883, on Fifteenth street.

Bishop O'Connor, having organized the diocese of Pittsburgh, and governed it for seventeen years with marked success, was forced by declining health, though but fifty years of age, to ask to be relieved of a burden which he felt himself no longer able to bear. His resignation was accepted by the authorities at Rome in May, 1860, and was announced by him to the diocese in a letter dated June 18th of the same year. Early in the fall Rev. Michael Domenec, of Germantown, Philadelphia, was selected as the successor to the see of Pittsburgh, and he was accordingly consecrated in the latter city on the 9th of December. He continued to govern the diocese until January, 1876, when, at his own request, it was divided and the see of Allegheny formed, to which he was at the same time transferred. Right Rev. John Tuigg, of Altoona, was chosen to fill the vacant see of Pittsburgh, and was consecrated at Pittsburgh on the 19th of March. Bishop Domenec resigned the see of

Allegheny in July, 1877, and a few days later the two sees were united under the administration of the bishop of Pittsburgh, and so they remain and are likely to remain for years to come. Bishop Domenec retired to his native place in Spain, and died at Tarragona on the 7th of January, 1878. Bishop Tuigg was incapacitated for active service by an apoplectic stroke in the fall of 1883, and so he remains, living at Altoona, although he retains his jurisdiction, and directs the affairs of the diocese. Seeing that his return to health was not to be expected, he petitioned the proper authorities for a coadjutor, and Right Rev. Richard Phelan, of Allegheny, was appointed to that position, and was consecrated August 2, 1885.

The advantage and necessity of calling certain of the religious orders both to assist in ministering to the spiritual wants of the people, and also to conduct educational and charitable institutions, early attracted the attention of Bishop O'Connor and his successors in the see of Pittsburgh. At the date of the arrival of Bishop O'Connor only two religious communities were found in Pittsburgh, the Redemptorist Fathers and the Sisters of Charity. The latter retired, however, soon after his arrival, and did not return until some thirty years later. On his return from Rome after his consecration the bishop stopped in Ireland and brought over with him a colony of the recently established order of the Sisters of Mercy, which were the first of that name to cross the ocean. They have met with remarkable success in Western Pennsylvania, in both educational and charitable work, and have spread into many other parts of the Union. In the diocese of Pittsburgh alone they now number more than two hundred members. During the late rebellion a number of them left Pittsburgh to conduct a hospital in Washington city for soldiers wounded in the defense of their country. In October, 1846, the bishop welcomed the Benedictine order into the diocese, and located the members at St. Vincent's, near Latrobe, Westmoreland county, from which point they have branched out to every part of the United States, and have sent out their shoots to South America. No religious order in America has met with more marked success.

Next came the Passionists, an Italian order, the first of whom arrived at the close of the year 1852, and were also the pioneers of their institute in the New World. From the hill on the South Side, where they first located, they have spread abroad into several states of the Union. In Pittsburgh, besides the church which they attend in connection with their monastery, they have also charge of St. Michael's congregation, on the South Side, and they give missions in churches where their services are asked for. The Capuchin Fathers, a branch of the great Franciscan order, entered the diocese in the spring of 1874, and took charge of St. Augustine's congregation in Lawrenceville, which is still under their pastoral care. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost came to the diocese in the same year, 1874, and have charge of the German congregation at Sharpsburg and others, besides conducting the Catholic college, of which mention is yet to be made, and assisting in several other parishes. Not

long after their arrival came the members of the Carmelite order, who were intrusted with the congregation of Holy Trinity, a German parish on the hill, where they still remain.

The necessity of enlisting male religious in the work of teaching, especially for the larger boys, has always been a subject of difficult solution. Bishop O'Connor brought over from Ireland a number of Presentation Brothers for that purpose in 1846; but they did not succeed in forming a permanent establishment. Two years later the priests of St. Philomena's Church secured a colony of the Brothers of Mary Immaculate as teachers of the boys' department of their schools. They met with better success, and a few years later took charge of the male department of St. Mary's schools, Allegheny, both of which are stil l under their care.

Of the various orders of women, engaged in teaching and in charitable works, there is quite a number in the two cities, all the schools and Catholic charities being under their charge. The first religious order of women to appear in Pittsburgh was the Poor Clares, who arrived from Belgium in 1828, and soon after opened a young ladies' academy on the hill back of Allegheny, which from that circumstance is still known as "Nunnery Hill." Circumstances, however, forced them to withdraw in the early summer of 1835. They were immediately succeeded by the Sisters of Charity, who taught a day school and opened a young ladies' academy, besides taking charge of the orphan asylum, when it was first opened in 1838. But they withdrew from the city in 1845, and did not return for about thirty years. They now teach a number of English parish schools, and are in a very flourishing condition. The Sisters of Mercy, however, have always been the principal community of women in this part of the state. Introduced into the city in 1843, they were the first of their order to cross the Atlantic, since which time they have spread into every part of the Union. In the two cities they have charge of a large number of schools, to many of which an academy is attached for the higher education of young ladies. They have also the Mercy hospital, which they opened in January, 1847, and have since conducted with marked success. The English orphan asylum has also been under their care since the withdrawal of the Sisters of Charity, and they have recently opened a home for working-girls. The Sisters of St. Francis, another teaching order, first entered the city in the latter part of the year 1865, and now teach the greater part of the German schools. In September, 1872, they opened St. Francis' hospital, on Forty-fourth street. Two years later they opened a German orphan asylum on the South Side. The Ursuline nuns came to the city in the fall of 1870, and soon after opened an academy for young ladies. Two years ago they built a large and elegant academy at Oakland, which, besides being one of the best educational institutions in the country, is also by its fine architectural proportions an ornament to the city. The School Sisters of Notre Dame came to Pittsburgh in 1849, and took charge of the girls' school attached to St. Philomena's Church, and a

A. A. Lambing.

year later they opened the German orphan asylum on Troy Hill. To these may be added the Benedictine nuns, who teach the German schools of Allegheny City.

But one of the most deserving of all charities is that which cares for the aged. The Catholic Church possesses one of these in each of the two cities; that in Allegheny having been opened in 1872 by the Little Sisters of the Poor, for which a large and commodious building is now being erected, and that in Pittsburgh, in charge of the same community, opened about the year 1883. The two homes accommodate about two hundred and fifty aged persons of both sexes. This long list of charities is closed by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, who came to Pittsburgh in the fall of 1872, and opened a house for the reformation of girls who had fallen from virtue, and for the preservation of those who were in danger of falling. Soon they built very extensive houses on Troy hill, where they have accomplished a lasting good among the unfortunate objects of their charity.

From the arrival of Dr. O'Connor at Pittsburgh the higher education of boys was a subject that arrested his attention. Several attempts were made to open a college, but none of them met with complete success, either under him or his successors, till at length the Fathers of the Holy Ghost opened a day college in the summer of 1878. Rented rooms were occupied until extensive lots were purchased, and the splendid college building that crowns the brow of Boyd's hill, and overlooks the Monongahela, was erected six years ago, and chartered under the title of the Catholic College of the Holy Ghost. The number of students has gone on constantly increasing, and the best facilities are offered them for a commercial, classical and scientific training. An important part of church work is the training of laborers for the vineyard of the Lord, and this was one which early attracted the attention of Bishop O'Connor. Scarcely had he returned from Rome to his newly erected diocese when he opened a diocesan seminary, which, though begun on an humble scale, as his circumstances demanded, was yet productive of great good to religion. For a time it was in the bishop's residence, then it was located in buildings on the South Side, and, after various vicissitudes, it was finally opened at Glenwood, now within the city limits, in September, 1858. Here both the theological and preparatory departments were conducted till the close of the year 1876, when Bishop Domenec, then occupying the see of Allegheny, withdrew his students, and the institution was compelled to close its doors, which have not since been opened. But the prospects of re-opening in a new and more suitable building, in the near future, are very flattering. Finally, to complete the long list of good works, a home was opened for Catholic newsboys in the fall of 1888, where the young waifs are cared for when off duty.

In conclusion, it may be said that the progress of the Catholic Church in the two cities has been very encouraging, especially in the last fifty years, during which time it has more than kept pace with the growth of the popula-

tion, and, besides the erection of large and substantial houses of worship, has added education and charitable institutions which place it in the foremost rank of the religious organizations of the cities. The mammoth industries of this busy center have at times attracted such numbers from foreign shores, whose circumstances did not permit them to contribute to the cause of religion, while they required places of worship, that considerable debts had to be contracted to afford them accommodations; but with proper economy and a strict adherence to business principles, these are fast disappearing, and what yet remain are no longer a source of fear or anxiety. Every year strengthens the firm basis upon which the structure of religion rests, and adds accommodations and financial ability at the same time that it increases the numbers of the several congregations. To bring this brief and incomplete sketch to a conclusion, the present standing of the church may be summed up as follows: Bishops, two; cathedrals, two; churches, thirty-five, namely: English, seventeen; German, fifteen; Polish, two; Bohemian, one; large chapels, twelve; priests, seventy-seven; colleges, one; young ladies' academies, five; parochial schools, thirty-four; hospitals, two; orphan asylums, three; homes for the aged, two; girls' reformatory and industrial school, one; working-girls' home, one; newsboys' home, one; children attending parochial schools, 12,479; Catholic population, 83,000.

JEWISH CONGREGATIONS.

The Jews in this vicinity first began to meet for worship at Lawrenceville, in 1842. Services were held on their Sabbaths and principal holidays at private houses, or wherever circumstances would permit them to assemble. Mostly German Jews were resident in the city then. Worship was continued in this way till 1850, when the congregation Rodef Scholom was organized. Its first place of worship was on Sixth street, where it continued till it was removed to its present location on Eighth street, in 1860. A temple was then erected there, and it had only ordinary repairs till 1888, when it was remodeled and enlarged. It is tastefully finished, and has a seating capacity of 800. The ministers of this congregation have been Revs. Sulz, Bacher, William Armholt, L. Naumberg and Dr. L. Mayer, now in charge. This congregation has a school for religious instruction. In the vestry-room of the temple a young ladies' sewing society meets weekly for the purpose of preparing clothing for the poor. In 1865 the congregation Ez Chazi M (Tree of Life) was organized. Its place of worship was on the corner of Second and Market streets till 1880, when it was removed to the corner of Fourth and Ross streets, where a Baptist church was purchased and refitted for its use. Revs. Bergman, Chrone and others have served this congregation. The present rabbi is Rev. A. Bernstein. Of the Russian Jews there is a congregation that worships on Grant street, and another on Wylie avenue. They have only recently been organized, but they number many members. Of these congregations the one on Eighth street is a "Reformed Congregation." The others are orthodox.

There are several Jewish benevolent societies here, the chief among which is the United Hebrew Relief Association of Allegheny County. This ministers to the wants of the home as well as the transient poor. Mr. A. Fink, Rabbi Mayer, and Mrs. Rau and other ladies are the present managers of this organization. Two young men's Hebrew associations meet statedly in Allegheny City for mutual intellectual improvement.

The number of Jews in Pittsburgh, Allegheny and vicinity is estimated at five thousand.

CHAPTER XVII.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES—DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION—WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL—THE COUNTY HOME—WORKHOUSE AND PENITENTIARY.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.*

THE change from ministerial training under pastors to the higher system of the theological seminary, with its body of learned professors, large libraries and the association of students, was made by the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1810, when its first seminary was projected, and two years later was located at Princeton, N. J. It was soon discovered that one seminary would not meet the wants of the church, and in 1825 a resolution was adopted by the assembly, declaring that it "is expedient forthwith to establish a theological seminary in the west," to be styled "The Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States." A board of directors was selected to report, the following year, a suitable location, and to present a "plan" for the proposed seminary, and five commissioners were chosen to examine all proposed locations and to report their views to the directors.

Offers of sites were made from twelve different places—nine from Ohio, two from Pennsylvania and one from Indiana. Various inducements were held out to secure the location. The offer from Allegheny, a donation of twenty-one thousand dollars, to be paid in installments, and the release of eighteen acres of "common" for use, worth in fee simple about twenty thousand dollars, was regarded as the most valuable, and the seminary was located at that place definitely by the action of the general assembly in 1827.

A board of directors, consisting of twenty-six members, was appointed by the same assembly, and a plan of the seminary, somewhat different from that of Princeton seminary, was adopted. The main object of the whole enterprise may be gathered from a single sentence in the plan, which declares "that

*Information furnished by Fry T. H. Robinson.

learning without religion in ministers of the gospel will prove injurious to the church; and religion without learning will leave the ministry exposed to the impositions of designing men, and insufficient in a high degree for the great purposes of the gospel ministry."

Difficulties delayed the preparation of suitable buildings, and it was not until the spring of 1831 that the first seminary building, the foundations of which were laid in 1829, was ready for use. It was placed on what is now known as Monument hill, an elevated and commanding position, which furnishes a fine outlook upon the three rivers and two cities at its foot.

During the erection of this building, and for two years previous to the laying of its foundations, the teaching department had been carried forward in the session-room of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. It opened with a class of four students November 16, 1827. By the time the seminary building was opened nearly forty young men had come thither for instruction.

On January 23, 1854, the seminary building was completely destroyed by fire, many of the students losing their clothing and their books, and the seminary library being greatly damaged. Generous offers were immediately made of the use of their lecture and Sunday-school rooms by the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny and the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. The offer of the first-named church was accepted, and its rooms were used until a new building was ready for use. Through negotiations with the city, the old location, which had been found very inconvenient for educational purposes, had, prior to the fire, been exchanged for a beautiful site at the foot of the hill, on grounds fronting on Ridge avenue. On the new site secured a new edifice was erected, at a cost of twenty-two thousand dollars, now known as Seminary Hall. The building was completed and dedicated in January, 1856.

On the same site four professors' houses were erected during the period from 1854 to 1856. Their cost was about five thousand dollars each. In 1859 a new hall, named "Beatty Hall" or "Memorial Hall," in honor of the noble generosity of Mrs. Hetty E. Beatty, of Steubenville, Ohio, whose gift of ten thousand dollars covered the cost of the building, was erected on the north side of Ridge avenue, above Irwin avenue. This structure, a fine one of four stories in height, was wholly given up to students' dormitories. It was remodeled in 1868. At a later period a fine library building was erected, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, on the lot adjoining Memorial Hall on the west, and the residence next on the east was purchased for a fifth professor's house.

The winter of 1887–88 witnessed another partial destruction of Seminary Hall by fire. The damage was so serious as to require a general reconstruction of the interior, which, with some alterations, that have made the building more commodious and more beautiful, and other permanent improvements of the seminary property, have cost over twenty thousand dollars. The property now consists of two large halls, a library building and five residences for the professors. The entire value of the real estate of the seminary, together

Lawrence Yates

Chas. W. Batchelder

with the various endowments it possesses, exceeds six hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The library contains about twenty thousand volumes, and is one of great value. The collection of unbound pamphlets is very large.

The whole number of students who have pursued a full or partial course of study in the seminary since its opening in 1827, including those who are now present, is 1,663. The number in attendance at present is seventy.

The following persons have been professors and instructors in the seminary:

Professors.—Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, D. D., professor of theology, 1828–29; Rev. Luther Halsey, D. D., LL. D., professor of theology, 1829–37, and professor of church government and ecclesiastical history, 1836–44; Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D., professor of oriental and biblical literature, 1829–40; Rev. David Elliott, D. D., LL. D., professor of theology, 1836–74; Rev. Lewis W. Green, D. D., professor of oriental and biblical literature, 1840–47; Rev. Alex. T. McGill, D. D., LL. D., professor of ecclesiastical history and church government, 1842–54; Rev. Melancthon W. Jacobus, D. D., LL. D., professor of oriental and bibical literature, 1851–76; Rev. William S. Plummer, D. D., LL. D., professor of theology, 1854–62; Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, D. D., LL. D., professor of biblical and ecclesiastical history, 1857–83; Rev. William M. Paxton, D. D., LL. D., professor of sacred rhetoric, 1860–72; Rev. Archibald A. Hodge, D. D., LL. D., professor of theology, 1864–77; Rev. William H. Hornblower, D. D., professor of sacred rhetoric, church government and pastoral theology, 1871–83; Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D. D., professor of New Testament literature and exegesis, 1874–77; Rev. William H. Jeffers, D. D., LL. D., professor of Old Testament literature and exegesis, 1877–; Rev. Samuel H. Kellogg, D. D., professor of theology, 1877–86; Rev. Benj. B. Warfield, D. D., professor of New Testament literature and exegesis, 1878–86; Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, D. D., professor of sacred rhetoric, church government and historical theology, 1883–; Rev. Robert D. Wilson, Ph. D., professor of Hebrew, Chaldee and Old Testament History, 1885–; Rev. Henry T. McClelland, D. D., professor of didactic and polemic theology, 1887–; Rev. Matthew B. Riddle, D. D., professor of New Testament literature and exegesis, 1887–.

Instructors.—Rev. Joseph Stockton, 1827–28; Rev. Thomas L. Janeway, 1828; Rev. Elisha P. Swift, D. D., 1827–28; Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D., 1829–36; Rev. Allan D. Campbell, D. D., 1836–40; Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, D. D., 1854–57; Rev. John H. Kerr, 1882–83; Rev. Jonathan W. Miller, 1883–84; Rev. William O. Campbell, 1883; Rev. Robert D. Wilson, 1880–85; Prof. George M. Sleeth, 1883–84; Prof. James E. Culliton, 1885–86; Prof. Chas. W. Hollister, 1886–87; Prof. John P. Stephen, 1887–.

During the history of the seminary about ninety-four persons have served on its board of trustees, and two hundred on the board of directors.

ALLEGHENY (U. P.) THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.*

"The Associate Reformed Synod of the West resolved, in May, 1825, to establish a theological seminary at Pittsburgh, Pa., and unanimously elected Rev. Dr. J. Kerr, of St. Clair, Allegheny county, Pa., as its professor, and the congregation in that city being vacant, Dr. Kerr was chosen by it as pastor. He accepted both, and opened the seminary in the following December, with three students. The enterprise gave every indication of decided success, when, on the 15th of November, 1829, Dr. Kerr suddenly died. Rev. Mungo Dick, of Westmore-

*From the manual of the U. P. Church, by Dr. J. Brown Scoviller.

land county, was appointed by the Monongehela presbytery to fill the office until more permanent arrangements could be made. In October, 1830, the synod elected Rev. Alexander Sharp, of Newville, Pa., but he declined to accept, and Mr. Dick was continued for the time. On the 19th of October, 1831, Rev. J. T. Pressly, pastor of Cedar Spring, S. C., and professor of theology for the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, was unanimously elected, and in the early part of the following January entered on the duties of the office. During the same year he accepted the pastorate of a new congregation in Allegheny City, and the seminary was removed to his church.

"In 1835 Rev. M. Kerr, son of the first professor, was elected to the chair of biblical literature and exegesis, but his feeble health allowed him to remain only for a single year. This chair remained vacant until 1843, when Dr. J. L. Dinwiddie was elected, but his promising career of usefulness was suddenly cut short in February, 1846, by partial paralysis of the brain, from which he never wholly recovered. In 1847 Rev. A. D. Clark, president of Franklin College, Ohio, was elected, and in 1851 Rev. D. R. Kerr was added in the department of church history and government. On the 13th of August, 1870, Dr. Pressly died, and on the 25th of the following October Dr. J. T. Cooper was chosen his successor, and on the 7th of December, 1875, Rev. Dr. A. Young was elected to the chair of pastoral theology and apologetics."

The following have been professors in this institution: Joseph Kerr, D. D., Mungo Dick, John Taylor Pressly, D. D., Moses Kerr, James Lemonte Dinwiddie, D. D., Alexander D. Clark, D. D., Joseph Tate Cooper, D. D., LL. D., David Reynolds Kerr, D. D., LL. D., Alexander Young, D. D., LL. D., David McClenahan, A. M., James A. Grier, D. D., John McNaugher, A. M., and O. J. Thatcher, A. M., a recently appointed instructor.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB.

This excellent institution, located at Edgewood station, on the Pennsylvania railroad, like many of its class, had its origin in an apparently trivial circumstance. In the summer of 1868 a little deaf-mute colored boy was brought to a mission Sunday-school, held in the public-school building on Franklin street, Pittsburgh, of which Joel Kerr was superintendent. Through the intervention of a lady teacher, W. R. Drum, a graduate of the Pennsylvania institution at Philadelphia, undertook to become his teacher. The attendance of this class of unfortunates rapidly increased. Two additional teachers, Archie Woodside and F. H. Murray, were secured. Rev. John G. Brown, D. D., pastor of the Third United Presbyterian Church (with which the mission school was connected), was deeply interested in the new departure, and through his efforts the central board of education was induced to take the matter in hand. A day school for the instruction of deaf and dumb children in the city of Pittsburgh, the first in the United States, was opened on the first Monday in September,

1869, with fourteen pupils, and Mr. Archie Woodside and Miss Sarah Woodside as teachers. It became necessary to provide for the care of children from a distance, and for that purpose a "home" was organized and maintained until 1875. In this home some twenty deaf-mutes were cared for. The institution was regularly incorporated in 1871, and about that time James Kelly placed a tract of ten acres of land in Wilkinsburg at the disposal of the board of trustees, and subscriptions to the amount of $21,500 were secured for the erection of buildings. An appropriation of $16,000 having been granted by the state, it was decided to discontinue the day school and extend the benefits of education to all deaf-mutes in the western counties in the state. Suitable buildings and grounds were rented at Turtle creek, and there the institution was formally opened on the 25th of October, 1876, with nineteen pupils. This number soon increased to fifty-six, and within two or three years to one hundred. James H. Logan, who had succeeded Mr. Woodside as principal of the day school in 1876, was followed by J. A. McWhorter, Thomas McIntyre and John G. Brown, D. D., the present principal of the institution.

After protracted litigation the land donated by Mr. Kelly was disposed of, and a tract of sixteen acres was secured in its stead, on which, in 1883–84, the present imposing edifice was erected. The cost of the buildings was about $150,000. In addition to Mr. Kelly's donation the sum of $71,000 was contributed by the citizens of Allegheny county.

The attendance at this institution during the year 1888 was one hundred and fifty. Articulation is successfully taught here.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.

This institution had its origin, more than forty years since, in the benevolent desire of a number of citizens to extend aid, comfort and relief to their indigent and afflicted fellow-beings. On the 9th of March, 1847, these men met in the city of Pittsburgh and formed themselves into an association for the purpose of establishing a hospital. They chose as officers: Thomas Bakewell, president; George Breed and John Graham, vice-presidents; M. Allen, T. Bakewell, John Harper, John Bissell, George Breed, J. Carothers, William Ebbs, John Graham, George Hogg, William Holmes, John Irwin, George W. Jackson, F. Lorenz, S. Lothrop, O. Metcalf, J. K. Moorhead, Jacob Painter, J. N. Shoenberger, Charles F. Spang, William J. Totten, William Wilkins, W. W. Wallace, managers, and Harmon Denny and David Shields became life managers. Of these only John Harper, J. N. Shoenberger and Charles F. Spang are now (1889) living.

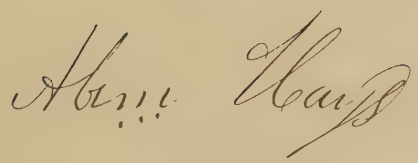
On the 18th of March, 1848, an act of incorporation, with these gentlemen as corporators, was approved. Within three years from the date of incorporation two hundred and twelve other citizens made themselves, by contributions, life members of the corporation. Of these only twenty survive.

From the annual report of the managers to the legislature for 1867, made through the president, John Harper, the following extracts are made:

"A judicious site for the contemplated hospital was among the first objects that engaged the attention of the board of managers, and a generous donation of twenty-four acres of land, in the Ninth (now Twelfth) ward of the city of Pittsburgh, was accepted for that purpose, forming the square bounded by Ferguson, Smith, Fisk and Morton streets. The managers went to work vigorously, relying upon the generous aid of their fellow-citizens, and erected a large and commodious building, dividing the same into medical and surgical wards, which was opened for patients in the month of January, 1853. . . . A supplement to the act of incorporation was passed, and approved the 8th of May, 1855, appropriating ten thousand dollars to aid in extending accommodations to the insane. . . . The district designated in the act now embraces twenty-two counties, forming the Western Judicial district of the supreme court of Pennsylvania; and the governor, judges of the several courts of record and members of the legislature were made *ex-officio* visitors of the hospital. A further supplement to the charter was approved the 19th of March, 1856, granting a further sum of twenty thousand dollars to aid in extending the accommodations for the insane of Western Pennsylvania, the proposed additional buildings for that purpose to be approved by the governor, and authorizing him to appoint annually three managers on behalf of the state, and making it the duty of the institution to submit yearly, in the month of January, to the legislature a certified statement of the condition of its affairs.

"After mature consideration the managers determined to erect a new, separate hospital beyond the city limits, on a site combining facility of access, capacious territory and cheerful prospects for the unhappy inmates; and it was also decided that *no part of the state appropriations should be expended in the purchase of the grounds.* A farm was then bought on the left bank of the Monongahela river, but afterward sold, by the advice of Miss D. L. Dix, on account of having no railroad approaches. That distinguished lady, whose advice was solicited, accompanied a delegation of the managers, and after visiting nearly all the fit locations near Pittsburgh, a selection was made of a farm on the right bank of the Ohio river, about seven miles below the city, which was bought through private benefactions. Subsequently the board purchased three adjoining tracts of land, which were also paid for by generous individual aid. These united farms contain three hundred and seventy acres. This property is readily accessible by river and railroad, possesses an abundant supply of good water for drinking and culinary purposes, derived from a spring of sufficient elevation to reach all the stories of the hospital. It possesses, also, a fine quarry of excellent freestone.

"In honor of the lady mentioned this domain was named Dixmont, which is also the name of the station of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago railway on the premises. At the base of an abrupt wooded cliff the railroad extends along the hospital property two thousand eight hundred feet, parallel and



proximate to the river. From this cliff orchard, garden and pasture land rise to a summit, crowned with forest trees, of the altitude of four hundred and fifty feet. Half way up the slope, in a pure atmosphere, a site was chosen, commanding an extensive and picturesque prospect, upon which now stands a most imposing structure—a hospital for the cure of 'mind diseased,' an asylum for the care of those upon whom God, in his inscrutable wisdom, has laid a chastening hand.

"The plan of the buildings was submitted to the governor, and it met his approval, and his signature is affixed thereto. The legislature also sanctioned the undertaking by making toward it a liberal appropriation in April, 1859. . . . The work on the center building was commenced about the 1st of May, 1859, and on the 19th of July following the cornerstone was laid, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens from various parts of the state."

The building has since been enlarged by the successive addition of wings till it has reached a length of seven hundred and fifty feet, with twenty-five wards and a capacity for four hundred patients, though the present number is greatly in excess of that.

J. A. Reed, M. D., was elected superintendent in 1856, and continued in that capacity till his death, when Dr. Henry A. Hutchinson, the present incumbent, was chosen. It has been truly said that the institution fully realizes the expectations which were formed of it.

At the time of the removal of the insane to Dixmont the civil war had broken out, and was in progress. "There was then but little preparation for the comfort of disabled volunteers, maimed in battle or broken down by exposure. For these patriotic sufferers the managers promptly tendered to the secretary of war the use of their Twelfth Ward hospital. . . . Nearly a thousand patients at a time were accommodated in the large building and temporary outside arrangements."

After the close of the war it was kept open as before, for medical and surgical cases, and by means of a bounty fund of $200,000, the avails of a sanitary fair in Pittsburgh, which became an endowment of the hospital, it was, during some ten years, a place where disabled volunteers were cared for. Since the withdrawal of these the hospital has been used for the treatment of those suffering from disease or injuries. Its support has been derived from the income of its endowment fund, the benefactions of benevolent individuals and small appropriations from time to time by the legislature, aided by such sums as patients have been able to pay for their care and treatment. The poor have never been refused, but neither the city nor the county has ever aided in the support of the institution. The number of patients admitted in 1885 was 1,244; in 1886, 1,380; in 1887, 14,462.

"The legislature has empowered the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, through its organization, to distribute coal to the worthy poor, derived from the

earnings of certain bequests for that purpose. William Holmes, Esq., executor of the late Charles Brewer, paid to the treasurer certain funds bequeathed by the decedent, amounting in the aggregate to over fifty thousand dollars. John Holmes, Esq., executor of the late James Crawford, has paid to the treasurer ten thousand dollars, under the will of the decedent, which is invested. Through such benevolent means the hospital is now the benign agency of cheering many a humble fireside in Pittsburgh and vicinity."

Thomas Bakewell was the president of the institution from its organization until his death, in 1866. He was succeeded by John Harper, who has continued in office until the present time.

THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY HOME.

This institution, one of the most important public charities of the county, is situated at Woodville, in Collier township. The act of assembly authorizing the purchase of ground and erection of buildings was approved April 23, 1852, and a supplement thereto, April 23, 1853. The commissioners under this act, Thomas Varner, Alexander Carnahan, James Kelly, John Boyles, Thomas Blackmore, Jr., John Gilfillen, Jr., Erasmus Cooper, Henry Chalfant and Christian Sniveley, organized November 1, 1852, with Mr. Varner president and Mr. Gilfillen secretary. Agreeably to the requirements of the law, they selected and purchased a farm of 205 acres from Jeremiah Dunlavy, the price paid being $90 an acre, securing the same by deed under date of May 22, 1853. J. W. Kerr was engaged as architect, and the contract for the building awarded to Abraham Patterson for $23,255, June 20, 1853. The work of construction was begun July 8, 1853, and the buildings received their first occupants September 8, 1854. As enlarged at various times, the main building is about three hundred feet long, with two wings on either side. The hospital building is detached. The number of inmates is 225. The government of the institution is constituted as follows: Directors, W. H. Guy, A. S. Miller, Frank Patterson; superintendent, W. J. Glenn; matron, Mrs. M. E. Glenn; assistant matron, Miss Emma Harrison; resident physician, J. L. Srodes, M. D.; farmer, S. W. Lea.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY WORKHOUSE.

Few institutions are more interesting and worthy of a visit than the Allegheny County Workhouse. It was built in 1870, with cell capacity for four hundred prisoners which was believed to be ample for many years. It has, however, been from time to time so enlarged that at the beginning of 1885 it had cell capacity for 402 males and 150 females. Additional prisoners were provided for by the erection of bunks in the corridors, not at all desirable, and by temporary barracks in the yard.

"Mr. Henry Warner, the superintendent, has made prison management and discipline a lifelong study, and has brought much practical experience to aid him in his investigations, so unceasingly carried on that now he is, not only at

home, but abroad, a recognized authority upon all subjects relating to the delinquent classes."

The industrial features of the institution are especially noticeable. In the year 1884 the barrel- and keg-factories consumed material to the value of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars, at a net profit of forty-three thousand dollars. "Equally good, although not so large, results, because the plants are less extensive, are found in the broom-factory, the brush-factory, the laundry and the knitting department."

A disastrous fire occurred April 28, 1875, destroying the north and east wings, which were rebuilt upon an enlarged plan. The female department was built in 1873.

WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

An act of assembly was passed March 3, 1818, providing for the erection of a penitentiary on the plan of "solitary confinement," and appropriating sixty thousand dollars for constructing the same. The act authorized the select and common councils of Pittsburgh to select for a site ten acres of the public grounds or commons in Allegheny. This was done, but three and a half acres were afterward restored to their original use as commons.

In May, 1818, a commission for the erection of the prison was appointed. In July, 1826, the first prisoner was received, and in November, 1827, the entire work was completed, at a cost of about six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Improvements were subsequently made, the cost of which would, at present prices of labor and material, reach two and one-half million dollars.

An act passed April 23, 1829, directed imprisonment by solitary confinement, at labor, in the cells or workyards of the prison. This change necessitated an alteration of the prison, and an act was passed in 1833 authorizing the taking down of all the first cells and the erection of others adapted to the new regulation. These were completed in 1836, and the system of solitary labor was rigidly adhered to during more than thirty years. The growing conviction that the system of solitary labor did not tend to the reformation of prisoners led to the passage in 1869 of two laws which had a most important bearing on prison discipline and reform. One authorized the congregating of convicts for purposes of labor, learning and religious services; the other was known as the "commutation law," or the reduction of the term of imprisonment by good behavior. The changes contemplated by these laws were adopted with watchful caution, but the results have been highly satisfactory. The system of congregated labor adopted was what is known as the "contract system."

PENNSYLVANIA REFORM SCHOOL.

The House of Refuge of Western Pennsylvania was incorporated in 1850, and was first opened in the latter part of 1854, at a point on the Ohio river near the mouth of Wood's run, some two and a half miles centrally distant

from Allegheny. After continuing in operation there some more than twenty years, that location was abandoned, and buildings, which had been erected at Morganza, in Washington county, were occupied, and the name of the institution was changed to the "Pennsylvania Reform School."

By an act of the legislature approved June 12, 1876, it was directed that the old House of Refuge should be acquired to be used as a temporary prison, "with a view to the removal of the old buildings and the erection of new and suitable buildings on the new site." The work was entered on, and from appropriations for the purpose, "and a judicious use of material from the old buildings," such progress has been made that the prison is approaching completion.

The enactment of the law prohibiting "contract convict labor," and directing that the labor of convicts be employed for the state when the contracts had expired, necessitated considerable changes in the prison management. The biennial report made January 1, 1877, states:

"In the selection of an industry for the employment of at least a part of our idle population, after a careful study of the matter it was decided that the manufacture of cocoa mats and matting would be *less competitive* than any other. The requisite machinery, tools and raw material were purchased, and now, after trial of a year, the wisdom of our choice is apparent to all who have examined its details."

The same report states: "We now make formal report that the old prison site on the public common ceased to be used for penitentiary purposes in July, 1885, and under the provisions of the act of June 22, 1883, the title thereto then vested in the city of Allegheny, for use as a portion of the public parks of said city."

The total number of prisoners received from 1826 to January 1, 1887, is 8,303; the number remaining December 31, 1886, 706.

The board of inspectors and officers January 1, 1887, were: George A. Kelly, president; James McCutcheon, treasurer; T. D. Casey, secretary; A. L. Robinson and James R. Reed. Edward S. Wright is the warden; Hugh S. McKean, deputy warden; D. N. Rankin, M. D., physician, and A. F. Sawhill, clerk.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTORY—COLUMNAR SECTION—THE EARTH'S CRUST—THE PITTSBURGH BITUMINOUS COAL—PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS—SANDSTONES, ETC.—GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY.

IN writing an abridged geological sketch of Allegheny county we shall necessarily be confined to a brief outline of such general principles of geology as may be of interest or profit to the general reader, and avoid the use of such technical terms and details as may be omitted without sacrificing the subject too greatly. For a work at once elaborate and instructive we shall refer the reader to the reports of the geological survey of Pennsylvania, published by a board of commissioners for such purpose, and under authority from the state government.

Geology treats of the earth's formation and structure, its rocks, strata, minerals, organic remains, the changes it has undergone from inundation, also from volcanic and other influences. Geology is a history of the earth built upon circumstantial evidence, such as is read from the rocks, minerals and organic remains, together with stratagraphical construction, and the later disarrangement of that by volcanic action, and the slow process of erosion, which has been going on for countless ages. For how long has it taken the waters of the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers to wear their ways between the hills of Western Pennsylvania? And how immeasurably longer must have been the process of rock- or structure-making, since each succeeding stratum represents a vast period of time, and a deposit of sediments when the surface of the country was overspread by the ocean, or a marginal bay or estuary, and until the great Appalachian uplift raised this end of the continent out of water, leaving the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers flowing through the carboniferous basin of coal, limestone, sedimentary and sandstone deposits laid down or formed during the period of inundation.

We herewith give a generalized sectional view of the strata as shown in the hillsides throughout the county, from river level to the hilltops and below river level, by oilwell boring, showing the rock structure to a depth of twelve hundred feet at the northeast corner of the county.

In Allegheny county it is a stratification of rock, shale, limestone, clay and coal as shown in the sectional diagram. The Pittsburgh bituminous coalbed, underlying, as it does, fifty square miles of the county across the south part, being accessible in the hillsides and above water level, economically considered, is the most important member in the county's geological structure, if not in

the state, being the chief source and foundation of the county's wealth and prosperity. It has made the city of Pittsburgh the greatest manufacturing center on the continent, and the city in turn has afforded a market for the agricultural products of the county's bountiful s[illegible] until the county has become one of the most beautiful, as well as one of the wealthiest, sections on the globe. The Pittsburgh coalbed has an average thickness of about eight feet, and each square mile contains 8,000,000 tons of coal. The south part of the county is underlaid with about forty square miles of coal or about 320,000,000 tons, but this is only a small part of the Pittsburgh coalbed, as there are about twenty-five hundred square miles of the bed lying south of Pittsburgh, and within the state. Owing to railroad facilities for transportation, and a natural waterway made navigable through the coal-basin by a system of dams to Pittsburgh, that city must continue to be the commercial center for bituminous-coal operations within the state as well as the great manufacturing center.

The Pittsburgh coalbed for the past forty years has supplied the cities along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the Gulf of Mexico, and many other cities and towns throughout the country, by means of railway transportation, bringing to Allegheny county an immense amount of wealth, independent of Pittsburgh's great manufacturing interests. Twenty-five hundred square miles of the Pittsburgh coalbed within the southwestern part of the state means 10,000,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, after allowing liberally for intervals between outcroppings; of the above, no doubt 7,000,000,000 will be available for commercial purposes after allowing for waste in mining. The average outspread for the past ten years has not exceeded 10,000,000 tons per annum, at which rate the Pittsburgh coalbed within the state limits will not be exhausted for seven thousand years. A matter about which the reader need not be personally concerned.

The Pittsburgh coal, while being of the very best quality for heating and cooking purposes, from its geographical location surpasses all other coals on account of being easy of access and for its availability in mining.

The next most important of the underground products of Allegheny county may be considered under the head of petroleum and natural gas; but while natural gas has lent a great impetus to the city of Pittsburgh and her manufacturing interests, the story may soon be told, for within a few short years that delightful fuel will only be available in quantities for household purposes. The manufacturers will have to return to the use of bituminous coal or gas manufactured from it, or petroleum, and the latter can not be depended upon as a fuel, for many years, as the supply is decreasing. The present production is already less than the consumption, causing a depletion of the stock of oil above ground, and we may say that the prospect of an increased production, except, perhaps, temporarily, is very doubtful. Yet Allegheny county is already producing petroleum in paying quantities, and is giving

promise of cutting a respectable figure among the oil-producing counties of the state.

The sandstones and flagstones of Allegheny county add to her material wealth, and are excellent for basework and ordinary building purposes; but as elaboration is not intended, and as the writer makes no pretensions to great geological knowledge, we shall not attempt a scientific or technical discussion of the several strata in detail. The limestones and fireclays of the county may be passed over as a being of no very great economical importance, excepting the use of the limestone for still further enriching an already fertile soil.

The topography of Allegheny county makes beautiful, picturesque scenery. The Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers, together with their tributaries, having cut their way down through several hundred feet of shales and sandstones, leaving beautiful bluffs and escarpments on either side overlooking the rivers and creeks with their terraced banks, form scenery not often surpassed, and the smaller streams, fed by springs, running down the hillsides and finding their way to the creeks, afford most excellent natural drainage for the county.

With a climate salubrious, soil rich, and an abundance of mineral wealth, the county is capable of sustaining an immense population, and with its vast manufacturing interests is almost a world in itself.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

OLD AND NEW COUNTY BUILDINGS—THE CELEBRATION—OBJECT OF THE PARADES—DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDINGS—CIVIC AND MILITARY PROCESSION.

THE history of Allegheny county would be incomplete were there not given some account of the celebration, in Pittsburgh, of the centennial of the formation of Allegheny county, September 24, 1788.

The second courthouse, opened in 1841, was destroyed by fire on Sunday, May 7, 1882. The county commissioners, after consultation with many citizens, and after an examination of many of the best courthouses in the country, decided to rebuild upon the site of the burned courthouse, and invited plans and proposals from architects. Fortunately their preference fell upon a plan submitted by H. H. Richardson, of Massachusetts (since dead). The estimate upon this plan was that the new courthouse and jail could be built for $2,500,000. Contract for the erection of the buildings was made with Northrop Bros., of Massachusetts, and they were finished in time for occupancy in August, 1888, and the cost was, for a wonder, inside of the estimate.

As the best history of this effort was made at the centennial by R. E. Mercer, one of the commissioners, it is hereto appended:

It was on Sunday, the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1882, that the old courthouse, a building of great architectural beauty, and for years the pride of our people, was destroyed by fire, and we, as county commissioners, were confronted with the duty of building a new courthouse and jail, a legal responsibility of the office we held.

The task thus presented was one of great and serious responsibility and fraught with manifold difficulties, and was one for which we previously had no special fitness or adaptness. Illy equipped as we were, we called upon the leading public-spirited citizens of the county and the public press, and with their advice and assistance entered upon the prosecution of the work.

We were exceedingly fortunate in securing the services of that eminent architect, Henry Hobson Richardson, and to his genius, skill and great learning we are largely indebted for the rapid and satisfactory manner in which the masterpiece of his life's work was completed, and it is with feelings of deepest sorrow that we remember he was called from the scene of his earthly labors before the completion of these buildings.

To his credit, however, be it said, that for rare architectural beauty, completeness of arrangements and substantial workmanship the buildings are unequaled anywhere throughout the country.

The sum estimated as necessary to be expended for their construction and equipment was $2,500,000; their actual cost, not including $162,200 paid for the ground on which the jail stands, is $2,450,284.66.

The important question at the beginning of the work was, "How shall this great sum of money be obtained?" A variety of opinions prevailed among the citizens and taxpayers; some advocated the issue of bonds for the entire amount, while others recommended that it be raised by direct taxation during the progress of the work, and thereby avoid increasing the indebtedness of the county, which, on the 1st day of January, 1882, was $3,922,477.01.

The suggestion to avoid increasing the indebtedness of the county was in part adopted, and although it was necessary, during the prosecution of the work, to issue $800,000 in bonds, yet to-day the indebtedness is but $4,081,617, while the available assets of the county acquired during this time amount to $160,000 invested in the university building and other properties used temporarily for county purposes. We are thus enabled to present to you these buildings with every dollar of their cost paid or provided for, without increase in the tax-levy, and the indebtedness of the county, taking into consideration the assets referred to, $860.01 less than it was January 1, 1882.

That new buildings, costing $2,500,000, should have been built and paid for without incurring any increase in indebtedness is, indeed, a remarkable fact, and that none of this large sum was found sticking to the hands of either the commissioners, the architect or the contractors, is creditable in the highest degree. The new buildings are models of taste and beauty, as well as of adaptedness to their uses, and add much to the appearance of the city.

The jail was first built, and was finished in 1886, and the fact that the courthouse was finished in 1888, the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the county, led to the suggestion that the building should be dedicated on the day of the county's formation, September 24, 1788. Acting upon this hint, the citizens of the two cities, through a centennial committee of one hundred, of which Mr. Morrison Foster, of Allegheny, was chairman, made

Edwin M. Stowe

arrangements for a grand centennial celebration of three days, September 24th, 25th and 26th, the courthouse to be dedicated on the 24th, to be followed by a civic display and grand procession on the 25th, and a military display on the 26th, the nights of the three days to be occupied in displays of fireworks. No celebration would be complete, in this country, without this Chinese *addendum*.

The object of the several parades was to show, by contrast, the great advance made by the county within the hundred years. It was impossible, of course, to show the actual condition of things here in 1788; but by means of mules and horses laden with packs of merchandise, the only method of transportation a hundred years ago; by parading a Conestoga wagon of the period of 1820, and the canal-boats of 1830, a clear contrast was drawn with the locomotives and cars of to-day; and by pictorial delineations of river transportation in 1788 by canoe, flat and barge, by steamers in 1812 and at subsequent periods, the contrast with 1888 was clear and unmistakable.

On the 24th, before the courthouse was formally turned over to the people, there was a significant parade of the police of the two cities, and of their respective fire departments, including such of the old fire-engines as could be obtained. There was no police force in 1788, to contrast with the splendid display of such force made in 1888; but that very fact was sufficient, in itself, to mark the advance made in a century. The present police of the two cities is not a very large force, numerically speaking, but this parade showed it to be composed of men physically adapted to their task, and the peace and good order that prevailed during the three days' celebration demonstrated how well trained they are to their difficult work. The contrast between the old fire-engines, worked by hand, and the present steam fire-engines was also noteworthy. The history of these old hand-worked fire-engines extends back only to 1808, and from that period forward to 1869; but from 1788 to 1808 the fire department consisted exclusively of the bucket brigade. The old borough of Pittsburgh compelled every householder to keep a certain number of leathern buckets always on hand. When a fire occurred each householder repaired with his leathern buckets (which had his name painted on them) to the fire, where a double line was formed from the fire to the nearest pump, well or stream, and the buckets, as filled, were passed up one side of the line, and returned empty down the other side. This was a miserable provision for putting out a fire, but it was the best that could be made then. Fortunately, each house was detached from all others, and, clumsy as this method was, it generally served to confine a fire to the premises on which it began. After 1808, when a small hand fire-engine was in use, the bucket brigade was still used to furnish water to the engine. It was not until a long time afterward that the city furnished a water supply, and so ended the services of the bucket brigade. Since the introduction of the steam fire-engine fires have been easily extinguished. and, though frequent, are not often disastrous. The

transition from 1788, when the fires had to be extinguished by pouring water on a bucketful at a time, to 1888, when water is copiously supplied in a dozen potent jets from as many engines, or is frequently put out without water, by the use of a Babcock extinguisher, was a great one, and was made fully manifest by the parade of the magnificent steam apparatus of the present day.

At the morning exercises, on the 24th, Judge Stowe presided, and addresses were made by Judge White, D. D. Bruce, Henry Warner and ex-President Hayes, who was an invited guest. The courthouse was formally turned over to the people by the county commissioners, and accepted, on behalf of the people, by William M. Darlington, Esq., the oldest attorney at the bar. At the afternoon meeting Hon. James L. Graham presided. The school children of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, some three thousand of them being present, sang several patriotic songs admirably, and this would of itself have made the occasion a notable one. There may have been a school in Pittsburgh in 1788, but if any existed at all it was a private and very small one, while the public schools of 1888 are the pride and the glory, as well as the security, of the people. An oration by A. M. Brown, Esq., followed, and several speeches, among them one by Judge Patton, who held the first court in the courthouse lately destroyed by fire; and this, with some fine choral singing, finished the proceedings of the first day, and completed the dedication of the new building.

The civic procession of the 25th was the grandest display of the kind ever witnessed in Pittsburgh up to that time. The procession began to move at 10:20 A. M., and occupied three hours and a quarter in passing a point a short distance from the starting-place, and was so vast in its proportions that it was impossible to get into it more than three-fifths of those waiting to take part in it. As a mere civic spectacle it was a grand success; but as affording a demonstration of the growth of the city and county within the past hundred years it was still more successful. The almost interminable lines of workingmen from innumerable factories of every kind, and the displays of domestic materials and handiwork, were bewildering in their number and extent. It was an overwhelming proof of the progress wrought in a century. No words can express the height and the depth, the length and the breadth of the teaching it conveyed by an object-lesson of such surpassing magnitude. The military procession of the 26th was not so gigantic in its proportions; but it, too, was an object-lesson sufficient to leave a lasting impression. When Mad Anthony Wayne was here, shortly after the formation of the county, drilling his troops for an advance into the Indian country, it was thought a great thing that Pittsburgh was able to form a small military company of thirty or forty men; and among all the contrasts brought out during the three days of this centennial, none was more noteworthy than that between the puny military company of Wayne's day and the grand military display of 1888. All the troops present were volunteers. The regular army has no force in Pittsburgh. The war of 1861–65 has left behind it a military spirit that still keeps up its ardor, and Western

Pennsylvania could, if needs were, turn out a respectable army, on short notice, to repel the advance of any possible enemy, from any quarter.

The mere details of these processions would not be edifying in a history of this kind, and are therefore omitted. It is enough to say that the lesson of the centennial was beautifully and fully taught; and we are left to wonder, with all who witnessed this grand display, what the next hundred years will bring forth. What will be the measure of their advancement? It can not be greater, everyone is fain to think, than that of the past century; and the fondest aspirations will be satisfied if it shall prove to be as great.

CHAPTER XX.

PITTSBURGH.

ADVANTAGES OF THE SITE OF PITTSBURGH—MCKEE'S ROCKS AND "THE FORKS"—FORTS—INFLUX OF SETTLERS—COL. CAMPBELL'S TOWN—EARLY GROWTH OF PITTSBURGH—FORT PITT—TEMPERANCEVILLE—THE PONTIAC CONSPIRACY—SIEGE OF FORT PITT.

IT was at a very early period that the site of Pittsburgh attracted attention. To a practiced military eye its advantages as the site for a fort were at once plain. The Indians, however, never seemed to have any idea of its value for the purpose of fortification.* Shannopin's† town was not at the forks, but at Two-Mile run, on the Allegheny, while Shingiss‡ selected McKee's Rocks as the most advantageous military point.

In Judge Agnew's recent work, giving a history of the titles to land in Western Pennsylvania, he cites from the treaty of Fort Stanwix, made in 1784, a statement of the boundaries of the lands surrendered by that treaty, which speaks of "Shingo's old town, at the mouth of Beaver," as the starting-point north and south of the western boundary line of Pennsylvania. As "the mouth of Beaver" was never known as "Shingo's old town," and there is no trace of such a town at the mouth of Little Beaver, twelve miles below "the mouth of Beaver," the judge is not a little mystified by this phraseology. The mouth of Beaver was known among the Indians as Sawcung, a generic Delaware word signifying the mouth of streams, generally. Saucon creek, in

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*That the Indians never attached any importance to the "fork" as a military point is shown by the fact that they had no name for it until after it was occupied as a fort. The Indian name for this place was Menachink—literally "at the fortified place." Menach is an enclosure, a fortification; ink is the locative, as in Kittan-ing, meaning at. Hence Menachink is "at the fort," or at the fortified place. This shows that the name was framed after its occupation by the English and French. The name has very little to commend it to general use, being harsh in sound and not sufficiently indicative in its meaning.

†A Shawanese chief.

‡The chief of the Delawares, erroneously called "King" by many of the earlier writers.

Northampton county, Pa., is an instance of its use, and it is found in Maine, in Saco and Sagadahock, as well as in Saginaw, in Michigan. If the treaty had meant Big Beaver creek, therefore, it would have used the well-known Indian name applied to the mouth of that stream, Sawcung; and as the parties named in the treaty to run the lines must have known what was meant by the terms used to define the boundary, and as they started the line north and south from the mouth of Little Beaver, it follows that "Shingo's old town" was at the mouth of Little Beaver. There is nothing beyond this inference to show that this was the fact; but as Shingiss' town [Shingo being used for Shingiss in the treaty] was at McKee's Rocks in 1753, "the mouth of Beaver" is referred to in the treaty as "Shingo's old town" to distinguish it from his new town near the site of Pittsburgh. And the language is used in 1784 as definitely indicating a specific point, showing that at that time there could be no difficulty in identifying it. The fact that there is nothing at the mouth of Little Beaver to show that Shingiss ever occupied it amounts to nothing. There is as little now to show that he ever lived at McKee's Rocks.

In 1748 Thomas Lee, one of the king's council in Virginia, formed a plan for a settlement on lands west of the mountains. (It must be borne in mind here that Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania, laid claim to all the lands west of Laurel hill, which accounts for Washington's visit here in 1753 and Braddock's expedition in 1755.) A company was formed of persons in Maryland and Virginia, called "the Ohio Company," to whom half a million acres of land, principally south of the Ohio, were granted. George Washington, in his journal of the visit of 1753, says:

"About two miles from this [Pittsburgh], on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, king of the Delawares. As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or advantages, especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place."

We infer from the fact that the Ohio Company was formed in 1748, and that a fort was designed by it at McKee's Rocks, that some representative of that company had been over the ground prior to that date. Céloron, a French officer, was certainly here in 1749, and must have noted the "fork," as Washington calls it, as a desirable and commanding military position. France at and prior to that time was incited, by her extensive possessions in North America, to strengthen herself by establishing a line of posts from her northern (Canada) to her southern (Louisiana) colony. In this great scheme the point at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers became a command-

J. J. VANDERGRIFT

ing position. But the knowledge of this implies a personal knowledge of the spot on the part of its exploring agents. So it is fair to conclude that both the English and French had been on the ground and made note of its value, as a military point, some years before 1750. This is certain as to the French, the English explorers seeming, at first, to prefer a point a little lower down the river. But Washington had too good a military education to prefer McKee's Rocks to "the fork." The latter commanded his preference at first sight.

Céloron was sent out, not to select sites for forts, but to take possession of the country along the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. He did this by burying leaden plates, on which were inscribed the objects of his mission, at different points. Three of these, it is said, have been found, one at the mouth of French creek, Pennsylvania, one at Marietta, Ohio, and one at Big Kanawha. Of the latter, a *fac simile* was published by Neville B. Craig in "The Olden Time."

This action of the French excited the governor of Virginia, who sent out George Washington, in 1753, to visit and remonstrate with the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf. He arrived here November 24, 1753, and made his way to Fort Le Bœuf, where he discharged his mission and returned. When he reached this place in December the Allegheny was running with ice. He attempted to cross at Herr's island on a raft, which was wrecked by the ice, and he narrowly escaped with his life. But he got over in some fashion, and passed on to Frazier's, at the mouth of Turtle creek. Frazier was an Indian trader, and his settlement was one of the few then in Western Pennsylvania. From Frazier's he went home to Virginia, and made report of his mission.

The English were the first to act in taking possession of "the fork." Washington returned in December, 1753. In February, 1754, Capt. Trent was dispatched to build a fort there, and must have got rapidly to work, for he had a stockade built and occupied in April, 1754. On the 17th day of that month Capt. Contrecœur, on behalf of the French, demanded an instant surrender. Capt. Trent being absent, Ensign Ward was in command, but the Frenchman knew his advantage, and insisted upon and received an instant surrender. Contrecœur then built a new fort, which he called Fort Duquesne, after the governor of Canada. To dispossess Contrecœur was now the grand object of the English, and the management of the effort to recapture the fort was intrusted to Gen. Braddock. Of the disastrous failure of his expedition our readers all know. This occurred in 1755, and the French remained in possession until Gen. Forbes undertook another expedition in 1758. The French, by that time, had become satisfied of their inability to hold the fort, and instead of waiting for his arrival blew it up, and carried their forces away in canoes to a fort of the Shawanese in Ohio. By 1763 Canada had fallen into the hands of the English, and all the French schemes for a foothold in America were blasted.

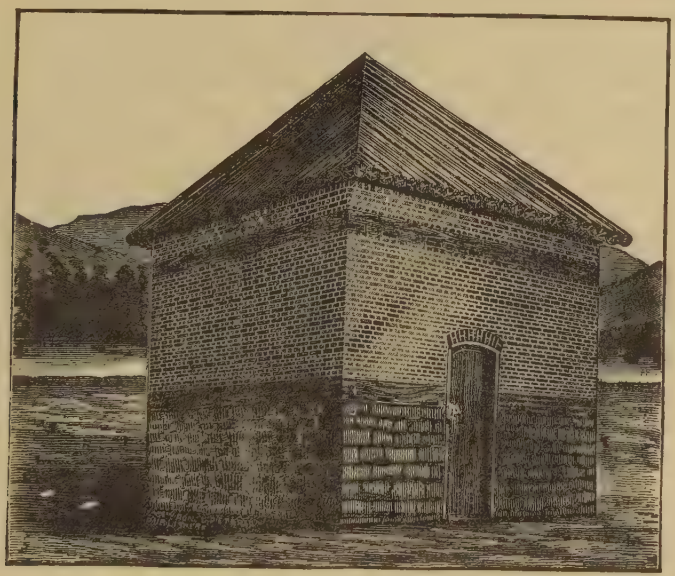
On the 17th of February, 1754, Capt. William Trent and Christopher Gist

built their half-faced camps on the forks of the Ohio, and selected the site of the fort which was destined to attract the attention of all Europe and America, an event which an enthusiastic writer has properly proclaimed as the real founding of Pittsburgh. No doubts of immediate success appear to have depressed the spirits of these hardy pioneers. Little more than two years before Gist had laid out a town and fort on Redstone creek, not far from Brownsville, and eleven families soon afterward took up their homes there. About the same time the bold surveyor had transferred his home from the Yadkin (North Carolina) to a site between Redstone creek and the Laurel hills, while in 1753 a considerable settlement had been planted a little further off, on the Youghiogheny. The Ohio Company had established a fort in the meantime at the mouth of the Redstone, and was now seeking to plant another stronghold still nearer the tribes to which they already were sending their traders. But with the succeeding spring came the French, followed by the contest for military supremacy between the rival powers and Pontiac's conspiracy to sustain the "frail fabric of French empire in the west."

The close of the French and English war, in 1763, found all these organized attempts at colonization prostrated, but the events of the war and succeeding campaigns had brought the attractions of the region to the notice of many, while the bounties offered the troops created an interest in the lands beyond the mountains which soon brought an eager throng of pioneers into this region. The provisions of existing treaties still made the Allegheny hills the boundary between the whites and the Indians, but, in spite of royal proclamations and strict military orders for their removal, the settlers came into the forbidden territory, and planted their homes on the very banks of the river. In 1761 a return of the garrison and camp-followers at Pittsburgh showed something more than three hundred persons present, but no sign of a regular settlement. Three years later, however, when Bouquet's campaign was scarcely ended, and almost before a stockade promising ample protection had been provided for, Col. John Campbell laid out that portion of the city which is now indicated by the line of Water and Second streets, between Ferry and Market. What his encouragement for this action was can not now be ascertained. Doubtless the site promised great advantages for a frontier town, which Campbell felt sure would rapidly grow into existence under the protection of the fort, and he hastened to reap the advantage of his early presence on the ground. Whatever the basis of his claim was, it does not appear to have been disturbed, and his plat became the origin of the town, which has since developed into a great manufacturing center. To resume, the importance of the site of Pittsburgh was recognized as early as 1748; induced in part the journey of Céleron in 1749; led to Washington's visit in 1753; to the erection of a stockade in 1754 by the English; to its capture by the French in the same year, and the erection of Fort Duquesne; to the expedition of Braddock in 1755; to the capture of Fort Duquesne in 1758 by Gen. Forbes; to the subsequent erection of Fort Pitt in

1759, and to the laying out of a squatters' town by Campbell in 1764. In all this time, from 1748 to 1758, there were but few settlers in Western Pennsylvania beyond the immediate vicinity of the fort; but after the expulsion of the French, in the latter year, white settlers began to creep in, and there was enough demand for supplies from settlers and from Indian traders to warrant this first beginning of a town of stores made by Campbell in 1764.

The municipal history of Pittsburgh begins with 1794, when the town was incorporated as a borough; but the history of the town of Pittsburgh begins with 1764, the year in which Col. Bouquet erected his redoubt, still standing at the Point. "In the same year, also," says Craig in his "History of Pittsburgh," "Col. John Campbell laid out that part of the city which lies between Water and Second streets [now Second avenue] and between Ferry and Market



BOUQUET'S REDOUBT, ERECTED 1764.

streets, being four squares." What fashion Craig followed in finding *four* squares where there are really but two I can not say, positively, but probably Chancery lane was counted by him as an intervening street between Ferry and Market, which would make four squares, or blocks.

This little town plot of Col. Campbell was near the fort, and therefore under its protection. The fort, it is true, was nearer the intersection of the two rivers, the Allegheny and Monongahela, and was between Liberty street and the Allegheny, with two of its five sides facing the Monongahela; but the original fort, Duquesne, being practically destroyed by the French when they evacuated it in 1758, the British force left by Gen. Forbes to occupy the position erected a temporary barracks and a redoubt on the corner of what is

now Redoubt alley and Water street, which served as a fortification until Fort Pitt was erected near the site of Fort Duquesne. It is not improbable that in 1764 this redoubt was occupied by the British forces as well as Fort Pitt, so that Col. Campbell, in laying out his little town, would be able to feel that its citizens were sufficiently near to military protection. If, however, the old redoubt was not occupied by the military, the new redoubt of Bouquet was only two squares distant; and the fact that the laying out of this embryo town was done in the same year the redoubt of Bouquet was built would naturally indicate the dependence of the town upon the new fortification for military succor when needed. The commandant of the fort, also, might very properly think the town would be injurious to the fort if allowed any nearer.

Whatever encouragement Col. Campbell had, or thought he had, his legal authority for plotting this town-site does not appear from any papers now accessible to the public. The Indian title to the land had not been extinguished in 1764, so that, although the Penns claimed all the territory five degrees west of the Delaware under the original grant of William Penn, their purchases from the Indians extended west only to the eastern side of the Allegheny mountains. In 1768 the Iroquois Indians sold to the Penns all the territory from the eastern side of the Alleghenies to the Allegheny river at Kittanning, and thence downward to its mouth, and thence to its western border; and in 1769 the Penns ordered a survey of the manor of Pittsburgh. It was completed March 27, 1769, and contained 5,766 acres. This was five years after Campbell's town was laid out, so that he did not need, in 1764, any authorization from the Penns to justify his act. His plan, nevertheless, seems to have satisfied the Penns; for when their survey of the town was made, in 1784, they adopted Campbell's plan, as far as it went, and the rest of their plan was made to conform to it.* Whether the settlers on Campbell's plan had to buy their titles from the Penns, or whether Campbell's titles were recognized, or whether, in fact, Campbell made any titles, I can not tell. Probably he did not undertake to give title to what he never owned; and those who built upon the lots laid out by him, being merely squatters, were recognized by the Penns as having the first right to a title from them. Campbell was a Virginian, and may have got authority from Dunmore. He ran off with Connolly, and this gives color to the supposition. The little town, we are told, was occupied mainly by Indian traders after it was laid out, and may hence be regarded as a mere military convenience, to carry on intercourse with the Indians outside of the forts, and not as a speculation in town lots. In an account given of the visit of Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. Mr. Duffield to Pittsburgh in 1766 we are told that "Mr. Duffield preached to the people *who lived in some kind of a town, without the fort*, to whom Mr. Beatty also preached in the after-

* This fact may explain a peculiarity of that plan which will be more fully noted when we come to consider it farther.

noon." Mr. Craig adds: "We infer from the expression 'some kind of a town' that Pittsburgh must have been a poor affair, indeed." Which it undoubtedly was. In 1788, twenty-four years afterward, Dr. Hildreth, then on his way to Marietta, Ohio, writing of Pittsburgh, which he passed on his way to the west, says: "The houses were chiefly built of logs, but *now and then* one had assumed the appearance of neatness and comfort." If this was so in 1788, what must have been the appearance of the town in 1764? In December, 1784, Arthur Lee, of Virginia, visited here, and writes very contemptuously of the place. He says:

"Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in *paltry log houses*, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt. from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel, so that they are likely to be damned without benefit of clergy. The rivers encroach fast on the town, and to such a degree that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had, within thirty years of *his* memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable."

This is not calculated to give us a very high opinion of Mr. Lee as a prophet, but as a delineator of what he saw he may be trusted. The town, doubtless, as he saw it, and when he saw it, was mean in appearance, dirty, and with dirty inhabitants. To a Virginian it doubtless held out the very minimum of promise; yet it would take all the towns in Virginia, that then looked so clean and promising, to make an approach to it to-day in wealth, in appearance, in population and in resources. Even then, he admits, there was "a great deal of small trade carried on;" and another writer, of an earlier period, speaks very encouragingly of the brisk trade of which this small and mean-looking town was then the center. Especially when the Indians filled its few streets, and were keen for barter, did the place look bright and cheery.

From the time of the extinguishment of the Indian title, in 1768, and the survey of 1769, a steady stream of emigration set across the mountains, much of it passing through the settlement at the forks to find a location south of the Ohio in the purchased lands of Kentucky.

The new venture at Pittsburgh felt the invigorating impulse of this tide of life, and early began to take the form of a town. The same influence made itself felt elsewhere, and all along the western margin of the mountains new houses sprang up, though for years greatly isolated and exposed to the raids of the savages.

In 1770 the town of Pittsburgh consisted of four indistinct "squares" with a score of log houses situated along the bank of the Monongahela. With a single exception they were occupied by traders, whose business made the security of a frontier fort more desirable than any other eligible situation. The demands

of the garrison and the roads which had been laid out to the fort would have brought a large number of persons here and given activity to the post if the reservation of bounty lands had not been made in this vicinity. The latter fact, doubtless, added to the number of visitors, and made "a place of public entertainment" a necessity. The single evidence of general business in the town, therefore, was the tavern of Samuel Semple. Its site is said to be on the corner of Water and Ferry streets. It was a double log house, erected in 1764 by Col. George Morgan, and was the first house in the place to have a shingle roof. It was a pretentious structure for the time, contained three rooms below, and ample sleeping-quarters in the upper story for the accommodation of the traveling public.

Although by all these indications destined to fulfill the anticipations of its founder, the incipient city early became a bone of contention, and suffered much in this disturbed period. Its development was greatly retarded, and save for its great natural advantages it would doubtless have lost its chance of future greatness.*

The first Fort Pitt (for there were two) was a temporary affair, at the foot of West street and extending to Redoubt alley, which was erected by Col. Mercer and occupied by him January 1, 1759. Fort Duquesne was captured November 25, 1758, so that Col. Mercer, who was left behind with 200 men by Gen. Forbes to occupy the fort, must have been very active to get into new barracks within little more than a month afterward. A letter from Col. Mercer, January 8, 1759, says: "This garrison now consists of 280 men, and is capable of some defense, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe." A letter from Gen. Amherst, March 15, 1759. announces the death of Gen. Forbes, and the appointment of Gen. John Stanwix as his successor. Gen. Forbes had been very sick for some time before his march to Pittsburgh. He had been carried on a litter from Philadelphia all the way here and back again. He left here with his army after the capture of the fort, in December, 1758, and arrived in Philadelphia January 17, 1759. He died in that city March 11, 1759. His quartermaster speaks of him as "the man with the iron head," and he must have been a man of iron firmness and indomitable will to have endured transportation in a litter from Philadelphia here and back, during the cold of a severe winter, and against many discouragements of every kind. There were but few men in the British army, at that time, who either could or would have done it; and Pittsburgh owes her start into life to his high courage, iron will and unquestioned military ability.

Gen. Stanwix, who succeeded Gen. Forbes, is supposed to have arrived here about September 1, 1759. A letter, given in Craig's "History of Pitts-

* The reference in this paragraph is to the Dunmore war, in which that tory governor of Virginia laid claim to all Western Pennsylvania (all west of Laurel hill) as a part of Virginia. This episode is dwelt upon so fully by Father Lambing, in his sketch of the history of Allegheny county, that the reader is referred thereto for further details. It is unnecessary to repeat them here.

burgh," dated September 24, 1759, says: "It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification, such a one as will, to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio." This was Fort Pitt, erected by Gen. Stanwix, and the presumption from the words, "it is near a month since," is that the general arrived about the last of August and began the work of building the fort. He pressed the work with great energy, and soon had the fort in condition for occupancy. It was called Fort Pitt, after the elder Pitt, and was, as near as may be, upon the site of the old fort, Duquesne. Washington, in his journal of 1770, says it was five-sided, each side being of equal extent, the two sides next the land being of brick and the other three of stockade; but Craig says the five sides were *not* equal, so that Washington was in error. As Mr. Craig knew the fort well, having been born near to it, I subjoin his description of it as certain to be correct, and therefore worthy of preservation:

"The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to inclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country this rampart was supported by what military men call a *revetment*, a brickwork nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides the earth in the rampart had no support, and of course it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy, one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch, which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage. In summer, however, when the river was low, the ditch was dry and perfectly smooth, so that the officers and men had a ball-alley in the ditch and against the revetments.

"This ditch extended from the salient angle of the north bastion, that is, the point of the fort which approached nearest to Marbury* street, back of the south end of Hoke's row, down to Allegheny, where Marbury street strikes it. This part of the ditch was, during our boyhood, and even since, called Butler's Gut, from the circumstance of Gen. Richard Butler and Col. William Butler residing nearest to it, their houses being the same which now [1850] stand at the corner on the south side of Penn and east side of Marbury. Another part of the ditch extended to the Monongahela, a little west of West street, and a third debouch into the river was made just about the end of Penn street.

"The redoubt, which still remains near the Point, the last relic of British labor at this place, was not erected until 1764. The other redoubt, which stood at the mouth of Redoubt alley, was erected by Col. William Grant, and our

*Now Second street, all the streets running at right angles to the Allegheny river being now numbered from one upward. The old numbered streets are now called "avenues," First avenue, Second avenue, etc., instead of First street, Second street, etc.

recollection is that the year mentioned on the stone tablet was 1765, but we are not positive on that point."*

This redoubt must have accompanied the first Fort Pitt, erected in 1758. The date on the stone tablet must therefore have been 1759 or 1760.

The cost of erecting Fort Pitt is stated by Judge Brackenridge, in the Pittsburgh *Gazette* of July 29, 1786, at £60,000 sterling. This seems an enormous sum for such a comparatively small work. Arthur Lee, in 1784, states the cost at £600, which is probably a misprint for either £6,000 or £60,000, and Mr. Craig expresses his conviction that the latter sum is correct.

The redoubt built by Col. Bouquet in 1764 is still standing in its original place. Propositions have been made in the Chamber of Commerce to buy it and remove it to some other place for the purpose of preservation; but it still remains where it was built, with surroundings of the most squalid kind, and has itself been turned from its original purpose into a dirty tenement-house. The stone tablet originally inserted in its outer wall has been removed to the City Hall for safe-keeping, so that, if the building should be destroyed, the tablet will remain as a memento. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that the original site of Fort Pitt, from Water street on the Monongahela to Marbury street, and from Penn street to the Allegheny river, fell finally to the lot of Col. Croghan, and descended from him to his second daughter, who married Col. Schenley, of London, in 1841 or 1842, and it remains at this writing a part of the Schenley estate. All the occupants of it are mere tenants, paying ground-rent for the land, on long or short leases, as they can best secure them; so that the fort and its grounds, captured in 1758 by Forbes for the British government, still remain in British hands, and are likely to remain there so long as there are British heirs to claim and hold onto them, unless the legislature should pass an act, as has been done in Illinois, to cut off foreign ownership of American lands.

When the town of Fort Pitt began to be called "Pittsburgh" we can not ascertain with exactitude, but it must have been immediately after the fort was built, or soon afterward. The first fort was built in 1759, and the second in the latter part of the same year; and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April, 1760, only six months after Gen. Stanwix had completed Fort Pitt, we find a letter published, dated "Fort at Pittsburgh, March 21, 1760." The place was probably known as Pittsburgh, instead of Fort Pitt, from the start. Campbell's town plot dates from 1764, four years after this, so that we may date the name from 1759–60. To ordinary ears it would seem that Fort Pitt sounded as well and could be pronounced as easily as Pittsburgh; yet the preference was given to the latter, as we find all, or nearly all, letters from that date onward dated at Pittsburgh.

The native fancy seems to have run to "town" as a termination rather than to "burgh," as is seen in the early name of Bedford, Raystown, and

*Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," pages 85, 86.

in the county seat of Westmoreland, Hannastown; also in Norristown and Uniontown. The only exception, at or near that time, is Harrisburg. The suggestion of "burgh" must have come from some one of Anglo-Saxon antecedents, probably one of the English officers. The early Anglo-Saxons, in England, when they formed a settlement inclosed the place for their residence with a ditch, within which was erected the manor-house of the lord or baron, and around it the outhouses and cottages for his serfs or tenants. This was called his bur'h, and from this root we get our word "borough," sometimes shortened into "burgh," likewise the word "burrow." The resemblance of Fort Pitt and its inclosure and ditch to an old Anglo-Saxon bur'h would naturally suggest Pittsburgh as more appropriate than Fort Pitt. At any rate, the name had its origin simultaneously with the erection of the fort, and, like other names that struck the popular fancy, it has stuck permanently. From a letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, dated March 21, 1760, we extract the following:

"The Indians are carrying on a vast trade with the merchants of Pittsburgh, and instead of desolating the frontiers of these colonies are entirely employed in increasing the trade and wealth thereof. The happy effects of our own military operations are also felt by about four thousand of our poor inhabitants, who are now in quiet possession of the lands they were driven from on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia."

What is now the state of Ohio was then a part of Virginia, so that the use of the latter name here includes Ohio as well as West Virginia. We get from this letter an estimate of the number of settlers dispossessed by the Indians prior to 1760. Four thousand seems a large aggregate, but the territory covered is also large, and of this total Western Pennsylvania furnished a very small proportion. The proprietaries, not having extinguished the Indian title to the lands until 1768, did all they could to discourage and prevent settlements from being made. Virginia also laid claim to Western Pennsylvania, and cared nothing for the Indian title. The bulk of the white settlements in Western Pennsylvania in 1760 was to be found west and south of the Monongahela and Ohio, made upon Virginia titles. Judge Agnew, in his recent work, mentions the farm of West Elliott, on Saw-Mill run, now in the Thirty-sixth ward of this city, as taken up on a Virginia title. This farm contained about one hundred and fifty acres, and had upon it, within the recollection of the writer, an old stone gristmill and a sawmill, a short distance up the run from the Ohio, and a saltworks, still standing, at the mouth of the run. The claim of West Elliott's heirs was purchased, eventually, by I. B. Warden, who laid the farm off into town lots, and called it Temperanceville, from a clause inserted in the deeds that a sale of liquor upon the premises should work a forfeiture of the title. The courts, however, declared this clause a nullity, and but little effort was ever made to enforce it. Temperanceville was afterward admitted into the city as the Thirty-sixth ward.

Gen. Stanwix was relieved from command at the fort March 21, 1760, and was succeeded by Maj. Tulikens. He (Stanwix) returned to England in the same year, and was shipwrecked in January, 1767. The ship on which he was sailing was the Eagle, and he had his wife, daughter, a relative and four servants along with him. All of them perished. As the notice is found in *Hazard's Register*, a Philadelphia publication, it would be presumable that he was returning to military duty in America; but from Fearne's "Posthumous Works," an English lawbook, we learn that the vessel was bound from Ireland to England. Litigation took place between the heirs of his wife and his daughter, the question turning upon which was the last survivor. The question was so difficult that the court declined to decide, and recommended a compromise, which was adopted.

Of Maj. Tulikens, his successor, nothing can be told. The name is almost unknown to the public annals, and is suggestive of a character in a theatrical farce rather than that of an active military man; but Craig says he "seems to have been highly esteemed and respected." No one is likely to put in a claim to have a street named after him.

He was in turn succeeded by Gen. Monckton, who arrived here on June 29, 1760. On the 7th of July Col. Bouquet was dispatched with four companies to Presqu' Isle to unite there with Maj. Gladwin, for the purpose of taking possession of Detroit and Mackinaw. This is the Maj. Gladwin of whom Parkman makes distinguished mention as the defender of Detroit in the Pontiac war. In August, 1760, Gen. Monckton held a treaty at Fort Pitt with the Six Nations, the Shawanese and the Delaware Indians.* We find here, in the complaints of the Indians, a repetition of the old grumble about the encroachment of the whites upon the Indian lands, or lands to which the Indians had not

*The Iroquois confederacy consisted originally of but *five* nations, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Cayugas and Senecas. In 1712 the Tuscaroras, having been expelled from North Carolina, were admitted to this confederacy as the sixth nation. This accounts for the reference in Indian histories to the "Five" Nations and "Six" Nations, indiscriminately, long after the sixth nation was admitted. In the history of Western Pennsylvania, and of Pittsburgh particularly, the Iroquois, or Six Nations, are almost invariably coupled with the Shawanese and Delawares. The Shawanese had towns on the Allegheny, at Two-Mile run (the old Lawrenceville), and along the Ohio, Post mentioning, in the diary of his visit here in 1758, that he passed through three Shawanese towns between Fort Duquesne and Logstown; the Delaware chief, Shingiss, had a town at McKee's Rocks, and there were four or five Delaware towns, one at Sawcunk (Beaver), and four at Kush-kush-kee, this side of Newcastle; and the Iroquois, or Six Nations, were at Logstown, below Sewickleyville, under Tanacharison, who was always spoken of as "the half-king," or "half-chief." This phraseology was used, it is likely, to distinguish him from a full chief, his command here being a small, and therefore fractional, one. Now, why are these three tribes always mentioned together? There was no tribal relationship, the Iroquois being entirely distinct in language, habits and character from the Algonquins, of whom the Delawares and Shawanese were a part. The answer is found in the claim set up by the Iroquois that at some (prehistorical) time they had conquered the Delawares and made "women" of them, holding them in subjection, and forbidding them to act in any other capacity than as subjects. The Shawanese were Algonquins, and kindred to the Delawares, but did not come into Pennsylvania until 1659; and being weak in number, with no home that they could call their own, they naturally fell into the wake of the Delawares, and generally were classed with them. Tanacharison and his Iroquois were at Logstown, to watch both and keep them in order. The Iroquois occasionally made treaties alone with the whites, but they never suffered the Delawares and Shawanese to act separately in making a treaty without holding them to a strict accountability. That is the reason we find them acting together here, not as kindred tribes, having a common object, but as sovereign and subjects, respectively. After the Pontiac war of 1763 the tribes became scattered, and the Iroquois sovereignty over these Algonquin tribes came to an end.

surrendered their title. Gen. Monckton delivered to them, in reply, a copy of a speech from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, in which it was stated that the king (of Great Britain) did not intend to deprive them of any of their lands, except as necessity obliged him to take posts and build forts in some parts of the country to prevent the enemy (the French) from taking possession of their lands. Within eight years, as has been seen, the Iroquois, acting for themselves and without consulting the Shawanese and Delawares, sold to the Penn proprietaries all the lands from the east of the Allegheny mountains to the Allegheny river westward.

After the definitive treaty of peace betweeen France and England, February 10, 1763, all the French forts in America were surrendered to the English. In the latter part of the spring of the same year the Pontiac war broke out. Pontiac, supposing that the British were not very strong in all these forts, planned his war so as to attack all the forts at the same time. The Shawanese and Delawares, although they had entered into a treaty of peace with Gen. Monckton in 1760, were most active in attacking Fort Pitt. They, with other Ohio Indians, were assigned to this fort because they were the nearest to it. Of the twelve forts held by the British, nine were captured by the Indians. Forts Pitt, Niagara and Detroit escaped. Fort Pitt was under the command of Capt. Ecuyer, and was vigorously assailed by the Indians, who surrounded it and cut off all communication with the rest of the world. The fort, however, was vigorously defended. All the outside inhabitants, traders and others, took refuge in it, and the enemy was successfully kept at bay. Fortunately relief was on the way for them. Col. Henry Bouquet, a Swiss by birth and a gallant soldier, who had served under Gen. Forbes in his capture of Fort Duquesne, was intrusted with the command of a force for the relief of Capt. Ecuyer. He assembled his troops at Carlisle; they left Bedford July 28, 1763, and on the 5th of August they were at Bushy run, about twenty-two miles east of Pittsburgh. Here, when about to encamp after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, he was suddenly attacked by the Indians, detached from the besieging force at the fort, who thought by a sudden onset to scatter the relieving force. This attack and a second one were both repulsed, when night came on. Next day the fight was renewed, and Col. Bouquet, badly off for water and occupying a poor position, resorted to a device to entrap the Indians. A part of his force, being hard pressed by the enemy, feigned a retreat; the Indians, elated at the prospect of an easy victory, were tempted from their cover to join in the pursuit, when Bouquet, coming up with the rest of his force, attacked them in flank and rear so successfully that, finding themselves between two fires, they broke and fled, "every man for himself, and the de'il take the hindmost." This defeated force carried consternation to their besieging brethren at the fort, who at once raised the siege and departed. Col. Bouquet lost fifty killed and sixty wounded; about forty Indians, including several chiefs, were

killed. From the crippled condition of his force, the colonel was unable to pursue the Indians to their homes. But it was not needed. The Pontiac conspiracy was at an end, and the subsequent outbreak, in 1791–93, was so effectually quelled by Mad Anthony Wayne that Pittsburgh, at least, was not afterward in danger from Indian outbreaks. In 1764, the following year, Bouquet rebuilt his redoubt.

CHAPTER XXI.

PITTSBURGH (Continued).

Pittsburgh from 1763 to 1768—Coal Hill—Land-Claim Disputes—The Manor of Pittsburgh—Sale of Fort Pitt—Pittsburgh in and after the Revolution—The Penns' Sale of Lands.

IT was in 1764, as already stated, that Campbell laid out his little town of four squares, just beyond the fort and facing the Monongahela, and it is from that date that the history of Pittsburgh, as a town, may be said to begin. The town was a small and mean one, apparently, given up to Indian trading, and for the next twenty years its history was nearly devoid of interest. Like the knife-grinder, it had no story to tell, and the narrator of what little gossip there is about it may be told, as Macaulay was about his "History of England," that it is *his story*, and not history. Still, within these twenty years the foundations were laid for the city as it exists to-day, and it does not do for cities, any more than individuals, to despise the day of small beginnings. It was always, during its record of one hundred and twenty-five years, prominent as a trading-post; it has always, too, kept pace with the growth of the great west, at whose gates it sits, and has always had reason to congratulate itself that its founders had *some* conception, even if an inadequate one, of the great prospect before it.

The reproach of Arthur Lee in 1784, that the town was then devoid of either church or clergy, was not altogether deserved, for as early as 1766 the town was visited, as we have seen, by Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. Mr. Duffield, sent hither by the synod of New York and Philadelphia, to find out what assistance might be necessary to afford religious instruction to the inhabitants. They found in the fort Rev. Mr. McLagan, chaplain of the Forty-second regiment, and on Sunday, September 7, 1766, they preached in the garrison, and also to the people of the town outside afterward. From the mention of the chaplain made here it is inferable that religious services were held in the fort regularly as long as it was occupied by the British, and we know that while in possession of the French particular attention was paid not

only to regular religious services, but to the registration of the births, deaths and marriages of the inhabitants. When the town came to be regularly laid out, in 1784, particular attention was paid to reserving ample lots for building churches on, and Rev. Mr. Barr, a Presbyterian preacher, was even then on the ground arranging for the erection of a meeting-house. So that Lee's sneer goes for nothing. Travelers never do know everything, and they are generally farthest from the truth concerning matters they seem most positive about.

Craig (History, p. 95) says the following is a note to Mr. Beatty's journal of Monday, September 8, 1766: "In the afternoon we crossed the Mocconghehela* river, accompanied by two gentlemen, and went up the hill [Coal hill] opposite the fort by a very difficult ascent, in order to take a view of that part of it more particularly from which the garrison is supplied with coals, which is not far from the top. A fire being made by the workmen not far from the place where they dug the coal, and left burning when they went away, by the small dust [slack] communicated itself to the body of the coals and set it on fire, and has now been burning almost a twelvemonth entirely under ground, for the space of twenty yards or more along the face of the hill or rock, the way the vein of coal extends, the smoke ascending up through the chinks of the rocks. The earth in some places is so warm that we could hardly bear to stand upon it; at one place where the smoke came up we opened a hole in the earth till it was so hot as to burn paper thrown into it; the steam that came out was so strong of sulphur that we could scarce bear it. We found pieces of matter there, some of which appeared to be sulphur, others niter, and some a mixture of both. If these should be large in this mountain it may become a volcano. The smoke arising out of this mountain appears to be much greater in rainy weather than at other times. The fire has already undermined some part of the mountain, so that great fragments of it and trees with their roots have fallen down its face. On the top of the mountain is a very rich soil covered with a fine verdure, and has a very easy slope on the other side."

The idea of calling Coal hill a "mountain" seems ridiculous when we know that it is less than five hundred feet high.

The supply of coal for the garrison and town was drawn from Coal hill, and the mining of it began in 1760. As the vein of coal was near the top, it is to be presumed that there must have been some sort of a road from the top down, to get the coal down from its high level. Such a road was in all probability the origin of the steep road which now leads to Mount Washington from the end of the Smithfield street bridge. If Mr. Beatty followed this road, or clambered up the steeper face of the the hill "opposite the fort," it is not hard to agree with him, in either case, that it was "a very difficult ascent."

Mr. Craig says that this is the first and only evidence confirmatory of a

* This is an awful spell, but not more outlandish than many other attempts to spell the name of this river. The present form, Mo-non-ga-he-la, is as near the Indian form as is needed. Its etymology, according to Gallatin, defies analysis; but its meaning is conceded to be "River of the Falling-in Banks."

tradition that Coal hill was once on fire. Such a tradition has long been current; yet, as Coal hill has for years been emptied of its coal, and no evidence of a conflagration ever found, Mr. Beatty's testimony must be held to apply to some very superficial fire, easily and soon afterward extinguished. Very recently a similar alarm was raised, which was found to have been caused by some boys having a fire in an empty pit, which communicated to a small rib of coal left when the pit was robbed of the ribs reserved to support the roof while the digging was going on. This fire soon exhausted its source of supply, and the alarm was as futile as that of 1766. The abandoned pits in Coal hill are now used by the inhabitants of "the very easy slope on the other side" as a system of drainage, holes being sunk from the houses to the abandoned workings to carry off the drainage.

The immense coal business of the city, now amounting to many millions of tons per annum, had its origin in 1760 in the effort to find a fuel supply for Pittsburgh in this sleeping "volcano" of our clerical friend of the last century. Of all the industries of this busy city, this is the oldest, and can lay claim to an antiquity that makes all the others appear youthful.

The first effect of the general peace of 1763, which followed the withdrawal of the French and the subsequent Pontiac war, was the return of 4,000 prisoners to their abandoned homes in the west, and this was supplemented by an immediate advance all along the line of white settlers pressing in to occupy the new lands along the Youghiogheny and Monongahela. The track which Braddock took over the mountains was the oldest trail between the east and the west, and as this afforded easy access to both the Youghiogheny and Monongahela, it is not to be wondered at that those streams bore the first brunt of the immigrant onset. The Indians, as in duty bound, began to complain. Mr. George Croghan (in no way connected with the Col. Croghan whose daughter married Capt. Schenley), who appears to have been a deputy superintendent of Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson, of New York, was in Fort Pitt May 22, 1766, and received complaints from the Six Nations, Delawares and Hurons. The Iroquois complained that, "as soon as peace was made last year a number of white people came over the great mountain and settled at Redstone creek and on the Monongahela, before they (the Iroquois) had given the country to the king, their father." The burden of this complaint appears to be, not the coming in of the whites, but their coming in and settling before the Indians had been paid for their lands. They were not, it must be confessed, very sharp at a bargain, but they were sharp enough to see that it was easier to get pay for the land before it was settled than afterward. They sold all of Western Pennsylvania, two years afterward, for $10,000, payable, it is supposed, in muskets, blankets and such truck; but it was more than they would have got for it if they had put the sale off to a much later day.

The whole of 1766, 1767 and part of 1768 was taken up in hearing and attending to these complaints. First the complaint would be sent to the gov-

ernor; then the governor, with the aid of the troops in Fort Pitt, would proceed to move a settler off his claim and send him out of the colony, and the next thing would be a new complaint that the intruder had returned to the claim from which he had been removed. Gen. Gage, under date of December 7, 1767, writes from New York: "Even the removing these people from the lands last summer by the garrison of Fort Pitt has been only a temporary expedient. As they met with no punishment, we learn they are returned again to Redstone creek and Cheat river; recommends that more effective laws should be passed." More effective laws *were* passed; but passing laws did not execute them any more effectively in 1768 than 1888. On the 3d of February, 1768, an act was passed inflicting death without benefit of clergy "upon any person settled upon lands not purchased of the Indians, who shall refuse after —— days' notice to quit the same, or, having removed, shall return to the same or other unpurchased lands." This was law enough, but no one was executed under it. Some 250 copies of the law were printed and stuck up all over the disputed section, but the settlers laughed at the law, and kept coming in in spite of it. The principal business of the garrison at Fort Pitt, in those days, appears to have been to act as bailiffs in dispossessing settlers.

At length, on October 24, 1768, a congress or council was held at Fort Stanwix, N. Y., attended by Sir William Johnson, the governor of New Jersey; commissioners from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and chiefs of the Iroquois, Shawanese and Delawares. The two latter were allowed to be present; but the treaty that followed was made by the Iroquois, in their own name and in that of "their confederates and independent tribes." This treaty was made by Tyunhasare, a Mohawk; Senaghsis, an Oneida; Chenughiata,* an Onondaga; Gaustrax, a Seneca; Sequarihera, a Tuscarora; and Tagaaia, a Seneca. In consideration of ten thousand dollars they granted to Thomas and Richard Penn all the territory west of and north of a boundary beginning at Owegy, on the east branch of the Susquehanna, thence to the mouth of Towanda creek, thence up said creek to Burnett's hills, thence to the head of Pine creek, in Lycoming county; thence down said creek to the west branch of the Susquehanna; thence up said river to the northwest corner of Cambria county; thence to Kittanning, on the Ohio (Allegheny); thence down said river "to where the western bounds of the said province of Pennsylvania cross the same river, and then, with the said western bounds, to the south boundary thereof, and with the south boundary to the east side of the Allegheny hills, and with the said hills," etc., to the place of beginning. The shaky part of this boundary was the western and southern lines, the Penns having never come to an understanding with Virginia up to that time as to either of them. There was a commissioner from Virginia present, who heard these terms agreed upon, and saw the money

*Heckewelder gives Chughniata as the proper spelling of Juniata; and it is not improbable that Chughniata is but a shortened form of Chenughiata. The meaning of Juniata is therefore to be sought for in the Iroquois language.

paid, yet raised no objection. The treaty, however, did not define the western and southern boundaries of Pennsylvania, that were between the Penns and Virginia, and the Penns found it an ugly question, afterward, to settle. For the present, however, the treaty seemed fairly to cover all the territory between the Allegheny hills and the Allegheny river, from Kittanning downward, and that embraced all the territory on which settlers were squatting. So that the treaty got them out of immediate trouble, but left the door open for plenty more. The Penns offered the newly acquired lands for sale in 1769. The country west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio was still the Indian country, and remained so until 1784.

Simultaneous with this opening of the landoffice of the state for the sale of these newly ceded lands came the reservation by the Penns of the manor of Pittsburgh. The history of this is so well given by Mr. Craig that it is here appended:

"On the 5th day of January, 1769, a warrant issued for the survey of the 'manor of Pittsburgh.' On the 27th day of March the survey was completed, and returned May 19, 1769. It embraced within its bounds 5,766 acres, and allowance of six per cent for roads, etc. The survey began at a Spanish oak on the south bank of the Monongahela, thence south 800 perches to a hickory, thence west 150 perches to a white oak; thence north 35 degrees west 144 perches to a white oak, thence west 518 perches to a white oak, thence north 758 perches to a post, thence east 60 perches to a post, thence north 14 degrees east 208 perches to a white walnut on the banks of the Ohio, thence up the river 202 perches to a white walnut, thence crossing the river obliquely and up the south side of the Allegheny 762 perches to a Spanish oak, the corner of Croghan's claim, thence south 60 degrees east 249 perches to a sugar-tree, thence south 85 degrees east 192 perches to a sugar-tree, thence by vacant lands south 18 degrees east 23 perches to a white oak, thence south 40 degrees west 150 perches to a white oak, thence west by claim of Samuel Semple 192 perches to a hickory, thence south 65 degrees west 74 perches to a red oak on the bank of the Monongahela, thence obliquely across the river, south 78 degrees west 308 perches to the beginning at the Spanish oak.

"As these hickories, white oaks, sugar-trees and Spanish oaks have nearly all disappeared, and even if still standing would not be readily recognized, we have procured a more modern and intelligible account of this survey.

"The Spanish oak, the place of beginning, stood near the south bank of the Monongahela river, just in the middle of McKee (now South Ninth) street. The manor line is there the eastern line of the Gregg property. The hickory corner, south from the Spanish oak, stood not far from the Buck tavern, on the Brownsville road. The white walnut on the Ohio stood a short distance above the Saw-Mill run, where the Washington and Steubenville roads unite. The white walnut, from which the line starts across the river, stood near the old glasshouse [just below the Point bridge] erected by James O'Hara and Isaac

Thos. D. Messer

Craig and now owned by Frederick Lorenz. The Spanish oak on the Allegheny river stood near the line between Croghansville and Springfield farm. From that point the manor line passes along the western side of the Springfield farm, crosses the Fourth street road [Fifth avenue] five or six hundred yards east of the Colony [Oakland], makes a corner near Mrs. Murray's tavern, and strikes the Monongahela three or four hundred feet above the mouth of Two-Mile run."

The evident object of reserving this and other manors from the public, while other land in its vicinity was offered for sale, was to hold it out of market until advanced in value by its surroundings. The Penns had not a very clear vision, so far as seeing ahead is concerned, but plainly had a very keen eye for a nice piece of property. The land between the two rivers was clearly too valuable to leave open to public settlement; hence its reservation as a manor; but why did they go south of the river so far, when they could have gone eastward, and taken in the East Liberty valley? Because they could not see ahead far enough. The hills to the south were full of coal, while several settlers had already got into the East Liberty valley and partially blocked the way in that direction. The Revolution of 1776 was another thing not foreseen by the Penns, although very near at hand. It completely blocked the game of holding the manors for an advance in values. The colony of Pennsylvania was driven, by the plain leaning of the Penns toward toryism, to pass an act divesting them of all interest in the territory of the state, but reserving to them full possession of the manors. This action of the legislature induced the Penns to offer the manors for sale at a much earlier day than they otherwise would have done. "What," asks Mr. Craig, "would have been the population of the country around and its condition had the proprietaries continued to hold it [the manor] as private property? Could such a monopoly be tolerated here? and how long?" Not quite such a monopoly, but one very much like it, was tolerated here for a long time, and is tolerated yet, to some extent. The Croghan, Denny, O'Hara and Ormsby estates were, together, nearly as large as the manor. The O'Hara and Ormsby estates have mainly been disposed of, but the Denny estate is not yet closed, and the Croghan (now Schenley) estate still continues to exist in nearly its original proportions. We have not heard of any rebellion against either of them, and as the Schenley estate is the property of an English family, why should a monopoly in the hands of the Penns be more odious than one in the hands of Capt. Schenley's heirs? This is not saying anything against the holders of either of these estates. The O'Haras, Ormsbys and Dennys were all good and valuable citizens, and Capt. Schenley was always very much respected, as also his worthy wife, the real holder; but no one can doubt that these estates have severally acted as a serious drawback upon the prosperity of the city. No one can censure the heads of these estates for getting all the valuable property they could

and for holding on to it; but the fact remains, all the same, that large amounts of unemployed lands in one hand do not tend to encourage the growth of a young city. So far as a mere human judgment goes, it would have made little difference, if any, if the holders had been the Penns instead of those named. The Penns were in bad odor when the Revolution came, and that bad odor might have followed them if they had held on to the manor; but it would have been their toryism and not their monopoly that would have made them odious. They doubtless did a wise thing for themselves to sell out as soon as they could; but it would have been more fortunate for us if they had held on until purchasers increased, and if their holding had gone into many hands instead of into those of a few.

In 1770 Pittsburgh was honored by a second visit from George Washington, then on his way to the Kanawha. As his journal will speak better for him than we can, we append the following extracts:

"October 17, 1770. Dr. Craik and myself, with Capt. Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the crossing [on the Youghiogheny] forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, chiefly white oak, especially from Sewickley creek to Turtle creek, but the whole broken, resembling, as I think the whole lands in this country do, the Loudoun lands. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs, arranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which, near the land, are of brick, the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Capt. Edmondson.

"18th. Dined in the fort, with Col. Croghan and the officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Col. Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Allegheny." [Craig says that Croghan's seat "was on the lot which is on our right when we first reach the Allegheny, when going from Lawrenceville up toward Sharpsburg," or opposite to the residence of the late Judge McCandless.]

Washington's estimate, here given, of the number of houses in Pittsburgh in 1770 must be nearly correct, as a man could hardly err in so small a range as twenty. At six to a house, this would give a total of one hundred and twenty as the first census of Pittsburgh.

In 1772 the British government decided to abandon the fort at Pittsburgh, probably thinking it unnecessary in the then quiet condition of this section.

The buildings were not destroyed, but Maj. Edmondson sold the materials in the buildings for fifty pounds sterling, New York currency,* and the force here was removed eastward. If, as Brackenridge says, the fort cost £60,000 in 1759, it was a short-sighted investment for only thirteen years of occupancy.

Whoever bought the fort, at the nominal price above stated, did not take it down and sell the materials. It was occupied in 1773 by Connolly for Lord Dunmore, and during the revolutionary war it was constantly occupied, first by Virginia troops under Capt. John Neville, and afterward by continental troops under Gen. Hand, Col. Brodhead and Gen. William Irvine. I can find no record of the final dismantling of the fort; "but," says the writer, "I well remember seeing, in my younger days, the old stone vault used as a magazine for powder. It was, if memory serves me right, on the ground now occupied by the Pennsylvania freight-depot, at the foot of Liberty street. It must have been outside of or some distance from the fort." Having no copy of the plan of the fort, it is impossible to say how the magazine and fort were connected, but there are doubtless many old citizens who can yet recall a recollection of the old magazine—the last relic of the fort excepting Bouquet's redoubt.

In the year 1774 Dunmore's war with the Indians, the last contest between them and the British, took place. Dunmore passed through this city on his way down the Ohio to coöperate with Gen. Lewis, of Virginia, but beyond the fact of his passing through here this city had no direct connection with that contest. The name of Dunmore is, however, familiar to our early records, as the head of the struggle on the part of Virginia to extend her dominion over Western Pennsylvania. This struggle is fully described elsewhere in the history of the county, and need not be repeated here; but Connolly, Dunmore's factotum, kept this city in constant hot water from 1774 to the middle of 1775. The controversy about this disputed jurisdiction was practically settled in 1779, and the lines run between the two colonies, on both the southern and western borders, precisely as they now stand in 1784.

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* As the readers of this work are not likely to have been put through Daboll's Arithmetic, as the boys of sixty years ago were, they are not likely to be acquainted with the mysteries of "New York Currency," "Pennsylvania Currency," etc. Each colony had its own "currency" at that time, and each of them kept afloat as much currency as its public credit would allow. It was issued, of course, in pounds, shillings and pence, and after our federal currency was established, the relative value of the currency of each colony to the others was expressed in so many shillings and pence to the dollar. Thus New York currency was worth eight shillings to the dollar, while Pennsylvania currency was worth seven shillings and sixpence to the dollar. A pound in Pennsylvania currency was therefore worth $2.67, while a pound in New York currency was worth only $2.50. The rule in mercantile life to buy always with the worst currency was therefore exemplified in this sale, the purchasers paying in New York instead of Pennsylvania currency. This difference in the value of the currency of different colonies explains why the old Spanish 12½-cent silver piece was called a "shilling" in New York, and an "eleven-penny bit" or "levy" in Pennsylvania. There being eight shillings to the dollar in New York, the 12½-cent piece was therefore the equivalent of a shilling New York currency. In Pennsylvania the 12½-cent piece was worth more than eleven pence, but that sum was the nearest to its value. The 6¼-cent piece was a "fip" or five-penny bit in Pennsylvania, and a sixpence in New York. There was an intermediate coin between the 12½- and 25-cent pieces, called a "pistareen" in Spanish, and which passed for 17 or 18 cents, but being near the size of the Spanish quarter was often mistaken for a 25-cent piece. Hence a man who passed for more than he was worth was characterized, very properly and aptly, as a "pistareen."

In 1775, after the battle of Lexington, a meeting was held in this place, May 16, which expressed "the highest sense of the spirited behavior of their brethren in [illegible] England," and cordially approving of their opposition to the invaders o[illegible]ican rights. The men active in this meeting were George Croghan, [illegible]ampbell, John Ormsby, Edward Ward, Thomas Smallman, Samuel Sam[illegible] John Anderson and John Neville. One movement on the part of the standing committee appointed by this meeting appears open to grave question, although the necessities of the people here might seem to justify it. "As this committee," it says, "has reason to believe there is a quantity of ammunition destined for this place for the purpose of government, and as this country, on the west side of the Laurel hill, is greatly distressed for the want of ammunition, . . . they do earnestly request the committees of Frederick, Augusta and Hampshire* that they will not suffer the ammunition to pass through their counties for the purposes of government, but will secure it for the use of this destitute country." As "the government" of the colonies was in opposition to the government of Great Britain, this was an appeal to steal the ammunition from the government of the colonies for the use of those who were fighting for the colonies. If the ammunition proposed to be thus "conveyed" had belonged to the government of Great Britain, it would be easy to understand such an effort to capture it; but to "convey" it from their own government might easily incline the reader to indorse Arthur Lee's judgment, in 1784, that the citizens of this place were damned without benefit of clergy.

We get but few glimpses of any movements here during the Revolution, but we find the proceedings of a meeting held in Pittsburgh July 6, 1776 (just two days after the Declaration of Independence), worthy of some note, as indicating the current of passing events. It appears to have been a council or conference between Keyasutha (commonly spelled Guyasuta), an Iroquois; Captain Pipe, a Delaware; Shade, a Shawanese, and other Indians, and Majs. Trent and Ward and Capt. Neville. Its object appears to have been to enable Keyasutha to "define his position," which he did in this style:

Brothers: We will not suffer either English or Americans to pass through our country. Should either attempt it, we shall forewarn them three times, and should they persist they must abide the consequences. I am appointed by the Six Nations to take care of this country, that is, of the nations on the other side of the Ohio [the Allegheny is here meant, the Iroquois applying the name Ohio to the Allegheny and Ohio as one stream], and I desire you will not think of an expedition against Detroit, for, I repeat, we will not suffer an army to pass through our country.

This was short and clear. Capt. Neville assured him, in reply, that the Americans would not invade his country, unless the English should try to come this way through it.

* Virginia, following up its claim to Western Pennsylvania, made it a part of Augusta county. The appeal here made is to the authorities of Frederick, Hampshire and Augusta counties of Central and Western Virginia, and is uttered in the name of citizens of Augusta county. Connolly held Fort Pitt at this time, under Lord Dunmore, and the citizens seem to have been either terrorized by him or to have accepted their position as citizens of Virginia without question.

James Vernier

Keyasutha lived, at this time, on the plain which yet bears his name, above Sharpsburg, and was buried there. He had been an active man in his time; accompanied Washington from Logstown to Le Bœuf in 1753; was at the conference with Col. Bradstreet, near Lake Erie, in 1764, and shortly after at the conference with Bouquet, on the Muskingum. He was also present at the conference here in 1768, and was, altogether, an active and remarkable man. But he was not half as sharp as he got credit for, or he would not have been involved in two fatal blunders, successively, which led to the final extinction of his Iroquois confederacy, and embittered his own declining years. He was a chief promoter in Pontiac's war, in which he was so prominent that it is often called Keyasutha's war, and he sided, along with his nation, with the British in the Revolution. He fought against the British in the first case and with them in the second, and was a loser in both. If he and the Six Nations could only have seen beyond the ends of their noses! In this, as in most other cases, his hind sight was much clearer than his fore sight.

The Continental Congress was early aware of the importance of Pittsburgh as a military point; not as being in any way available in the struggle between the colonies and England, but as a central point for watching the Indians and keeping them, if possible, from coöperating with the British. The latter still had possession of Detroit, and from Detroit access could be had to the Indian tribes as well and as easily as from Pittsburgh. The latter place, therefore, was necessary as a check upon the former; and in this light we can the better understand the tenor of Keyasutha's speech. As an ally of the English, it was his task to prevent any advance from Pittsburgh toward Detroit. He affirms for himself a sort of neutrality between the two national combatants: but the Six Nations had evidently an understanding with the English, and availed themselves of the residence of Keyasutha near here to use him as a check upon any contemplated advance from here to Detroit. He talked very big and saucily; but his threats would have been harmless if we had had any available force here, which we had not. Maj. Neville was still in command at the fort, with his one hundred Virginians; but this was too small a body for aggressive movements, and it was sent here by Lord Dunmore as an army of occupation to maintain the assertion of Virginia's jurisdiction over the territory of Pennsylvania west of the Laurel hill.

In April, 1776, Col. George Morgan was appointed by the Continental Congress Indian agent for the middle department of the United States, and his headquarters fixed at Pittsburgh. The object of Congress in this appointment was to secure the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of the Indian tribes, and commissioners were appointed to hold treaties with them at the different agencies. The commissioners for this, the middle department, were Thomas Walker, John Harvey, John Montgomery and Jasper Yates. They met in Pittsburgh in July, 1776, but were not able to assemble any tribes until October following. The influence of Detroit was operating against them, and

so alarming were the indications that the commissioners issued an order for assembling all available militia at Fort Pitt in September of that year. But the alarm soon after died away; and Col. Morgan, under date of November 8th, writes that the threatening clouds are about to disperse, and that "the Six Nations, with the Munsies, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohickons,* who have assembled here with their principal chiefs and warriors, to the number of six hundred and forty-four, have given the strongest assurance of their determination to preserve inviolate the peace and neutrality with the United States." They were not ready just then for breaking with the United States, and hence were very peacefully inclined; but it was the peaceful inclination of a bully calmly awaiting a better opportunity to strike.

The year 1776 slipped away in this dallying with the Indians. But in 1777 we hear of the beginning of a new industry here. On February 23d fourteen boat-carpenters arrived here from Philadelphia, and were set to work on the Monongahela, fourteen miles above the fort, near a sawmill. There is nothing more definite than this to indicate the spot, but it must have been above Turtle creek, and between that and the mouth of the Youghiogheny. They here built thirty large batteaux, forty feet long, nine feet wide and thirty-two inches deep. These were not very large boats, and would be dignified in these later days with the name of "flats" or "scows," but they were big enough for their purpose, and were adapted to the only system of navigation then in use. They were intended for the transport of troops to invade the Indian country, should it become necessary. Where it was intended to use them does not appear, but probably on the Ohio below Pittsburgh. It is only one hundred miles from Beaver to Lake Erie, and these light-draft batteaux could be propelled some distance up the Beaver; or they may have been intended for transportation to the mouth of the Muskingum or the Scioto, both available as starting-points against the Indians; or the purpose may have been to use them for ascending the Allegheny to French creek, and thence to Lake Erie, Detroit being the objective point. But speculation is useless, as they were never used for either route. In the meantime their construction here may well be considered as the beginning of the business of boat-building on the western waters, an industry which not many years afterward attained considerable importance. It is not now much of an industry here, but boats still continue to be built at and near Pittsburgh, both wooden and iron, and the armor-plates for our war-vessels are even now preparing at Pittsburgh mills. We have thus the genesis of two important branches of business—coal-mining in 1760 and boat-building in 1777. In the very neighborhood where these batteaux were built coalboats and barges are now built, any one of which would hold a dozen or more of the batteaux of 1777. In the spring

* The Munsies, Delawares and Mohickons were simply subdivisions of the same tribe. They were known under the general name of *Lenni Lenape*, "men of men," but the Delawares being the largest division in Pennsylvania, the whole tribe is usually spoken of as "the Delawares."

of 1778 the commissioners for Indian affairs ordered the building here of six larger boats for the defense of the navigation between the military posts on the Ohio. Each boat was to carry a four-pound cannon, and to be built so as to be useful either for defense or attack. Compare these four-pound cannon with the monster steel guns now made!

Indian alarms were more or less frequent throughout 1777, and Col. Morgan appears to have been kept in hot water all the time. The attacks were directed mainly against the Virginians, and not against Fort Pitt; but as Virginia claimed (and occupied) Fort Pitt, and the Pittsburghers did not know whether they were really Virginians or Pennsylvanians, it was hard for them to determine whether the victims of these attacks were "fellow-citizens" or not. The slaughters were sufficiently near, in either case, to awaken both their sympathy and apprehension. The "Mingoes"* or Iroquois were the most prominent in this border warfare, notwithstanding their peace professions at Pittsburgh only the previous year.

In 1778 complaints of the scarcity of food began to be heard. Provisions, such as beef and bacon, were in very poor supply, and flour was quoted at $16 a barrel. The settlements were not yet numerous, and the farmers, living in constant peril of the Indians, did not venture on large crops. Cattle and hogs had to run at large, in the open woods, and became an easy prey to Indian as well as white hunters. There were as yet no roads, and mills were far apart. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that scarcity prevailed even in so limited a market as Pittsburgh then was. The population of the town was probably under four hundred at that time, and the country was too poor to supply food even to that small number. If, as is presumable, each house in the town had a garden attached (the lots were originally 60 by 240 feet, equal to one-third of an acre), the occupants could raise enough "garden sass" to furnish a partial supply of food, and there was range enough all around to pasture cows and furnish a good deal of food for pigs. Yet, with all these advantages on their side, the early townsfolk of Pittsburgh had a hard time in finding enough to eat. A frontiersman's lot was not a happy one.

On the 28th of March, 1778, an event happened which demonstrated to the citizens of this then out-of-the-way part of the world that, though far from the seat of war, the influences of the Revolution could be brought to their very doors. On that day Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Mathew Elliott made their escape from Pittsburgh, and ever after were active agents of the British government, and exercised much influence with the Indians against the United States. They were probably worked upon at an earlier date by Connolly, the active agent of Dunmore, who must have known everybody and how such men could best be reached. Girty (after whom Girty's run, above Allegheny City,

*The Iroquois did not answer to the name "Mingo," yet they were generally known by that designation, and "Mingo" creek, near Steubenville, Ohio, is so called from having been one of their settlements. The name is a corruption of "Mengwe," the Delaware name for the Iroquois. It is said to signify "enemy" or "enemies."

was named) became worse than a savage. He was more cruel and relentless than any of the Indians, and was a daily illustration of the old adage that one renegade is worse than ten Turks. He is said to have lived at one time on Squirrel hill, but his residence at this time must have been on the run named after him. He is one of several men who became infamous at that time. Alexander McKee was a deputy Indian agent at Pittsburgh up to 1776, where, as we learn from a letter of Gen. Richard Butler, given in "Olden Time," he was accused of some wrong-doing by John Campbell, and was compelled to give his written parol that he would not thereafter, without permission, hold any intercourse with the Indians or attempt to transact any business with them. Washington, in his journal of his visit of 1770, mentions dining with Mr. "Magee," two miles below the city, and Craig says this was intended for Alexander McKee, and his place must have been at McKee's Rocks. He was very intimate with Connolly* and probably left under temptations earlier held out by that prince among scoundrels.

*As Connolly's name is often mentioned in this history, it may be well to give, in this note, all that is known of him. The following sketch of him is by Mr. John Ormsby, and is found in "The Olden Time" (Vol. 2, p. 93): "The above Dr. Connolly was born and bred near Wright's ferry [Columbia], in Pennsylvania. His father was a grubber among the farmers on the Susquehanna, who found the secret of pleasing a Quaker, orderly widow of the name of Ewing, and the jobber was a professed papist. This match, as might be expected, proved very disagreeable, so that he left nothing to commemorate his memory but the above villainous doctor, This fellow had traversed the Illinois country till he could subsist there no longer, so that he appeared at Pittsburgh a few years before the commencement of the Revolution. Here he was introduced to Lord Dunmore, who traveled through the western country to sound the inclinations of the inhabitants as well as the Indians. Connolly, like a hungry wolf, closed with Dunmore a bargain, that he would secure a considerable interest among the white inhabitants and the Indians on the frontier. In consequence of this agreement my lord made him a deed of gift of 2,000 acres of land at the falls of the Ohio, and 2,000 more to Mr. John Campbell, late of Kentucky, both of which grants are now owned by the heirs of Col. Campbell. [A run emptying into Chartiers creek at Mansfield, in this county, is called 'Campbell's run' from this Col. Campbell, who also laid out the town of Pittsburgh in 1764, and who was active in this region as an Indian trader before the Revolution.—R. E.] Connolly immediately set himself to work in disseminating his hellish insinuations among the people. He employed an adjutant to drill the militia, and had the audacity to engage artificers to repair the old fort, and in every respect acted the part of a tyrant. He sent runners among the Indians, far and near, with large promises of soon supplying them with goods and money. Having thus far paved the way for his atrocious designs, he met Lord Dunmore at Alexandria, where they concerted the infernal scheme of massacreing all those on the frontiers who would not join in their work. Matters being thus arranged, Dunmore sent Connolly to Gen. Gage, at Boston, who approved of the scheme, appointed Connolly a lieutenant-colonel and commander of two or three regiments of whites and Indians, with authority to draw upon the paymaster-general for cash. Upon this exaltation the great and mighty Connolly set out for Baltimore, where he joined the persons who were taken along with him, and who no doubt were as sanguinary villains as himself. A report was whispered among the minutemen at Hagerstown, etc., of Connolly's schemes, so that they had a sharp lookout for him, and happily succeeded in arresting him and his comrades, and all the commissions for the new regiments, with the general plan of their operations, were found upon him, upon which he was committed to prison. This news, you may be sure, was joyfully received on the frontier, and especially at Pittsburgh, where the writer of these lines resided with his family. When Lord Dunmore arrived at Pittsburgh [in 1774] he lodged at my house, and often closeted me, as he said, for information respecting the disposition of the inhabitants. He threw out some dark insinuations as to my usefulness, in case I would be concerned, but as he found I kept aloof, he divulged to Connolly, and I suppose to Campbell, else why give him the aforesaid grant of land, which he enjoys and which is very valuable? Had Connolly and his associates reached Pittsburgh there were a great many drunken, idle vagabonds waiting to join him. The savages were also in high expectation that they would soon glut their vengeance on the distressed frontier inhabitants. But the Almighty Lord showed himself to be our protector against all the machinations of our European and American foes. Connolly and Arnold, both of whom merited halters, are now on half-pay on the British establishment."

Connolly was arrested at Hagerstown, November 23, 1775. His ostensible purpose was to secure Western Pennsylvania to Virginia under Dunmore's claim; but the papers found on him showed that his military scheme was not for Virginia, but for British interests against the cause of the colonies. He was accordingly held as a pris-

Of Andrew Elliott no other or further mention is made; and the event is noticeable only as showing how far out the lines of adverse influence ran at the time of the Revolution.

The importance of Fort Pitt seems to have risen in the estimation of Congress in 1778, for Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, with portions of the Eighth Pennsylvania and Thirteenth Virginia, was ordered here to supersede Maj. Neville. This officer planned a formidable incursion into the Indian country for the summer of 1778. Fifteen hundred men were to assemble at the mouth of the Kanawha, to be joined by fifteen hundred from here. Gen. McIntosh accordingly prepared to march with the latter force by way of the Big Beaver, at the mouth of which Fort McIntosh, named after himself, was erected. Before starting, however, he thought it prudent to ask for and get the consent of the Delawares to pass through their country, which having been done, in October of that year he gathered one thousand men at Fort McIntosh, and commenced his march. But the season was so far advanced that he got only to the west bank of the Tuscarawas river, near Sandy creek, seventy miles west of Fort McIntosh. Here he built a fort, called Fort Laurens, placed Col. John Gibson in it with one hundred and fifty men, and the rest of the army returned to Fort Pitt. Fort Laurens was afterward invested by the Shawanese and Wyandots, and was finally abandoned in the summer of 1779.

In the summer of 1779 the cry of scarcity of provisions was again heard. Flour and meat had to be brought over the mountains, from the east, on horseback. Bacon was quoted at Pittsburgh at one dollar a pound, and many other articles in proportion.

Col. Brodhead was in command at Fort Pitt in March 1779, and Washington had projected an expedition under Brodhead up the Allegheny, to coöperate with Gen. Sullivan in an attack upon Fort Niagara, but the project was abandoned, as Washington says, because of "the difficulty of providing supplies in time, and a want of satisfactory information of the country up the Allegheny." Col. Brodhead, however, did march his force up the Allegheny, beyond Warren, inflicting much damage upon the Indians, but accomplishing nothing more. He returned to Fort Pitt, without loss, September 14th.

The high price of provisions was not so much owing to scarcity as to a deranged currency. Each colony issued currency without limit, and with each new issue its purchasing power went down. "I had money enough some time ago," says an anonymous writer of this time, "to buy a hogshead of sugar. I sold it (the sugar) again, and got a great deal more money than it

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oner of war at Frederick, Md., and at Philadelphia until 1780-81, when he was released and exchanged. He went from Philadelphia to Canada, and there organized an attack by tories and Indians on Fort Pitt in 1782, and had his forces at Lake Chautauqua, but learning that the fort had been repaired by Gen. Irvine, the force was dispersed. He remained in Canada till 1790, when he went to Louisville to claim his 2,000 acres, but found they had been confiscated. After that he disappeared from view.

Ormsby's statements leave as poor an impression about Dunmore as about Connolly. Worse, indeed, for Dunmore was well educated and knew better, while Connolly was the mere victim of ignorance and vicious habits and associations.

cost me, yet when I went into the market again the money would get me only a tierce. I sold that, too, at a great profit, yet the money received would buy me only a barrel. I have more money now than ever, yet I am not so rich as when I had less."

Pittsburgh, like all other places, was badly affected by this trouble, and every expedient was tried to remedy it. The favorite one, at first, was to put a price on everything, and make it a penal offense to ask or give more. But this failed, and every other proposed remedy, yet the remedy of cutting off excessive issues seems never to have been tried or even thought of.

Among the rest, the officers of the line and staff at the garrison or fort were tempted to try their hand at a remedy. Doubtless they were the wise men, and wisdom would die with them. They held a meeting, October 5, 1779, and put forth a long pronunciamento, which should have been terrifying enough in its length, to say nothing of its contents. It occupies six pages of Craig's history, and is an aggregation of adjectives and balderdash which, while it must have been satisfactory to the sophomore who wrote it, must have been sickening to everyone else. The following resolution is a specimen:

Resolved, That any person whatever, holding a commission, place or employment under the United States, who shall directly or indirectly be concerned in trade or speculation of any kind, shall not be kept company with, or even spoken to, by any person in the public service, that is, on the footing of a gentleman, excepting at such time when necessary duty may require; and those who countenance a speculator shall be deemed as accessary, and held up to the world in the same colors, and be treated with the same degree of scorn and contempt.

The "scorn and contempt" appear to have been useless, or at least unproductive of good results. The currency went on decreasing in value until it finally became worthless. A big box-full of it could have been seen at the state treasury not many years since, but has lately been destroyed. There is no doubt that men in the army, with fixed incomes, found their pay totally inadequate for any expenditure outside of the army rations, and men in business must have suffered much, also; but the business-man had the barter of one article for another to fall back upon, which the army man had not. It was not much wonder that the army broke out in a mutiny of big words; still these army officers probably had men among them with sufficient philosophy to conclude that language was incompetent to do justice to the subject. A reflection of this wise sort would have saved the officers "of the line and staff" at Fort Pitt from making themselves ridiculous. But, if wisdom really died with these wise men, the use of sophomoric language to cure a public evil has not died with them.

Col. Brodhead, the commandant at Fort Pitt, appears to have been a man full of projects. One was an expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi against Natchez, and another was a winter expedition against Detroit; but Washington put a veto on both. He thought Natchez too far off, and that Brodhead

had neither men nor supplies sufficient to take Detroit. In the latter case Washington was clearly right. A winter expedition, all the way through the woods, with Indian enemies on each hand, would have been a wild undertaking; but that the capture of Natchez was possible was proven by Don Galvez, Spanish governor of Louisiana, who captured Natchez as well as Baton Rouge, and six hundred and fifty British troops, with military stores and other property. Washington's letter was dated January 4, 1780, and Galvez captured the fort shortly after that date. What Galvez did Brodhead could also have done. But what good would it have accomplished? The United States had then no claim to either Natchez or Baton Rouge. But it would have been a British defeat, and that would have been something.

The suggestion for such an expedition must have come to Brodhead from farmers of this region, who were then and for years afterward chafing under the adverse possession of the Mississippi. That river was the only outlet to the ocean for the country west of the Alleghenies, and so long as it remained in either British, Spanish or French hands the west had really no outlet for its products, since transportation over the mountains was impracticable for them. That this feeling should find expression so early as 1779 is a little to be marveled at; but it is difficult to conceive how Brodhead could have got his idea except from this source. The clamor for a free river to the ocean grew louder as the century grew older, and culminated in the early years of this century, when Jefferson was driven by it to accomplish the purchase of the territory of Louisana. Brodhead was ahead of the times, that is all. Before the days of river navigation began by keelboats, it was no uncommon thing for farmers to load a boat with flour and produce, on such crooked and ugly streams as the Chartiers, and float them to the Ohio and thence to New Orleans.

The period of Brodhead's inaction here, which must have galled an active man like him, was drawing to a close. In the summer of 1780 he made a march to Coshocton. It was effective, so far as awing the Indians was concerned, but it was marred by the slaughter of the prisoners, for which, however, Brodhead was not responsible.

The letters of Brodhead, in 1780 and 1781, give full token of his restless spirit. He is, apparently, always in want of provisions. He can get no beef-cattle from the inhabitants, and he is constantly scolding the quartermasters. Col. Ephraim Blaine, the grandfather of Hon. James G. Blaine, was quartermaster here in 1780, and must have had a hard time of it under the constant complaints of the general.

Under date of November 2, 1780, Brodhead writes thus to the governor of Pennsylvania: "I hear, this moment, that Thomas Smallman has made a secret and clandestine purchase of an island in the Ohio, two miles below this post, commonly called McKee's island. The deed, I am told, is signed by two Delaware chiefs."

This must be what is now known as Brunot's island. Whether Smallman

was permitted to enjoy this purchase we can not now tell; but we presume the proprietaries were sharp enough to look closely to their own interests in such matters.

It is not surprising to learn that in 1781 Col. Brodhead became involved in a very angry controversy with some of his officers, Col. Gibson at their head. It ended in suspension from his command, to a court of inquiry, etc., which it is no part of this history to follow. He was superseded by Gen. William Irvine, who arrived here in November, 1781, and at once assumed command. In a letter dated December, 1781, he recommends the abandonment of Fort Pitt as indefensible, and the erection of a new fort at McKee's Rocks. This letter was addressed to Gen. Washington, who knew all about the two sites, and as he had before expressed a preference for "the forks," this revival of an old project would find no favor with him. Nothing, at least, ever came of it. Under date of May 9, 1782, Gen. Irvine writes:

"Another kind of expedition is much talked of, which is to emigrate and set up a new state. The matter is carried so far as to advertise a day of general rendezvous, the 25th inst. A certain Mr. Jackson is said to be at the head of this party. He has a form of constitution, written by himself, for the new government. I am well informed that he is now on the east side of the mountains, trying to purchase or otherwise provide artillery and stores. A number of people, I really believe, have serious thoughts of this matter, but I am led to think they will not be able, at this time, to put their plan into execution. Should they be so mad as to attempt it I think they will either be cut to pieces or they will be obliged to take protection from and join the British. Perhaps some have this in view, though a great majority are, I think, well-meaning people, who have at present no other view than to acquire large tracts of land. . . .

"Mr. Jackson has been in England since the commencement of the present war. Some people think he is too trifling a being to be worthy of notice. Be this as it may, he has now many followers, and it is, I think, highly probable that men of more influence than he are privately at work. Jackson, it is said, was once in affluent circumstances, is now indigent, and was always open to corruption."

There is an old story, still current, of a lost county in Western Pennsylvania; but here is a lost state, of which no farther account is given. The rendezvous of May 25th was probably never held. No mention of it can be found anywhere, and if, as Gen. Irvine suggests, Jackson was impecunious and open to a tempting offer, he is likely to have found such an offer, or to have met with some rebuff that was fatal to his scheme. He and his new state never "materialized." Possibly, if he had any British help in view, it was scared off by the near approach of the treaty of peace, finally accomplished November 30, 1782. The one thing certain is that the proposed state went up in smoke, and Jackson is so common a name that this particular "Mr." Jackson remains without

D. Bushnell

a Christian name to distinguish him from others. It is a consolation to know that Western Pennsylvania was so securely anchored, since both Dunmore and Jackson tried to steal it, and both failed.

Gen. Irvine remained here in command of the troops until the war was over. His fear that the Canadians might come down the Allegheny and capture Fort Pitt and his anxiety for a new fort at McKee's Rocks were alike unavailing. The old fort answered its purpose to the end, and none has been needed since. Our people in 1864 thought the city needed fortification again, but the earthworks they threw up were on the hilltops, and not at "the forks" of the rivers. The fortifications of 1864 were really not needed, and the citizens of this bailiwick are permitted to live in the hope that the city may never need a fort again.

There is no record of the receipt, at this post, of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, the preliminary articles of which were signed at Paris, November 30, 1782; but as the surrender of Cornwallis had been celebrated here with firing of guns and other noisy demonstrations, and as that surrender practically ended the war, there was probably but little feeling manifested at what was merely a matter of course. That the cessation of war and the confusion following it would bring on a stagnation of business here, for awhile, may be regarded as certain. The place had not much business then at best, and what it had came mainly from its proximity to the fort. It was now to enter upon a new career, that of a town struggling to build itself up, with nothing but its position at one of the main gateways to the west to back up its pretensions; and it is natural to expect that it would be some time before it could get well out of the old rut and well into the new. And the new road soon opened before it.

The Penns, who owned the "manor" in which Pittsburgh was to stand, had made up their minds that they could not maintain themselves as "proprietaries" in Pennsylvania after the Revolution began. The manor of Pittsburgh was surveyed March 27, 1769, before the Revolution occurred; but in 1779, when the war was fairly under way, an act of the legislature was passed, divesting from the Penns all the proprietary public property, including the quitrents, but carefully protecting and excepting the manors, as private property. By the time the revolutionary war was ended the Penns had probably concluded, as all that was left to them in the state was the manors, to give up the idea of holding on to them and to offer them for sale. Consequently, in the fall of 1783, they offered to sell the lands within the manor of Pittsburgh. The first sale was made in January, 1784, to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard, of all the ground between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny river, "supposed to contain about three acres." Subsequently the proprietaries concluded to lay out the town of Pittsburgh so as to include these three acres as well as the fort itself. The purchasers of the three acres afterward received a deed for the lots laid out on their previous purchase.

CHAPTER XXII.

PITTSBURGH (Continued).

Divesting the Penns of Their Title—Survey of the Town of Pittsburgh—Vickroy's Deposition—The Town in 1786—Brackenridge's Description of It—Comments.

BEFORE proceeding to give a history of the survey of the town, it may be well, as a matter contributing to a full understanding of the case, to give here a complete account of how the Penns came to be divested of all their claims to the territory of Pennsylvania, by the act of November 27, 1779. The appended account is from "The Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," by William B. Reed:

"By the charter of Charles II, the absolute ownership of the soil within the assigned limits of Pennsylvania was vested in the proprietary [William Penn] and his heirs, with a reservation of the paramount sovereignty of the crown of England. The political authority conferred on the proprietaries during the interval from the settlement to the Revolution was exercised by their nominees, or by members of the proprietary family itself. It, as well as the ownership of the soil, was undisputed till the period when, by the Revolution, the paramount sovereignty was transferred. At that time it happened that the political authority delegated by the charter was exercised by John Penn, the grandson of the first proprietary, who had been for some years deputy governor. The ownership was vested in him and Thomas, a son of William Penn, who resided in Great Britain. Richard Penn, another of the family, who also had been deputy governor, returned to England in the fall of 1775, being, with Arthur Lee, the agent of Congress and the bearer of its last petition to the king.* In November of that year he was examined at the bar of the house of lords, and the testimony which he gave was so friendly to the provincial cause as to call down strong rebuke from some of the ministerial peers.† He did not, I believe, ever return to America, certainly not till after the

* Richard Penn's examination will be found in "Parliamentary History," xviii, p. 911. When asked what was the military force of Pennsylvania in 1775 he said: "When I left Pennsylvania they had twenty thousand men in arms, embodied, but not paid, and forty-five hundred since raised." He said there were sixty thousand men fit to bear arms in Pennsylvania. In the debate which followed Lord Lyttleton said: "With all the caution with which Mr. Penn guarded his expressions, he nevertheless betrayed through the whole of his examination the strongest indication of the strongest prejudice." Ib., 928.

† This statement has reference to the beginning of the revolutionary disturbances. Thomas, the son of William Penn, died March 21, 1775. At the time of the divesting act, in 1779, the proprietaries were John Penn, the governor, and John Penn, of Stoke Pogis, the son of Thomas. Richard Penn, referred to in the text, was the second son of Richard, the third son of the original William Penn. The most intelligent statement of this intricate genealogy will be found in 2 Yeates, Rep., p. 550.

peace. Gov. John Penn remained in Pennsylvania, and appears to have been a temperate and inoffensive man, who relinquished political authority without a struggle, and was content to watch with unobtrusive vigilance the more substantial interests of his family. With the exception of his temporary removal to Virginia in the summer of 1777, he appears never to have been personally molested.

"It was, however, very soon manifest that the proprietary tenure of the vacant land within the limits of Pennsylvania, and the reserved right in the form of quitrents, could not be allowed to continue. The paramount sovereignty could not be superseded. The fealty at Windsor, with its emblems of two beaver-skins, was supplanted by submission to more practical authority nearer at hand, and the 'provincial seigniory called Pennsylvania' had become an absolute and substantial sovereignty by itself. Under this change it was hardly reasonable that vast tracts of unappropriated lands should be suffered to remain under private control, and be utterly unproductive for public necessities, or that the proprietaries, recognizing in their very titles a foreign and adverse authority, should be left in undisputed possession not only of this vacant territory, but still more offensively, of the quitrents to which they had subjected all the patented and improved lands. These rents, too, it should be remembered, were no new grievance. From the time of William Penn downward they had been complained of, and had led to the most fierce controversies. The time had now come when a rude remedy was to be applied. It was applied with decision and with dignity—with much less precipitation, in fact, and with less apparent violation of decorum than commonly characterize revolutionary processes.

"In February, 1778, President Reed, in a message to the assembly, calls attention to the nature and effect of the claims or estates of the late proprietaries, and their consistency with the interests and happiness of the people. 'To reconcile the rights and demands of society with those of private justice and equity in this case will be worthy your most serious attention,' etc.

"The house took the matter into early consideration, and directed notice to be given to Mr. Penn. At the instance of that gentleman a more distant day was assigned, in order to give him a more reasonable time to determine what his course would be. On the 11th of March the counsel for the Penns asked for further indulgence, which was allowed. Five days were subsequently devoted to the argument of the case before the assembly.

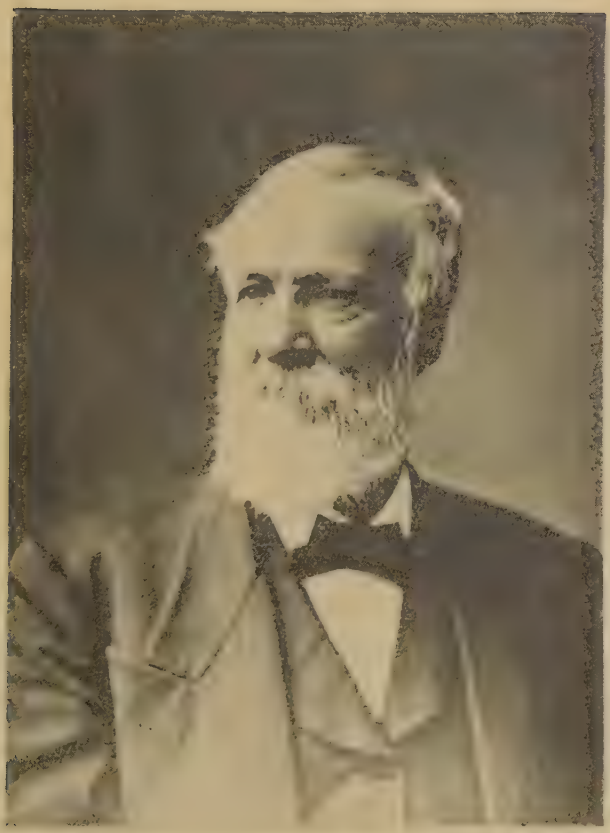
"On the 27th of March a series of questions was propounded, by order of the house, to Chief-Justice McKean, on the legal points in controversy. They relate to the authority of the crown to give the charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of the concessions to the first purchasers, the right to reserve the quitrents, their proper appropriation, and the effect of the change of government on the pre-emption right of the proprietaries.

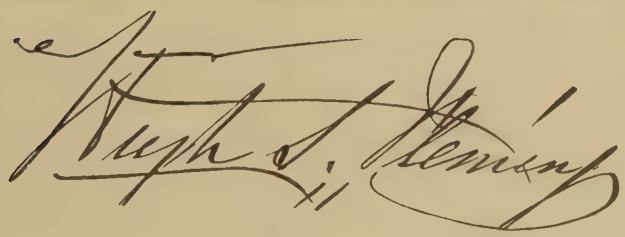
"These questions, which show either the doubts or course of reasoning of the friends of the pending measure, were answered by the chief justice. In his an-

swer, which he expressly and significantly desired may be taken in a legal and not a political light, Mr. McKean was of the opinion that the right of the crown was unquestionable, and the grant to Penn an absolute one. He affirmed the right to the quitrents, and denied that the object of their reservation was the support of the government (a favorite theory of the anti-proprietary party in former times), and on but one point of law seemed to agree with the popular party; the right of pre-emption he considered as vested in the new government. The report of the committee asserted very different and more radical doctrines as to these proprietary tenures. Without pausing to inquire who, on these abstract questions, was right, it is obvious that the political reason was the active and controlling one; and no one looking back to those times and their exigencies will, for a moment, doubt that the continuance of these tenures, with pre-emptions and quitrents, was wholly incompatible with the new institutions. It may be observed, in passing, that the abolition of the quitrents, a prominent feature in the revolutionary measures, may be regarded as the means of saving Pennsylvania from the discredit and embarrassment of such a contest, between tenantry and landlords, as in our day has occurred in a sister state.

"The opinion of the chief justice and the report of the committee were ordered to be printed on the 5th of April, 1779, and, the legislature adjourning soon after, no action was had, either then or at the resumed session in the fall, except that, after the summer recess, a bill was reported and, after a certain consideration, ordered, according to the fashion of the times and the requisitions of the constitution, to be printed in the newspapers for public approval. The new legislature, which met in October, immediately resumed the subject, and a bill was soon matured, which, after passing to a second reading, was referred for examination to the chief justice and attorney-general. Their report has not, that I am aware of, been preserved, nor is there any allusion to it on the journals. The bill was finally passed on the 24th of November by a vote of forty to seven. The minority entered a short protest, and on the same day Mr. Penn addressed a brief and decorous remonstrance to the assembly, which, at his request, was printed in the journal. The law, as is well known, divested all the proprietary public property, including the quitrents, but carefully protected the manors and what could be distinguished as private property, and, with a liberality which may have given other less favored individuals some reason to complain, allowed a compensation to the late proprietaries of £130,000 sterling, money of Great Britain, all of which, to the uttermost farthing, with interest, was discharged within eight years after the peace of 1783. It will hardly be questioned that this was a measure of the most liberal justice. It was one, too, which, after the first irritation of controversy had passed away, never, so far as I am aware, was complained of by the parties interested.*

* The council of censors, in their revision of the legislation under the constitution of 1776, found no fault with the divesting act.





"This, however, is the less remarkable from the fact that the Penn family received additional remuneration, from an estimated loss of half a million sterling, from Great Britain, in an annuity of £4,000. Few, either active or passive loyalists, were as fortunate in receiving compensation on both sides of the Atlantic."

The survey of the town plot for the town of Pittsburgh was completed by Thomas Vickroy, of Bedford county, in June, 1784, and approved by Tench Francis, attorney of the proprietors, on the 30th of September, 1784. The survey was made by George Wood, father of Harry Wood, who was elected sheriff of this county in 1861. Wood street was named after this surveyor, who settled here and took up land in what is now known as "Hazelwood." It was far out of the city then, but is in the city now. The plot, as made in 1784, extended only to Grant street, on the Monongahela; thence over Grant's hill to Liberty; thence to the Allegheny river, and thence to the Point, the place of beginning. But the act of the legislature erecting the town into a borough, passed in 1794, extended the line up the Monongahela to Suke's run;* thence north thirty degrees east one hundred and fifty perches to a post in Andrew Watson's field;† thence north nineteen degrees west one hundred and fifty perches to the Allegheny river. This difference in the eastern boundaries of the town and borough explains why the Monongahela wharf ends at Grant street. The town plot ending at Grant street, all the lots from Grant street to the Point were sold as fronting on and beginning at Water street, all the space between Water street and the river being reserved for a wharf. The land above Grant street was a part of the manor, and the lots from Grant street to Suke's run were evidently sold to the river. There being no reservation here for a wharf, none ever existed there. Bakewell's glasshouse was built on land above Grant street, between the line of Water street and the river, and remained there, between Grant and Ross, until converted into a depot by the Pittsburgh & Connellsville (now B. & O.) Railroad company.

Many names of streets in Pittsburgh are derived from the names of British officers at and after the occupation of Fort Duquesne in 1758. Forbes street is named after Gen. Forbes; Smallman street, Marbury street and Stanwix street, after officers at the fort who followed the British recapture of the fort. Grant street and Grant's hill were both named after the unfortunate Highlander who occupied the hill in advance of Forbes' arrival, and was cut to pieces by the Indians before he knew the danger he was in. We also have Shingiss street and Shannopin street, after two Indian chiefs who were here before any fort was built. It seems odd that while men of no greater prominence than those mentioned have their names perpetuated on street-corner

* Suke's run is now a mere sewer, emptying into the Monongahela just above the Panhandle railroad bridge.

† This field must have been north of what is now Fifth avenue, what was known as Watson's orchard in 1835, about the eastern end of Ross street.

signs, men like Neville B. Craig, Brackenridge and many others that could be named are left without recognition. There is, to be sure, a Craig street in Allegheny City, upon which city he had no special claim; but not a street in Pittsburgh is named after him, nor a borough or township in the county. Yet no man had a better claim to such remembrance.

Vickroy's or Wood's plot of the town of Pittsburgh (see plate of it elsewhere in this volume) attracts attention from one or two peculiarities, which are probably more apparent now than they were then: *First*, the lots all face the Monongahela river and the streets running parallel to it. There is not a lot in the whole plot facing on Ferry, Market, Wood, Smithfield or Grant streets. *Second*, the width of the streets varies very remarkably; Market street is narrow, while Wood, Smithfield and Grant are comparatively wide; and in like manner Front, Second, Third and Fourth (avenues) are narrow, while Fifth, Sixth and Seventh are comparatively wide. (There was an Eighth street, running from Grant to Liberty near their junction, but the city sold or surrendered it to the Pennsylvania railroad.) Liberty street, likewise, is wide, while Penn is narrow. What purpose was in the minds of the surveyors or proprietors when this variance was made? Such a variation could hardly be the result of mere carelessness or accident.

As to the first peculiarity, it may, possibly, have been the result of Campbell's plan of the two squares between Ferry and Market and Water and Second. These lots were laid out, it will be recollected, in 1764, and faced the Monongahela, Front and Second streets; and the surveyors, having adopted this as a part of their plan, may have made all the rest of the plot to correspond. If the proprietors had any plan separate from this, its general purpose may, if the speculation indulged in further on is correct, have coincided so well with Campbell's plot as to lead them to incorporate his with theirs, and make the two correspond. (The lots on Penn and Liberty, it will be noted, face on these streets respectively, and are not included in the speculations hereinafter indulged in.)

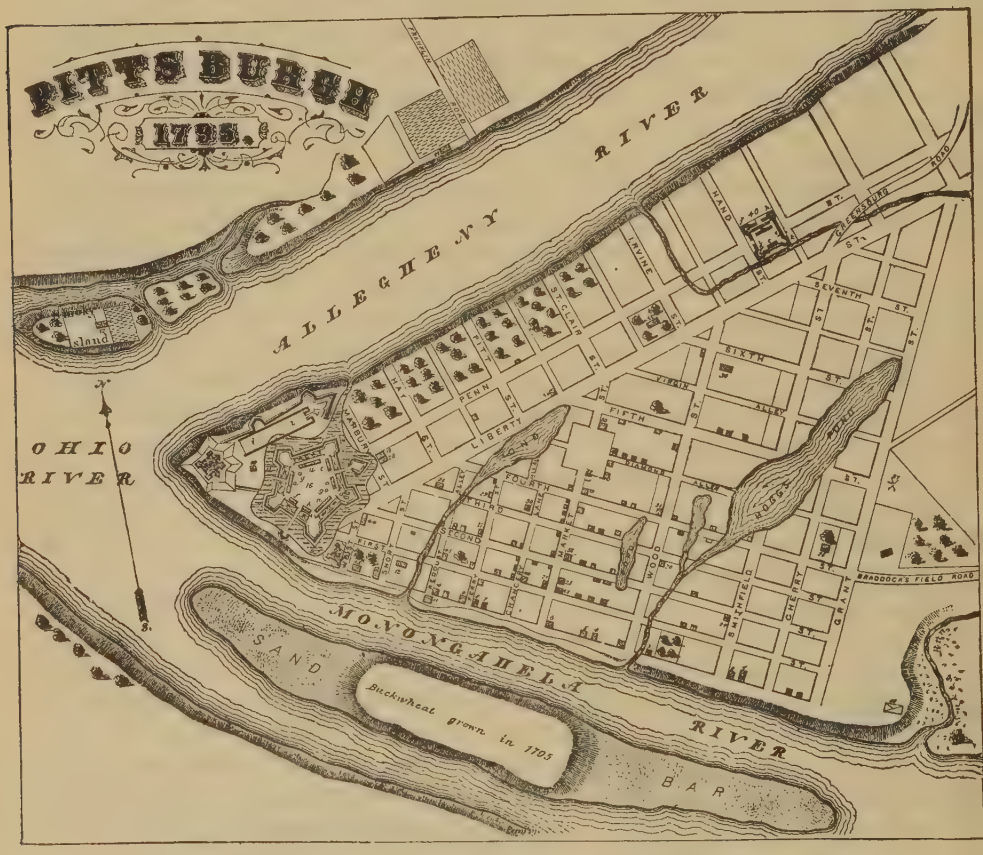
The second peculiarity, the varying width of the streets, can be solved only by guessing. The first impulse of the owner of a desirable town site is to lay it out with streets of the same width throughout. This will be seen in the plan of the old city of Philadelphia, laid out by the Penns. The streets in this plan were all the same width, except Market street, and that, unlike our Market street, was made wide because it was a market street. The plan involved the idea of open, but roofed, market-houses, down the middle of the street, with the street on each side. In the case of our Market street, the Diamond was undoubtedly reserved for a market-place; but why, in that case, was the street left so narrow? Possibly because Campbell designed it that way; and if squatters had built on the upper side of the street, leaving but a narrow lane for the street, the surveyors of the Penns would not feel willing to disturb existing lines. This would account for all the streets running at right angles

from the Monongahela; but how to account for the varying width of Penn and Liberty, and the widths of the numbered avenues?

Guessing, only, can supply the answer, and in that case, it may be urged, one guess is as good as another. So it is, if accompanied with a satisfactory reason, and the reader is at liberty to adopt the guess here given, or reject it, as the reason may or may not be satisfactory. To begin, then, the value of Pittsburgh, as a town site, in 1784, depended entirely upon its position at the head of the Ohio and at the mouth of its influents, the only routes to the west then practicable. For it must be remembered that the proprietaries were acting upon the knowledge they then had, and not upon the experience of after years. The waterways, then, were the great highways of travel, trade and intercourse in 1784. There were two routes over the mountains to the east, and Pittsburgh was the natural terminus of both, because both connected here with the Ohio. The town would consequently be laid out with a view to accommodate the trade that would naturally center at a spot with such great natural advantages. The lots were made to face the river because the river was the great highway of traffic. Emigrants arriving here by water (as many did, taking boat on the Youghiogheny and Monongahela) would stop in front of the town, and emigrants arriving by land would take boat here; all freight arriving here from the east would also have to be shipped here. Hence we find the streets arranged for the carrying-trade as it then existed. Penn street was on the then principal route to the east, and its width, having probably been fixed before the survey was made, would not be changed. But Liberty street, the only one parallel to it, was left wide expressly to accommodate the wagons and horses that would come into it to load and unload. Market street terminated at the river on a high bluff. It could not be used as a way to the river, and was left undisturbed in its narrowness. But there was a low place at the river at the foot of Wood street, by which access to the river was easy; hence Wood was made wider than Market. The lots were each 60 feet, by 240 feet in depth, affording room for a garden and stable on each lot. The inhabitants, it might be supposed, would prefer the numbered streets nearest the river for private residences, and these were left narrow; but from Fifth eastward the horse and wagon traffic would begin to concentrate, in connection with Liberty, and these streets were consequently left wider.

Up to the time of opening the canal, in 1829, such was really the course which traffic took. The great caravansaries for the lumbering Conestoga wagons were on Liberty, Fifth and the streets beyond Fifth. Very few can now recollect them, but some traces of them were still to be found even after the canal was opened. There was one on the corner of Liberty and Seventh, the "Spread Eagle" tavern, and one on the corner of Wood and Fifth; and further up Fifth, near Smithfield, nearly opposite the postoffice, there was a great arch under which the wagons used to drive, and a huge courtyard, around which frame dwelling-houses were erected. This courtyard was an old

wagon-yard, and the houses around it had probably been originally stables or a part of the tavern buildings. Certain it is that tavern-keeping of that kind was a huge business up to 1830; and the proprietaries must be supposed to have had sense enough to see that traffic with the east and west would concentrate here so largely as to make special provision for it necessary. Could they have fore-



MAP OF THE
BOROUGH OF PITTSBURGH
AS LAID OUT IN 1795.

seen the days of railroads and telegraphs, and the change they would work in the methods of business, they would have made the lots from Front street out front on Market, Wood, Smithfield and Grant; but who, of the present generation would have acted differently from them had they lived in their times and circumstances?

J. H. McClelland

The plot, it must be confessed, is not an extensive one, and might reasonably enough have taken in the level ground up to the Two-Mile run on the Allegheny river; but the place was big enough to accommodate most comers for nearly fifty years; and who can see even fifty years ahead? The city did not begin to extend beyond the limits of 1784 until 1837, and that was a long boyhood to serve before it could get larger clothes. Its baby-clothes were therefore cut sufficiently large to suit its slow but sturdy growth.

After the foregoing was written the author came across the following deposition of Thomas Vickroy, who assisted George Wood in making the survey of the town of Pittsburgh. It will be seen that he fully bears out the supposition that the survey of Pittsburgh was made to conform to Campbell's original plot of the town:

And now, to wit, August 21st, 1841, in the matter of petition of Moses Hampton, Esq., solicitor of the city of Pittsburgh, to perpetuate the testimony respecting the true location, extent and width of Grant street, Water street, Cherry alley and other streets, lanes and alleys in the city of Pittsburgh, under an act of assembly of April 21, 1841, the court appoint John Mower, Esq., of Bedford county, Pa., commissioner to take the testimony of witnesses under the act aforesaid.

Pursuant to said act by said commissioner of the taking of depositions of witnesses on behalf of city of Pittsburgh was begun at the house of Thomas Vickroy at Alumbank, St. Clair township, Bedford county, Pa., on December 16, 1841.

STATE OF PENNA., } ss.
BEDFORD COUNTY. }

Personally appeared before me Thomas Vickroy, a witness produced on behalf of the city of Pittsburgh, aged eighty-five years and upward, who having been first duly sworn according to law doth depose and say as follows, viz.: I assisted George Wood, the elder, to lay out the town of Pittsburgh. He requested me to go with him as surveyor and employed me in that capacity to lay out the town of Pittsburgh, and to divide the proprietary manor into outlots and farms. We arrived in Pittsburgh in the month of May, 1784, and the first thing we did was to circumscribe the ground where he intended to lay the town out. We began up about where Grant street now is, on the bank of the Monongahela, and proceeded down the Monongahela according to the meanderings of the river to its junction with the Allegheny river. Then up the Allegheny river on the bank, keeping on the bank a certain distance up to about Washington street; from thence to Grant's hill, thence along Grant's hill to place of beginning. I made a draft of it, in Mr. Wood's presence, throwing it into a large scale to see how it would answer to lay out into lots and streets. After that there was a good deal of conversation, and the ground was viewed by Mr. Wood and the persons who lived at that place to fix on the best plan to lay out the town with the greatest convenience. There had been lots laid out before, as I understand, called military lots, said to be laid out by Mr. Campbell. These are the four blocks in the plan contained between Market street and Ferry street, Water street and Second street. Mr. Wood expressed a desire to new model those small streets and lots so as to make them larger, especially Market street. A number of the inhabitants had small houses on those lots as they were laid out. These persons remonstrated and objected, and gathered in a body together and would not have it done, saying it would destroy their property. Eventually Mr. Wood acquiesced in their wishes. and laid out the four squares as they had been before. Mr. Wood having procured a pole and a great number of locust pins for the purpose of measuring and staking off the lots and streets, we then went to Samuel Ewalt's house, which stood on what is now the corner of Market and Water

streets. Then we took the range of Water street, from some houses that then stood on the bank of the Monongahela river, viz.: Ormsby, Galbraith and others, and then measured below Ewalt's some distance, perhaps as far as the military lots, and laid them out and staked them. We then returned, and again took Ewalt's house and laid out Market street and the Diamond, and continued Market street to a certain point. We then commenced and laid off Liberty street. After we had laid out Liberty street, we again commenced at Ewalt's, and measured up the river on Water street to Wood street, which we laid out sixty feet wide, running from Water street parallel with Market street through to Liberty street. We then laid out the blocks between Wood and Market streets, through from Water street to Liberty street. We then measured up Water street to Smithfield street, which we also laid out from Water street through to Liberty street, sixty feet wide, making it parallel with Wood street, and then proceeded to lay out the blocks between Smithfield and Wood streets, from Water street through to Liberty. From Smithfield street we went on to lay out Cherry alley, making it twenty feet, and running it from Water street to Liberty, parallel with Smithfield street. We then laid out the block of lots between Smithfield street and Cherry alley, through from Water to Liberty street. We then proceeded to Grant street, which we laid out sixty feet wide, making it parallel with Cherry alley; and then laid out the block of lots between Cherry alley and Grant street. We run Grant street through from Water street to Liberty, making it end on Liberty street, which was the last street we laid out on that side of Liberty. We made Market street and Liberty street the bases of blocks of surveys south of Liberty street, and we finished all the survey and laying out of the lots on that side of Liberty street before we proceeded to the other side.

In making the survey of the lots south of Liberty street, we staked them all off with good locust pins. In making the survey of the lots between Liberty street and the Allegheny river, we commenced, I think, at Marberry street and worked on up until we finished at Washington street, which was the last street we made. We made Washington street to run from the Allegheny river to Liberty street, when it ended. The reason we stopped at Liberty street was, that if we had run it across it would have run through a public street. Liberty street had been run, and when we run Grant street we stopped it at Liberty street as running to a public street; and when we run Washington street, we stopped at Liberty street for the same reason. Washington street was sixty feet wide. Those streets, viz.: Grant and Washington, did not meet, because there was a public street between them. We drew a line along the outside of the last row of blocks sixty feet wide for Grant street. The streets and lots were all measured with a pole and not with a chain. The first survey we made I call a circumscribed survey. The object of it was to get a general view of the ground to enable us to lay out the town. None of the streets were fixed by it, not even Washington or Grant. It was run with a chain, and we threw it away and made no further use of it, except to plot by it the ground north of Liberty and below Marberry street. That ground was then occupied by a military post and we could not survey it. Water street was to extend in width from the base line which we used, Ormsby's house, to low-water mark in the river, and this width was to prevail through its whole length from Grant street to the Point. In laying out Water street there was another murmuring of the inhabitants, complaining that the street was too narrow. Mr. Wood said they would be digging cellars and then they would fill up the gulleys and make a fine street. There was a narrow place at the mouth of Ferry street, and also down lower. There was a great gut at the mouth of Wood street which made an ugly crossing. We set no pins at the south side of Water street, for it was to go to low-water mark. [Signed] THOMAS VICKROY.

As soon as the town was laid out sales of lots commenced, many applications for lots having been made before the surveyor's notes were transferred

to paper. These applications would come, to some extent, from the squatters on Campbell's plan; but the demand for them exceeded what was needed for their wants. As every lot was 60x240, there was enough room in every one for six lots 20x120, which is larger than the average lot in the business part of Pittsburgh now. Nearly every one of the original lots has been thus subdivided. But this has been a slow process. According to Mr. Craig's personal recollection, there were but one hundred and two houses in Pittsburgh in 1796, and as Washington counted twenty in Campbell's old town in 1770, the number of houses built in twenty-five years would be only eighty-two. Many people, therefore, must have bought lots in 1784 who did not immediately build on them. This is always the case with new towns. In some cases householders may have bought the lots adjoining them, for garden and pasturage, not an unusual thing to do in a place where flour was sometimes sixteen dollars a barrel and bacon a dollar a pound.

We have chronicled the genesis of the coal business in 1760, and the boat business in 1777; we have now to add an effort at a new branch of manufacture. The first distillery in Pittsburgh was erected above where the Allegheny arsenal now stands, by Jonathan Plumer, previous to 1770. It is said that on the 18th of October in that year Washington dined with Maj. George Croghan, and on his way back to Pittsburgh stopped at Plumer's, tasted the whisky, and pronounced it "very good." Maj. Craig, July 25, 1784, writes: "I have provided a house for the reception of the goods when they arrive, and have a party employed in the preparation of timber for the cisterns, pumps, etc., for the distillery. I am convinced that our best plan will be to erect a windmill at the junction of the rivers, instead of a horsemill. It would do all our grinding for the distillery, and at other times do work for the inhabitants. At the Point there is almost always a breeze up or down the rivers." So this was what the three acres were for that he and Bayard bought from the proprietaries!

Up to October 21, 1784, the entire stretch of country north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was "Indian country." If there was a white man within its bounds, he was a trespasser, and it is safe to conclude that there was not, for the late Gen. William Robinson, Jr., used to boast that he was the first white child born west of the Allegheny. As he could not have been born until after 1784, the presumption is a fair one that there was not a white person, barring all Indian traders, at that time within this territory. On October 21, of that year, a treaty was concluded with the Iroquois, at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), by which their title was extinguished to all that region of country, except the Erie triangle, which was afterward acquired. It did not settle rapidly. For ten years after this it was unsafe for a white man to venture in beyond the border. But immediately opposite this city, on the present site of Allegheny City, adventurers felt safer than those going farther in.

In December, 1784, Arthur Lee, of Virginia (one of the F. F. V.'s), visited this city, and it did not satisfy his squeamish tastes. The following are extracts from his journal:

"Four miles down the river brings you to Montour's island, which is six miles long, and about half a mile broad on an average, and contains about two thousand acres of very good land, the greater part of it never overflowed. The assembly of Pennsylvania gave Gen. Irwin a right of pre-emption to this land. They were moved to do it by an old and influental Presbyterian member, who with great gravity assured them he knew the island contained about one hundred and fifty acres. The property of it is contested between Gen. Irwin, Col. Neville and Col. Simms, of Alexandria.* The next place is Logstown, which was formerly a settlement on both sides of the Ohio, and the place where the treaty of Lancaster was confirmed by the western Indians. From Logstown to the mouth of Beaver creek is —— miles, and from thence to Fort McIntosh one mile. . . . The place was formerly a large Indian settlement and French trading-place. There are peach-trees still remaining. It is a beautiful plain, extending about two miles along the river, and one to the hills, surrounded on the east by Beaver creek and on the west by a small run, which meanders through a most excellent piece of meadow-ground, full of shellbark hickory, blackwalnut and oak. About one mile and a half up Beaver creek there enters a small but perennial stream, very fit for a mill-seat, so that the possession of the land from there to the western stream would include a fine meadow, a mill-seat, a beautiful plain for small grain, and rich, well-timbered uplands. It falls just within the bounds of Western Pennsylvania, and is reserved by the state out of the sale of the land; *is a precious morsel for some favorite of the legislature.*† The Ohio, here, is about four hundred yards wide. The Monongahela at Fort Pitt is about two hundred and eighty wide. The Allegheny about two hundred. The former frequently overflows, and falls much sooner than the latter, owing to its rapidity and extent. The banks of the Monongahela on the west or opposite side to Pittsburgh are steep, close to the water and about two hundred yards high. About a third of the way from the top is a vein of coal above one of the rocks. The coal is burnt in the town, and considered very good. The property of this [coal] and of the town is in the Penns. *They have lotted out the face of the hill at thirty pounds a lot, to dig coal as far in as the perpendicular falling from the summit of the bank.* Fort Pitt is regularly built, cost the crown £600,‡ and is commanded by cannon from the opposite bank of the Monongahela, and from a hill above the town called Grant's hill, from the catastrophe which befell Gen. Grant at that place. He was advancing, with some Highland regiments and Virginia light infantry, before the army under Gen. Forbes, took his station upon this hill, and had the folly to order his drums to beat and his bagpipes to play, in expectation of frightening the French and Indian garrison of the then Fort

* As the island has long been known as Neville island, it is presumable that Col. Neville established his claim finally to it, but I have heard some old people speak of it as Montour's island. Lee's estimate of 2,000 acres is certainly too large.

† Lee, plainly, has not got over his chagrin at the defeat of Virginia's claim to Western Pennsylvania.

‡ Evidently a misprint for £60,000.

Duquesne to surrender. But the commandant, sending a part of the Indians in his rear,* sallied out upon him, killed all the Highlanders, and made him prisoner. The Virginia troops under Col. Lewis, being more upon their guard, mostly escaped."

Here follows the paragraph, already quoted, saying that Pittsburgh was then without church or clergyman. There were, it seems, two doctors and four lawyers; and if there was no clergyman in 1784 the lack was soon supplied, for Rev. Samuel Barr, the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, was stationed here in January, 1785, shortly after the date of Lee's visit. The plot of the town of Pittsburgh, made in 1784, reserved three large lots for churches and burying-grounds. The square from Wood to Smithfield street, and from Sixth to Virgin alley, was reserved, the half next Wood street for the First Presbyterian church, and the half next Smithfield for the Episcopal church. The half-square in the block on Smithfield street, just above Sixth, running back to Miltenberger's alley, was also reserved for the German Evangelical church. These facts do not appear as fully as they are here stated on the face of the plan, but are set forth in the affidavit, perpetuated as evidence in sundry suits about titles to the lots. It would seem from this that there were then three congregations, either formed or in process of formation. The Pittsburgh *Gazette* of August 19 and 26, 1786, states there was then "one clergyman of the Calvanistic faith (Samuel Barr) settled here, and one German Lutheran occasionally preached here." It is also stated that "a church of squared timber and moderate dimensions is on the way to be built." This was built on the lot above mentioned as reserved in 1784 for the First Presbyterian church. The log building was superseded by a brick building, and that by the present stone edifice. These facts indicate that if Rev. Samuel Barr was getting a log building up for a church in 1786, he must have been "thar or tharabouts" in 1784. Means to build churches are not got in a day, especially in an impoverished community such as Pittsburgh was in that day.

In addition to the distillery before noted, Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard already, in 1784, engaged in the mercantile business, formed a partnership with Turnbull, Marmie & Co., of Philadelphia, and established a sawmill up the Allegheny, and saltworks somewhere on Big Beaver. The distillery probably went into operation in 1784, as a letter from Turnbull, Marmie & Co. to Craig, Bayard & Co., October 28, 1784, says: "We are very anxious to hear that the stills have reached you, and that you will be able to set them going this fall." Never fear; they were much more certain to get here safely than Rev. Samuel Barr was to get his log church up in 1786, and to get more customers, too, for an agent of Craig, Bayard & Co., at the saltworks, writes: "I am greatly in want of three barrels of whisky and a barrel of rum. For want of them my neighbor gets all the skins and furs."

The next event of any importance in the history of Pittsburgh is the estab-

* Up Suke's run, probably.

lishment of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, which occurred July 29, 1786. The town must have grown considerably, since the peace of 1783, to warrant such an enterprise. The owners of this enterprise were John Scull and Joseph Hall, both printers, it is judged, but John Scull appears to have been the leading mind. It was a very grave task to undertake the publication of a paper at such a time. Paper and ink had to be brought over the mountains, and there were no mails—no postoffice, in fact. The publishers had to deliver their paper to their subscribers by mail-carriers of their own, and even when mails were established they covered but one route, from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. They persevered, however, amid all discouragements, and the paper still lives, much heartier and stronger than when it was born. Many a similar venture has gone to the bottom within the century that has since elapsed.

It is much to be regretted that files of this paper have not been preserved. The present owners of the *Gazette* have made strenuous efforts to get hold even of stray copies of the first volumes, but succeeded in getting only a copy of the sixteenth number. Mr. Craig, in his "History of Pittsburgh," gives extracts from the first number issued, but no other copy of the first issue can be found. The great value of them, however, would consist in the advertisements, which would show what business was going on; for of items of local interest the numbers, as far as seen, contain nothing. It was like all the papers of its time—filled with news from abroad. The proceedings of the legislature are given with great fullness, and of foreign news there is an abundance; but of home news very little, and of editorials, none. Editors, then, did not write. Everything original in any newspaper of the last century is communicated, and the writers all have classical signatures—"Cato," "Brutus," "Cassius," "Cicero," etc. The young lawyers and doctors of that day probably aired their college education in this way, and seemed to be happiest when they could stir up a controversy about something. The approach of an election is perceptible by communications on the danger the country is in, which can be averted only by the election of John Smith to the legislature. The only elective office then, outside of Congress and the legislature, was that of sheriff, but there were no party nominations for it. Every fellow had a free blow, and the newspapers were full of cards and advertisements from a shoal of candidates.

Mr. Craig, from the first number of the *Gazette*, gives the following, "from the pen," he says, "of the late Judge Brackenridge." The Brackenridge here meant is Hugh H. Brackenbridge, and not Henry M. It is headed "From Brackenridge's 'Gazette Publications,'" from which it is inferred that others of a similar nature followed.

Brackenridge's Description of Pittsburgh in 1786.—"It was in the spring of the year 1781 that, leaving the city of Philadelphia, I crossed the Allegheny mountains, and took my residence in the town of Pittsburgh,

> 'If town it might be called that town was none,
> Distinguished by house or street——'

but in fact a few old buildings, under the walls of a garrison, which stood at the junction of the two rivers. Nevertheless it appeared to me as what would one day be a town of note, and in the meantime might be pushed forward by the usual means that raise such places. Two or three years had elapsed, and some progress had been made in improvement, when a gazette was established at this place for the western country, and one of my earliest contributions was the following, intended to give some reputation to the town, with a view to induce immigration to this particular spot. Whether it contributed in any degree to this object I do not know, nor is it material. It will serve to give some idea of what the town was at an early period, and the state of society at that time, July 26, 1786:

ON THE SITUATION OF THE TOWN OF PITTSBURGH, AND THE STATE OF SOCIETY AT THAT PLACE.

"The Allegheny river, running from the northeast, and the Monongahela, from the southwest, meet at an angle of about thirty-three degrees, and form the Ohio. This is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, bloody; so that the Ohio river may be translated The River of Blood. The French have called it La Belle Rivière, that is, the beautiful and fair river, but this is not intended by them as having any relation to the name Ohio.*

"It may have received the name of Ohio about the beginning of the present century, when the Six Nations made war upon their fellow-savages in these territories and subjected several tribes.

"The word Monongahela is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, the Falling-in Banks, that is, the stream of the falling-in or moldering banks.

"At the distance of about four or five hundred yards from the head of the Ohio is a small island, lying to the northwest side of the river, at the distance of about seventy yards from the shore. It is covered with wood, and at the lowest point is a lofty hill, famous for the number of wild turkeys which inhabit

* Brackenridge is all wrong in his Indian etymology. The French name, "La Belle Rivière," was intended by them as having relation to the name "Ohio," and in no Indian language that I ever heard of is "Ohio" said to signify "blood." Kentucky, though on questionable authority, is said to mean "the bloody ground," but that has nothing to do with "Ohio." Heckewelder contends strenuously that Ohio is a Minsey or Delaware word, signifying a river covered with "white caps," and cites "Ohio pyle," the name of a rapids on the Youghiogheny, as another instance of its use, but the best authorities on Indian languages concur in the conclusion that it is an Iroquois word, and that they applied it to the Allegheny, from its source downward, counting what *we* call the Ohio as a mere continuance of the Allegheny. That is why we find the French and Iroquois continually speaking of the Allegheny as the "Ohio." The Iroquois word is "O-y-o," or, more properly, "O-ee-o"—fair, or beautiful water. The French, in converting it into their own orthography, aspirated the *ee* by placing an *h* before it—"O-hi-o," the *i* in French being sounded as our double *e*. The French rarely, and the English more rarely, got a name from the Indians spelled rightly. In this case an aspiration was interpolated, otherwise they got it right enough. We have retained the French spelling, with an English pronunciation—"O-high-o," which takes it far out of the original form. The Iroquois word is "O-ee-o," with the accent on the first syllable, and it applies, in old Indian usage, to both the Allegheny and Ohio, just as the Delaware name Allegheny, "the principal, chief, fair river," applies to both rivers. The Ohio, to the Delawares, was the Allegheny, and the Allegheny, to the Iroquois, was the Ohio; and both names, as Post in his journal states, in two totally dissimilar languages, mean, practically, the same thing.

it.* The island is not more in length than one-quarter of a mile, and in breadth about one hundred yards. A small space on the upper end is cleared and overgrown with grass. The savages had cleared it during the late war, a party of them attached to the United States having placed their wigwams and raised corn there. The Ohio, at the distance of about one mile from its source, winds round the lower end of the island and disappears. I call the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela the source of the Ohio.

"It is pleasant to observe the conflict of these two waters where they meet; when of an equal height the contest is equal, and a small rippling appears from the point of land at their junction, to the distance of about five hundred yards. When the Allegheny is master, as the term is, the current keeps its course a great way into the Monongahela before it is overcome and falls into the bed of the Ohio. The Monongahela, in like manner, having the mastery, bears away the Allegheny, and with its muddy waters discolors the crystal current of that river. This happens frequently, inasmuch as these two rivers, coming from different climates of the country, are seldom swollen at the same time. The flood of the Allegheny rises perhaps the highest. I have observed it to have been at least thirty feet above the level, by the impression of the ice on the branches of trees which overhang the river, and had been cut at the breaking up of the winter, when the snow and frost melting toward the northeast threw themselves with amazing rapidity and violence in a mighty deluge. The current of the Allegheny is in general more rapid than that of the Monongahela, and though not broader nor of greater depth, yet, from this circumstance, throws forward a greater quantity of water in the same space of time. In this river, at the distance of about one mile above the town of Pittsburgh, is a beautiful little island, which, if there are river gods and nymphs, they may be supposed to haunt.† At the upper end of the island, and toward the western shore, is a small ripple, as it is called, where the water, bubbling as if it sprung from the pebbles of a fountain, gives vivacity and an air of cheerfulness to the scene.

"The fish of the Allegheny are harder and firmer than those of the Monongahela or Ohio, owing, as is supposed, to the greater coldness or purity of the water. The fish in general of those rivers are good. They are the pike, weighing frequently fifteen or twenty pounds; the perch, much larger than any I have ever seen in the bay of Chesapeake, which is the only tide from whence I have ever seen perch; there are also the sturgeon and many more kinds of fish.‡

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*This must be "Smoky island," the last of which was washed away by the flood of 1832. As to the "lofty hill" at its foot, no one now living can, I think, remember it. It was not there in 1832, if my memory serves me right. Still that does not militate against its being there in 1786.

†Presumably either Wainwright's or Herr's island. The islands he mentions appear to have had no names in his day.

‡Brackenridge is writing of 1786; but as late as 1830, and from 1830 to 1850, there was a steady supply of good fish in the Pittsburgh markets, caught in the Allegheny, Monongahela and the Ohio, and I think I am not

Wm Harbaugh

"It is a high amusement, to those who are fond of fishing, to angle in those waters, more especially at the time of a gentle flood, when the frequent nibbles of the large and small fishes entertain the expectation, and sometimes gratify it by a bite; and when those of a larger size are taken, it is necessary to play them a considerable time before it can be judged safe to draw them in. I have seen a canoe half loaded in a morning by some of those most expert in the employment, but you will see in a spring evening the banks of the rivers lined with men fishing, at intervals from one another. This, with the streams gently gliding, the woods, at a distance, green, and the shadows lengthening toward the town, forms a delightful scene. Fond of the water, I have been sometimes highly pleased in going with a select party, in a small barge, up or down the rivers, and landing at a cool spring, to enjoy the verdant turf, amidst the shady bowers of ash-wood, sugar-tree or oak, planted by the hand of nature, not art.

"It may be said by some who will read this description which I have given, or may be about to give, that it is minute and useless, inasmuch as they are observations of things well known. But let it be considered that it is not intended for the people of this country, but for those at a distance, who may not yet be acquainted with the natural situation of the town of Pittsburgh, or, having heard of it, may wish to be more particularly informed. Who knows what families of fortune it may induce to emigrate to this place?

"There is a rock known by the name of McKee's Rock, at the distance of about three miles below the head of the Ohio. It is the end of a promontory, where the river bends to the northwest, and where, by the rushing of the floods, the earth has been cut away during several ages, so that now the huge, overhanging rocks appear hollowed beneath, so as to form a dome of majesty and grandeur near one hundred feet in height.* Here are the names of French and British officers engraved, who in the former times, in parties of pleasure, had visited this place. The town of Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio, is scarcely visible from hence, by means of an intervening island,† the lower end of which is nearly opposite the rocks. Just below them, at the bending

far wrong in saying that the supply from these sources was equal to the home demand. After the railways were opened, of course, supplies came from both the lakes and the sea; and after oil was discovered, and oil-refineries began to void their refuse into the Allegheny, the fish began to disappear rapidly, until now there are few to be found. On streams polluted by drainage from coalpits the destruction of fish is rapid. The Youghiogheny is frequently covered with dead fish destroyed by the sulphurous drainage of the coalpits, and from the same cause streams like the Chartiers are nearly devoid of fish.

* McKee's Rock here referred to was up to about 1760 the site of the Indian town of the Delaware chief Shingiss, but before his location here he probably lived at the mouth of Little Beaver, which is spoken of in the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1784 as "Shingo's old town." Of Shingiss Heckewelder speaks in poor terms. He says: "Were his war exploits all on record they would form an interesting document, though a shocking one. Conacocheague, Big Cove, Sherman's valley and other settlements along the frontier felt his strong arm sufficiently—that he was a bloody warrior—cruel his treatment, resistless his fury. His person was small, but in point of courage and activity and in savage prowess he was said never to be exceeded by anyone." Post, in his journal, says that Shingiss told him the English had set a price upon his head.

"The Ohio Company," formed in Lord Dunmore's time, intended to fortify this place and lay out a town there, but never did. Washington thought it much inferior to the forks of the river at Pittsburgh as a site for a fort, but Gen. Irvine was much taken with it. Washington's judgment was the best.

† Brunot's island.

of the river, is a deep eddy-water, which has been sounded by a line of thirty fathoms and no bottom found. Above them is a beautiful extent of bottom containing five or six hundred acres, and the ground rising to the inland country with an easy ascent, so as to form an extensive landscape. As you ascend the river from these rocks to the town of Pittsburgh you pass by on your right hand the mouth of a brook known by the name of Saw-Mill run.* This empties itself about half a mile below the town, and is overlooked by a building on its banks, on the point of a hill which fronts the east, and is first struck by the beams of the rising sun. At a small distance from its mouth is a saw-mill, about twenty perches below the situation of an old mill built by the British, the remains of some parts of which are yet seen."†

"At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburgh, on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle.‡ Just at the point stood, when I first came to this country, a tree, leaning against which I have often overlooked the wave, or, committing my garments to its shade, have bathed in the transparent tide.§ How have I regretted its undeserved fate when the early winter's flood tore it from the roots and left the bank bare!

"On this point stood the old French fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under Gen. Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angles and bastions, still remains, so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest verdure, and depastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed and buildings are erected.

"Just above these works is the present garrison, built by Gen. Stanwix, and it is said to have cost the crown of Britain £60,000. Be that as it may, it has been a work of great labor and of little use, for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising grounds on every side, and some at less than the distance of a mile.‖ The fortification is regular, constructed according to

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*Brackenridge makes no mention of Chartiers creek, which empties into the Ohio just above McKee's Rock. The rich lands along this creek early tempted settlers, and it was the scene of several Indian slaughters. It was certainly as worthy of mention as Saw-Mill run.

†The stone gristmill of West Elliott was probably built on the site of this old British mill, or was the British mill itself, and the sawmill above referred to was continued in use down to 1840 and afterward.

‡If the author had said triangular he would have been nearer right, the two rivers forming two sides of the triangle, a line drawn from one to the other forming its base. This was the shape of the town as laid out by the Penns in 1784.

§The "transparent tide" must refer especially to the Allegheny. In years gone by, before the rivers became the common receptacle of sewers, oil-refineries, tanneries and other factories, the Allegheny was noted for its beautifully clear water and its pebbly bottom. The Monongahela, when very low, is clear, but is usually several shades less clear than the Allegheny. When Coal hill was covered with trees, and the Allegheny was at its best, the scene on either river was one of rare beauty. But that was long before the memory of the present generation.

‖This seems a stronger argument to-day than it was in 1786; but it is to be remembered that when Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt were built the approaches to it were by the rivers, and transportation by the rivers was confined to canoes. The heaviest piece of ordnance that could be carried in canoes was a four-pounder, and a four-pounder from the top of Coal hill would hardly be very effective, even if it were possible for the enemy to get to the top of either that or Grant's hill. For the purposes for which these forts were built they were more formidable where they were than they would have been on higher ground.

the rules of art, and about three years ago put into good repair by Gen. Irvine, who commanded at this post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine,* built of stone; but the time is come, and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at at end. There is a line of posts below it, on the Ohio river, to the distance of two or three hundred miles. The savages come to this place for trade, not for war, and any future contest that we may have with them will be on the heads of the more northern rivers that fall into the Mississippi.

"The bank of the Allegheny river, on the northwest side of the town of Pittsburgh, is planted with an orchard of apple-trees, with some pear-trees intermixed. These were brought, it is said, and planted by a British officer, who commanded at this place early on the first occupation of it by the crown of England. He has deserved the thanks of those who have since enjoyed it, as the fruit is excellent, and the trees bear in abundance every year. Near the garrison, on the Allegheny bank, were formerly what were called the king's artillery gardens, delightful spots, cultivated highly to usefulness and pleasure, the soil favoring the growth of plants and flowers equal with any on the globe. Over this ground, the ancient herbs and plants springing up underneath the foot, it is delightful still to walk, covered with the orchard shade.

"On the margin of this river once stood a row of houses, elegant and neat, and not unworthy of the European taste, but have been swept away in the course of time, some for the purpose of forming an opening to the river from the garrison, that the artillery might incommode the enemy approaching and deprived of shelter, some torn away by the fury of the rising river, indignant of too near a pressure on its banks.† These buildings were the receptacles of

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*This magazine was still standing in a dilapidated condition until after 1850, if my memory serves me rightly, and was on the upper part of the lot now occupied by the Pennsylvania railroad freight depot. I think, but will not be sure, that a drawing was made of it, before it was demolished, and cuts of it published in the papers. It was a mere vault of stone, with nothing particular or striking about its appearance, and doubtless served its original purpose admirably.

†Brackenridge mentions, in another part of this extract, that the Allegheny was in the habit of rising, in his day, thirty feet above its bed. In another part he speaks of the town as built upon the "third bank" of the rivers, or upon the highest ground above the river. Yet here he speaks of houses upon this third bank as having been swept away by "the fury of the rising river." From all which it is apparent that, a hundred years ago, the Allegheny rose higher and oftener than it does now. This fact militates against the theory that the preservation of the forests prevents such high overflows. The whole area drained by the Allegheny river was a primeval forest, undisturbed by clearings, in 1786, yet the annual spring flood rose to thirty feet, whereas in these later years it has not gone beyond twenty-four feet. The upper region of the Allegheny, in 1832, was nearly all forest, yet that year witnessed a disastrous flood, which has been equaled but once since, the flood of 1852 having been short of the height of 1832. These high floods, then, are not as frequent as they were a century ago, nor do they rise as high, although the drained region is now nearly clear of the original forest. This deduction does not affect the general theory that forests attract water and to some extent retain the rainfall; but in so far as the theory claims that forests prevent high floods, the facts do not sustain it. Within a few months after Brackenridge's article appeared in the *Gazette*, the following appeared, January 13, 1787: "The heavy rains and constant thaw for this some time past swelled the Allegheny and Monongahela to a great height, and several Kentucky boats passed down the latter adrift, all of them loaded. The Allegheny overflowed its banks to such a degree that a great part of the reserved tract opposite this place was under water. The inhabitants of the ferry-house were obliged to leave it, and it was with the greatest difficulty they escaped, as the flat, canoes, etc., had been carried by the water to what is called the second bank, a great distance from the usual bed of the river. We have not yet received an account of the damage done, but judge it must be considerable."

the ancient Indian trade which, coming from the westward, centered in this quarter, but of these buildings, like decayed monuments of grandeur, no trace remains. Those who, twenty years ago, saw them flourish, can only say, here they stood.

"From the verdant walk on the margin of this beautiful river you have a view of an island, about a mile above, round which the river twines with a resplendent brightness; gliding on the eastern bank, it would wish to keep a straight direction, once supposed to be its course, but, thrown beneath, it modestly submits and falls toward the town. When the poet comes with his enchanting song to pour his magic numbers on this scene, this little island may aspire to live with those in the Ægean sea, where the song of Homer drew the image of delight, or where the Cam or Isis, embracing in their bosoms gems like these, are sung by Milton, father of the modern bards.*

"On the west side of the Allegheny river, and opposite the orchard, is a level of three thousand acres, reserved by the state to be laid out in lots for the purpose of a town. A small stream at right angles to the river passes through it. On this ground it is supposed a town may stand, but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situation so convenient as on the side of the river where the present town is placed, yet it is a most delightful grove of oak-, cherry- and walnut-trees; but we return, and take a view of the Monongahela on the southern side of the town.†

"This bank is closely set with buildings‡ for the distance of near half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's hill, a beautiful rising ground, discovering marks of ancient cultivation, the forest having long ago withdrawn and shown the head and brow beset with green and flowers. From this hill two crystal fountains issue, which, in the heat of summer, continue with a limpid current to refresh the taste.§ It is pleasant to celebrate a festival on the

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* This island of Brackenridge, if his distances be correct, not only failed to find its Milton, but like his houses "decayed monuments of grandeur," has fallen a victim to "the fury of the rising river." No island has been seen in the Allegheny "about a mile above" its mouth, within the last sixty years. It must have been a mere islet, which soon disappeared in a rapid river like the Allegheny.

† In this paragraph we have, in embryo, an instance of the hostile feeling that starts up between two towns adjacent to each other, a feeling by no means confined to Pittsburgh. But the idea here expressed, as to the unfitness of the site of Allegheny City for a town, was by no means confined to Brackenridge. Judge Redick, a man of no mean parts for his day, speaks very contemptuously of it. His letter is given in full in Agnew's "Settlement and Titles." He speaks of the man in the moon looking down in scorn upon the attempt to plant a town there. The man in the moon has seen enough to change his opinion, since. He now looks down nightly, when the clouds will let him, upon a city of 125,000 inhabitants, which has far overspread the paltry limits of the original town; and as Pittsburgh has spread far beyond the limits of the old Penn manor, within the center of which the town of Pittsburgh was laid out, so Allegheny City bids fair to expand beyond the limit of the three-thousand-acre lot reserved by the state to pay its old soldiers.

‡ There were less than one hundred houses in the whole town of Pittsburgh when the above was written

§ These cool springs continued to flow until Grant's hill was graded off. Long after the city furnished a water supply from a reservoir on Grant's hill, where St. Peter's church now stands, these springs were resorted to for supplies of cool drinking-water in summer. This was, of course, before the days when ice was supplied for cooling the water. I am told that in some of the cellars on Fifth, near Smithfield, springs still bubble up and are carried off into the sewers.

Jno R Jones

summit of this ground. In the year 1781 a bower had been erected and covered with green shrubs. The sons and daughters of the day, assembling, joined in the festivity, viewing the rivers at a distance, and listening to the music of the military on the plain beneath them. When the moonlight rising from the east had softened into gray, the prospect, a lofty pile of wood enframed with pyramidal rising, illuminated both the rivers and the town, which far around reflected brightness. Approaching in the appearance of a river god, a swain begirt with weeds natural to these streams, and crowned with leaves of the sugar-tree, hailed us and gave prophetic hints of the grandeur of our future empire. His words I remember not, but it seemed to me, for a moment, that the mystic agency of deities well known in Greece and Rome was not a fable, but that powers unseen haunt the woods and rivers, who take part in the affairs of mortals and are pleased with the celebration of events that spring from great achievements and from virtue.*

"This is the hill, and from whence it takes its name, where, in the war which terminated in the year 1763, Grant, advancing with about eight hundred Caledonians or Highland Scotch troops, beat a reveille a little after sunrise to the French garrison, who, accompanied with a number of savages, sallied out, and flanking him unseen from the bottom on the left and right, then covered with wood, ascended the hill, tomahawked and cut his troops to pieces and made Grant himself prisoner. Bones and weapons are yet found on the hill, the bones white with the weather, the weapons covered with rust.†

"On the summit of this hill is a mound of earth, supposed to be a catacomb or ancient burying-place of the savages. There can be no doubt of this, as upon opening some of the like tumuli, or hills of earth, bones are found. In places, where stones are plenty, these mounds are raised of stones, and skeletons are found in them.‡ To the northeast of Grant's hill there is one still higher, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, which is called the Quarry hill, from the excellent stone-quarry that has been opened in it.§ From this hill

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*I can not state positively what this festal celebration in 1781 was intended to commemorate. Can it be possible that our people were then beginning to celebrate the Fourth of July? No other event of any local importance can have come in summer. If so, it was, I think, the earliest Fourth-of-July celebration on record. On June 20, 1788, the adoption of the United States constitution was celebrated on Grant's hill.

†Grant's massacre occurred in 1758. It was in the war which ended in 1763, but was not itself in 1763. He was sent in September, in advance of Forbes, to attack the fort, and had force enough, if he had known how to use it, to have captured the fort. His Highlanders, refusing to profit by the experience of Braddock in 1755, fought in "the open," while the Americans sought shelter behind trees. The result was that the Highlanders were simply slaughtered.

‡There is no record, that I know of, of the opening of this mound, or of its contents; but a similar one, at McKee's Rocks, was opened a few years ago, and found to contain human remains.

Of the height of Grant's hill there is now no monument extant, and the hill itself will soon be graded away so as to be scarcely perceptible. But when the courthouse was first erected on Grant's hill, in 1836-40, a monument was left for the express purpose of preserving a tangible record of the original level of the hill. The court-room floor, or the floor that opened off the columned portico in front, was exactly at the height of the original elevation of the hill. That building is now swept away, and no other level to preserve the elevation has been made. As near as I can judge, it was about twenty feet above the present level of Grant and Fifth avenues.

§This must be the hill traversed by Wylie and Webster avenues, but it is not now known as Quarry hill. It was originally no part of Grant's hill, but as the streets are now graded, it seems but a continuance of it.

there is an easy descent the whole way to the town, and an excellent smooth road,* so that the stones can be easily procured to erect any building at Pittsburgh.† From the Quarry hill you have a view of four or five miles of the Allegheny river, along which lies a fine bottom, and in high cultivation, with different inclosures and farmhouses, the river winding through the whole prospect.

"This hill would seem to stand as that whereon a strong redoubt might be placed, to command the commerce of the Allegheny river, while directly opposite, on the Monongahela side, to the southeast, stands a hill of the same height and appearance, known by the name of Ayres' hill, so called from a British engineer of that name, who gave his opinion in favor of this ground as that whereon the fort ought to be constructed, as being the highest ground, and which must command the rivers and the plain, with the inferior rising grounds on which the town is built. The hill has been cultivated on the summit by a Highland regiment, who built upon it, though the buildings are now gone, and the brow of the hill is still covered with wood.‡

"From Ayres' hill § issue several fountains, falling chiefly toward the north into a small brook, which, increasing, encircles the foot of the hill, and takes its course through several beautiful little meads into the Monongahela river. On this brook, before it takes its turn to the Monongahela, in a delightful little valley, and in the neighborhood of some plum-trees, the natives of the country, was the ancient residence of a certain Anthony Thompson, the vestiges of whose habitation still remain. An extent of ground cleared by him lies to the north, accustomed to long cultivation, and now thrown out a common. The best brick may be made from this ground, the fine loam and sand of which the soil consists, and the water just at hand, highly favoring the object.

"As you ascend from this valley, through which a main leading road passes from the country, you see the Monongahela, and approaching Grant's hill on the right, you have the point of view from whence the town is seen to the best advantage. It is hid from you until by the winding of the road you

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The old Pennsylvania canal had a passage, between the two hills, to the Monongahela river, the tunnel of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railway company occupying, very nearly, the route of the old canal; but the cut made for the canal has since been filled up, and no trace of it can now be found.

* The old Coal-Lane road, presumably—now Webster avenue.

† And yet the stones for building the courthouse on Grant's hill, in 1836-40, were taken from a quarry on Coal hill, opposite the mouth of Ferry street. This courthouse was destroyed by fire in 1882, but long before this fire the atmosphere had begun to wear away the stone perceptibly. So rapid was the corrosion, in an atmosphere loaded with coal-smoke, that the dressed surface of the front wall had dropped off, some of the cornices near the roof had begun to fall, and the building had a general scaly look that would have rendered a new one necessary if the fire had not happened. All the building-stone around Pittsburgh has the same failing.

‡ This must be what is now known as Mount Oliver, as distinguished from Coal hill, although both are part of the same range. I can not remember of ever hearing it called Ayres' hill.

§ No mention is made here by Brackenridge of either Boyd's hill, just beyond Grant's hill, on the Monongahela, or of Hogback hill, in Allegheny. The omission of the latter can be accounted for, as he was not describing the Allegheny side of the river; but the omission of Boyd's hill, a point as prominent as Grant's hill, is inexplicable.

begin to turn the point of the hill; you then see house by house on the Monongahela side opening to your view, until you are in front of the main town, in a direct line to the confluence of the rivers. Then the buildings on the Allegheny show themselves, with the plain extending to the right, which had been concealed. You have in the meantime a view of the rising grounds beyond the rivers, crowned with lofty woods. I was once greatly struck, in a summer morning, viewing from the ground the early vapor rising from the river. It hung midway between the foot and summit of the hill, so that the green above had the appearance of an island in the clouds.

"It may be here observed that, at the junction of these two rivers, until 8 o'clock of summer mornings a light fog is usually incumbent; but it is of a salutary nature, inasmuch as it consists of vapor, not exhaled from stagnant water, but which the sun of the preceding day had extracted from trees and flowers, and in the evening had sent back in dew, so that rising from a second sun in fog, and becoming of aromatic quality, it is experienced to be healthful. [Our fogs are not aromatic now, more's the pity. They smell more of the sewer than of dew.—R. E.]

"The town of Pittsburgh, as at present built, stands chiefly on what is called the third bank, that is, the third rising of the ground above the Allegheny water. For there is the first bank, which confines the river at the present time; and about three hundred feet removed is a second, like the falling of a garden; then a third, at a distance of about three hundred yards, and lastly, a fourth bank, all of easy inclination and parallel with the Allegheny river. These banks would seem in successive periods to have been the margin of the river, which gradually has changed its course, and has been thrown from one descent to another to the present bed where it lies.* In digging wells the kind of stones are found which we observe in the Allegheny current, worn smooth by the attrition of the water. Shells, also, intermixed with these, are thrown out. Nature, therefore, or the river, seems to have formed the bed of this town as a garden, with level walks and fallings of the ground. Hence the advantage of descending gardens on these banks, which art, elsewhere, endeavors with the greatest industry to form. Nor is the soil less happy than the situation. The mold is light and rich. The finest gardens in the known world may be found here.

"The town consists at present of about a hundred dwelling-houses, with buildings appurtenant; more are daily added, and for some time past it has improved with unequal but continual pace. The inhabitants, men, women and children, are about fifteen hundred,† this number doubling almost every

* The grading of the banks of the rivers, for wharves, has obliterated all the marks of these separate embankments.

† Plainly an overestimate. A hundred houses would not average fifteen to each; and as Mr. Craig could count but 102 houses in 1796, ten years later, the estimate as to houses was also wild. If, as he says, the town was improving, and had but 102 houses ten years afterward, the number of houses in 1786 must have been nearer fifty, and the population 300 or 400.

year from the accession of people from abroad and from those born in the town. As I pass along, I may remark that this new country is in general highly prolific; whether it is that the vegetable air, if I may so express it, constantly perfumed with aromatic flavor and impregnated with salts drawn from the fresh soil, is more favorable to the production of men and other animals than decayed ground.

"There is not a more delightful spot under heaven to spend any of the summer months than at this place. I am astonished that there should be such repairing to the warm springs in Virginia, a place pent up between the hills, where the sun pours its beams concentrated as in a burning-glass, and not a breath of air stirs; where the eye can wander scarcely half a furlong, while here we have the breezes of the river, coming from the Mississippi and the ocean; the gales that fan the woods, and are sent from the refreshing lakes to the northward; in the meantime the prospect of extensive hills and dales, whence the fragrant air brings odors of a thousand flowers and plants, or of the corn and grain of husbandmen, upon its balmy wings. Here we have the town and country together. How pleasant it is of a summer evening to walk out upon these grounds, the smooth, green surface of the earth and the woodland shade softening the late fervent beams of the sun; how pleasant, by a crystal fountain, is a tea-party under one of these hills, with the rivers and the plains beneath!*

"Nor is the winter season enjoyed with less festivity than in more populous and cultivated towns. The buildings warm, fuel abundant, consisting of the finest coal from the neighboring hills, or of ash, hickory or oak brought down in rafts by the rivers. In the meantime the climate is less severe at this place than on the other side of the mountain, lying deep in the bosom of the wood, sheltered on the northeast by the bending of the Allegheny heights, and on the southwest warmed by the tepid winds from the Bay of Mexico and the great southern ocean.

"In the fall of the year and during the winter season there is usually a great concourse of strangers at this place, from the different states, about to descend the river to the westward, or to make excursions into the uninhabited and adjoining country.† These, with the inhabitants of the town, spend the evening in parties at the different houses, or at public balls, where they are surprised to find an elegant assembly of ladies not to be surpassed in beauty and accomplishments, perhaps, by any on the continent.

"It must appear like enchantment to a stranger, who, after traveling a hundred miles from the settlements across a dreary mountain and through the country, where in many places the spurs of the mountains still continue and cultivation does not always show itself, to see all at once, and almost on the

* This attempt to boom Pittsburgh as a summer resort reads very funnily when we contrast the Pittsburgh of to-day with the Pittsburgh of 1786. Even the warm springs of Virginia will not suffer by the contrast now.

† The country to the north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was all "Indian" country until the treaty of 1784 opened it up to exploration and settlement. Pittsburgh was, in 1786, the best point at which to enter it.

John Dalgleish

verge of the inhabited globe, a town with smoking chimneys, halls lighted up with splendor, ladies and gentlemen assembled, various music and the mazes of the dance. He may suppose it to be the effect of magic, or that he is come into a new world, where there is all the refinement of the former and more benevolence of heart."

This is a long sketch, and rather magniloquent in tone, but it is the first pen-and-ink sketch of this city, and affords an excellent means of contrasting the city now with the city then. It is a great aid to a reader to know fully what a place looked like when it began.

By reference to an accompanying map of Pittsburgh in 1795, it will be seen that Fort Duquesne was near the extreme point, between Penn street and the Allegheny river, while Fort Pitt extended from Liberty street across Penn, and occupied the square now covered by the freight depot of the Pennsylvania railroad. Fort Fayette, built by Maj. Craig in 1791, faced Penn street on both sides, corner of Garrison alley. The United States still owns the lot from Penn street to the Allegheny river. Above the fort, on the Allegheny, are the "orchards" referred to by Brackenridge. Smoky island, in the Allegheny, will be noticed, as also an island in the Monongahela, on which buckwheat was grown in 1798, which has since been washed away. The reader will also please note the ponds draining into the Monongahela at Wood street, the main one extending from Fourth street to Grant, crossing Smithfield street at Fifth. This map, with Brackenridge's description, ought to convey a fair idea of Pittsburgh when first laid out.

Apropos of Brackenridge's boast about the mildness of the winters at Pittsburgh, the following comes in with poor effect as a comment:

In the fall of 1787 two young French gentlemen visited Fort Pitt. The story of their sojourn here is thus told by M. Brissot de Warville: "Immediately after their arrival in Philadelphia they hastened to Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, where they were detained by the winter. The frost was extraordinarily severe. The Ohio was frozen, which rarely occurs. They established themselves a mile or two from Fort Pitt, in a house which was exposed on all sides, in consequence of which they suffered much. Although they kept up great fires and had numerous coverings, they could not defend themselves against the frost. The Reaumer thermometer fell to below 32° and then burst.

"The two young gentlemen were obliged to chop their own wood and cook their own meals, which usually consisted of game and potatoes. Bread was dear and scarce. During their somewhat lengthy sojourn they tried a number of experiments on a hydrostatic scale which Mr. Sangrain had brought with him. They weighed the different sorts of wood and tried from which the best and most potash could be made. Numerous experiments convinced them that the stalks of Indian corn gave comparatively the largest yield. They inspected the neighboring mines; they found iron, lead, copper, and even silver, in the vicinity. They were told of an iron-mine, belonging to a rich Mr. Murray, but were not permitted to see it."

CHAPTER XXIII.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY.

FROM 1786 TO 1794—REDEMPTIONERS—EARLY SCHOOLS AND PROFESSIONS—MAIL AND POSTOFFICE ESTABLISHED—HIGH FREIGHTS—MARKET-HOUSE—LOTTERIES, ETC.—FORMATION OF ALLEGHENY CITY—CHARTERING OF PITTSBURGH AS A BOROUGH.

THE eighth number of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, of September 16, 1786, contains the following advertisement, which exposes a practice then prevalent, but long since abandoned and forgotten:

> TO BE SOLD,
>
> (For READY MONEY, only)
>
> A German woman servant, she has near 3 years to serve, and is well qualified for all household work; would recommend her to her own country people, particularly as her present master has found great inconvenience from his not being acquainted with their manners, customs and language. For further particulars enquire at Mr. ORMSBY's in Pittsburgh.

This was distinct from negro slavery, but not one whit better. This German woman was a "redemptioner." That is, she was a German immigrant without sufficient money to pay her passage over, and was sold, by her own consent, upon her arrival, for a term of years, to pay her passage money. What the term was seems to have been indefinite; this woman had "near three years to serve." Her term was probably five years. Shiploads were brought over upon these terms; and that the immigrants were willing to endure this shows how eager they were, in those days, to get away from Europe. "Contract labor," now forbidden by law, appears to be based on the same idea.

In 1786, besides the establishment of a paper, a racecourse was also established; and as if to offset this, Mrs. Pride, about the same time, advertises a boarding- and day-school for young ladies, in which she proposes to teach all sorts of plain and ornamental needlework, "also reading, English and knitting, *if required.*" It is to be hoped that the use of English was "required," although sewing and knitting were valuable accomplishments in the then state of society. These private schools were then, and for half a century afterward, the sole reliance for acquiring education. The public schools did not begin until 1835, and until that time each youth had to get what knowledge he could

through the agency of private schools. There were always a good many of them, and many men attained eminence in carrying them on; but there was, probably, a Squeers or two among them. The state made some provision for the higher education by endowing academies in each county. The Pittsburgh Academy was incorporated in 1787, and was tolerably well endowed. It was afterward merged, I think, in the Western University, which is still in existence.

In 1786 there were two physicians here, of whom Dr. Bedford was one; and two lawyers, Hugh H. Brackenridge, and the other was either John Woods or James Ross. The county was not organized until 1788, and prior to that this county was a part of Westmoreland county, with the county seat at Hannastown. Of course, with the courthouse so far off, there was but little legal business carried on here.

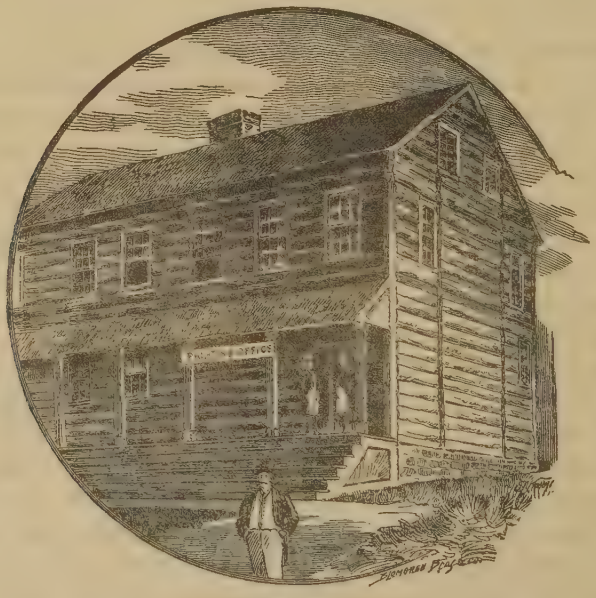
The intercourse with the east, in 1786, was very restricted. The price of freight was sixpence a pound, or two pounds ten shillings a hundred. This, however, must have been in Pennsylvania currency, which was nominally seven shillings sixpence to the dollar, which would make the price equal to $6.67 a hundred weight. As the currency was much depreciated at this time, the real price must have been much less, though evidently dear enough. A writer of that day says: "However improved the conveyance may be, and by whatever channel, the importation of heavy articles will still be expensive. The manufacture of them will therefore become more an object here than elsewhere." A strong argument for home manufactures.

In addition to the drawback of high freights, there was then no mail to Pittsburgh or from it. All correspondence was carried on by special express or by casual travelers, and the latter was an exceedingly slow and unsafe method. The Pittsburgh *Gazette* of September 30, 1786, publishes an extract from a letter dated Philadelphia, September 14, 1786, which says: "Mr. Brison has returned from New York with orders to establish a post from this place to Pittsburgh, and one from Virginia to Bedford. The two to meet at Bedford." Mr. Brison went to New York from Pittsburgh, on behalf of the citizens here, to get this mail established. This was, when started, a weekly mail, arriving at Pittsburgh every Friday, and leaving every Friday. Whether it was carried on horseback, or in a gig, sulky or carriage, does not appear, but probably on horseback. As it was three hundred miles between the two places, this would be about forty-three miles a day, and could be managed, at that rate, without night riding. To a newspaper it afforded but one route, and the *Gazette* had still to depend upon its private mail-carriers to deliver its papers to its subscribers. A postoffice was established in Pittsburgh as soon as this mail was ordered, and John Scull, editor of the *Gazette*, appointed postmaster. The office was in the same building as the printing-office, on Water street, near Ferry.* The postmastership must have been very near a mere honor then.

* Ferry street was so named because the ferry landing was originally at its mouth. On the opposite side of the river, at the foot of the hill, there was an old, abandoned brick house, as late as 1840, known as "the

For the year ending October 1, 1790, four years after the office was established, the total income was only $111. It never made Scull rich.

A public meeting was held March 1, 1787, to consider about erecting a market-house. Messrs. Hugh Ross, Stephen Bayard and Rev. Samuel Barr were appointed a committee to report a plan and to establish market-days. The market-house was erected on their plan, on the corner of Market and Second streets, and Wednesdays and Saturdays were named as market-days. After the first courthouse was erected, a semicircular market-house, roofed, but open below, was built on the public square, in the Diamond in front of the courthouse. In the course of time two wings were added, one at each end of the



THE FIRST PITTSBURGH POSTOFFICE.

courthouse lot, each being an extension of the market-house on the lot opposite. Down to a comparatively recent period, Wednesdays and Saturdays continued to be market-days, but gradually every day in the week, except Sunday, came to be market-days. Why the market-house was not originally built upon the public square it is impossible now to say, probably because, the county not being organized, there was no courthouse, and the purpose seems to have been to put the two together on the Diamond.

The First Presbyterian Church was incorporated September 20, 1787, but the church had existed since January, 1785, when Rev. Samuel Barr took charge of it. The log building in which it at first worshiped had also been put up

Ferry house." The ferry afterward known as Jones' ferry was farther down the river, and the landing on this side was at Liberty street for a long time.

prior to the incorporation. One of the favored plans for raising money for church-building purposes was by lottery, and the First Presbyterian Church

THE NEW POSTOFFICE.

was authorized by the legislature to employ this method. Tickets in this lottery were exhibited here a few years since; but Rev. Samuel Barr, sturdy and worthy preacher as he was, must have had very different ideas on this subject

from those now prevalent. Public attention had not then been called to the immorality of lotteries, and the difficulty of raising money otherwise doubtless contributed to reconcile good men to the trial of a method of such doubtful propriety. Many other churches, of all denominations, were authorized by law to raise money by lotteries.

This year was remarkable, also, for two measures of great importance—the formation of the constitution of the United States, and the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, ceded by Virginia to the United States. The former gave to the country a firm government with enlarged powers, and the latter, by the clause prohibiting slavery in the new territory, built up just west of us a free, thriving and industrious population, which has kept pace with Pittsburgh in growth, and furnished a commerce between them and us useful and profitable to both. The result was early seen. In April, 1788, the Mayflower, the pioneer boat, with New England emigrants for the mouth of the Muskingum, arrived here from Simrall's ferry (also called Robbstown), where West Newton now stands. These emigrants had crossed the mountains by the old Braddock route, and took boat on their arrival at the Youghiogheny. This was the beginning of an emigration from which Ohio was the first to benefit, and afterward Indiana and Illinois. From 1788 onward a great deal of this emigration flowed through Pittsburgh. Some of it came down the Monongahela and Youghiogheny in boats, and some of it came to Pittsburgh through Philadelphia, and took boats here for various destinations in Ohio; but all of it made Pittsburgh a stopping-point, adding briskness to the appearance of the place, and laying the foundations of a subsequent business intercourse that has grown gigantic from its original small proportions.

Boat-building, originally started in 1777, must have grown into an active business by this time, the demand being large for boats to carry down the river parties of emigrants arriving here from the east. The boats were not large, nor very substantial. All that was needed was a solid, flat bottom, sloping slightly in front, and well-boarded and calked sides, with a roof for shelter. There were oars in front for propulsion to get steerage-way, and a sweep at the stern to steer by. The current of the river furnished most of the motive power, the oars being used only when necessary, at particular spots. In such a boat a man with his family, or several men and their families, could float down to Steubenville, Marietta, Cincinnati, or to whatever point was nearest to the point chosen for a settlement. There the boat was sold or abandoned, and the passengers sought a way to their new homes. This was the first development of the river business of Pittsburgh.

Reference has heretofore been made to the fact that Pittsburgh was originally a part of Westmoreland county. This arose from the policy adopted first by the colony of Pennsylvania, and afterward by the state, of regarding all the rest of the colony or state as belonging, for the time being, to the western-most county. At first there were but three counties outside of Philadelphia—

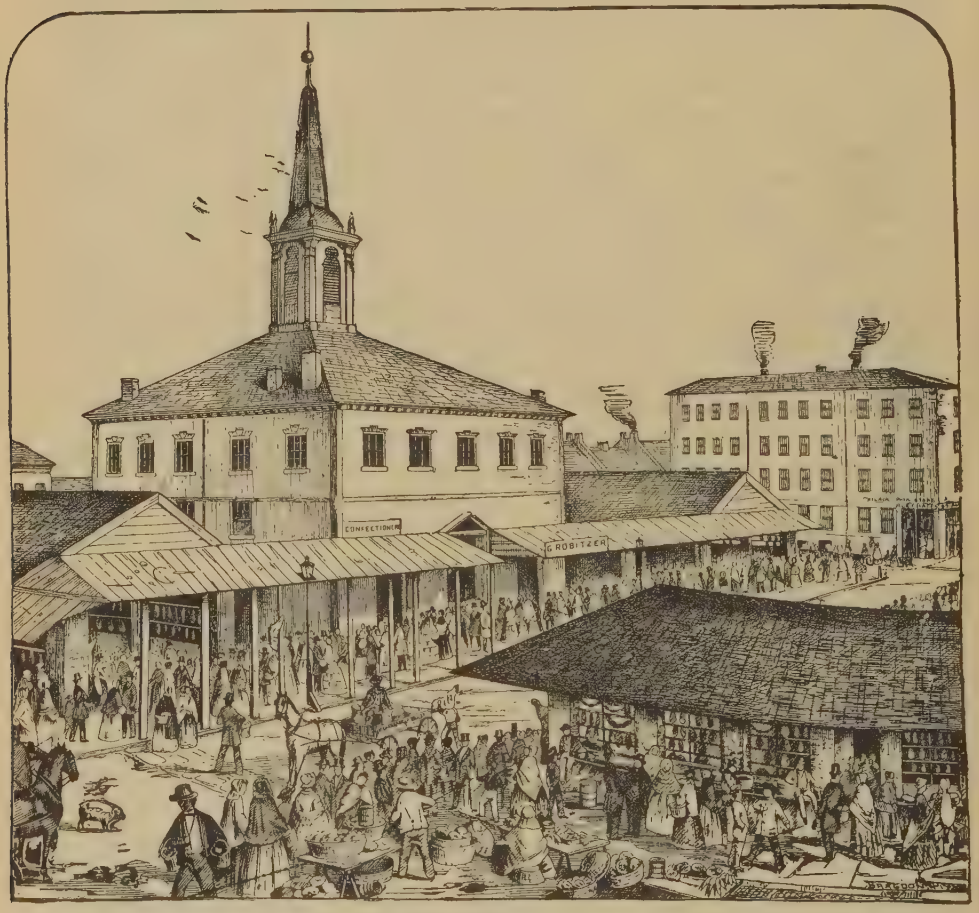
Bucks, Delaware and Chester. The latter, being the westernmost, embraced all the territory west of it. When Lancaster county was formed everything west of it was a part of Lancaster. Then Cumberland was erected, west of the Susquehanna, and included all of the state west of that river. When Bedford was formed out of Cumberland, it took in all that was west of it; then Westmoreland was cut off from Bedford, and took in all territory west to the Virginia border. Washington county was first taken off of Westmoreland, and finally, in 1788, the legislature passed an act erecting the county of Allegheny out of parts of Westmoreland and Washington. It sometimes pleases our neighbors in those counties to boast that this county was made out of theirs; but while they had an undoubted legal existence ahead of us, and our people were compelled for twenty-four years to travel to Hannastown, in Westmoreland county, for whatever justice was legally administered, this county, though no larger in extent than either of them, has so far outstripped them in the race of growth as to leave both of them out of sight. The growth of a county does not depend upon when it was organized, or how. The time was when Washington county had more representatives in the state legislature than Allegheny, and when Allegheny had to be coupled with a neighboring county to form a legislative or congressional district; but that time has long gone by.

On the 24th of September, 1788, then, an act of the legislature was passed erecting the county of Allegheny. The courts were to be held in Pittsburgh until certain trustees named in the act should erect suitable county buildings on the "Reserved Tract" opposite Pittsburgh, the state making a donation of the necessary ground; but in the spring of 1789 this part of the act of 1788 was repealed, and the trustees were authorized to purchase lots in Pittsburgh for a courthouse and jail. The courthouse was put upon the public square, in the Diamond, and the jail in Jail alley, behind the courthouse.

What purpose the legislature had in naming what was then a wilderness for the county seat it would be hard to determine. Pittsburgh, as having been long settled, and the center of business, would naturally indicate itself as the proper spot; but the state owned all the land west and north of the Allegheny, and could easily give its own ground for the public buildings, while in Pittsburgh it owned nothing, and could therefore give nothing. It was this that probably led to the selection of Allegheny as the county seat; but finding upon reflection that all the country north and west of the Allegheny river was then a howling wilderness, tenanted only by savages and wild beasts, the legislature concluded that that was consequently not a fitting place for a county seat, and speedily repealed its legislation. As things have turned out, it might as well have let the legislation stand. There would have been some inconvenience at first, and for some time, but after that was over Allegheny City would have been even more convenient than Pittsburgh, in many respects, for a county seat.

In 1788 the legislature directed the survey and reservation of a tract of land

of 3,000 acres, opposite the town of Pittsburgh, on the western side of the Allegheny river. The object of creating this reservation was to bring a valuable tract into the market to raise funds to pay the claims of Pennsylvania soldiers. This tract was called "the Reserved Tract opposite Pittsburgh." A portion of it was ordered, in 1789, to be divided into town lots, and all the rest of it was afterward erected into Reserve township. The town was divided into one



THE OLD COURTHOUSE AND MARKET.

hundred lots, 60 by 240 each, and each inlot was to carry with it the title to an outlot of the same dimensions. The one hundred inlots formed a perfect square, and the one hundred outlots were formed into an outer square beyond the inner one, if three sides can be said to form a square. The lines of the "Reserved Tract" began on the Ohio at Wood's run, ran back in a straight line to the neighborhood of Millvale, thence to the river, then down the river to its mouth, and thence to the place of beginning. The center of the town was oppo-

S. Bayuer

site St. Clair street (now Sixth), in Pittsburgh, and the lines extended up and down the Allegheny, and back as far as North avenue. This was the town of Allegheny, called afterward, in common speech, "Allegheny Town," and is now Allegheny City. It was erected into a borough in 1828, and into a city in 1840. The city, at first, consisted of four wards, dividing on Federal and Ohio streets, which were known as the First, Second, Third and Fourth wards, and embraced not only the outlots, but the territory back as far as Nunnery and Observatory hills. Manchester grew up as an independent borough on the southwest, and Duquesne on the northeast. Manchester was finally taken in as the Fifth and Sixth wards, and Duquesne as the Seventh. The Eighth to the Thirteenth wards have since been taken into the city from Reserve township, and the city has thus nearly absorbed the entire "Reserved Tract."

The state, in ordering the town to be laid out, reserved a "diamond" or public square at the intersection of Federal and Ohio* streets, on which the city hall, a market-house and a public-library building have since been built. The disposition of the outlots was for some time a subject of public controversy. The first intention was to set them apart as a general pasture-ground for the cows belonging to the inlot-holders, and every attempt to dispose of them separately was met by the courts with a ruling that they were the property, in common, of all the inlot-holders, and no one outlot could be disposed of without the consent of all the holders. After a prolonged controversy the consent of all the lot-holders was got to dedicating them for the purpose of a public park. This was the origin of the beautiful public parks of the city. With rare foresightedness, a park commission was made up of prominent citizens, who borrowed money to construct the park, on the bonds of the city, and levied a tax for their ultimate redemption. The tax was patiently borne, and thus the city got, at a very cheap rate, considering its real value, as fine (though not as extensive) a park as any western city can boast of; and the ugly, gullied surface of the old commons has been converted into a healthful and beautiful public resort for the citizens. The population of Allegheny City was 78,681 in 1880, and is now probably 125,000. The city has abundant room for extension, northward, southward and westward, and is continually finding outlet in all these directions.

In 1821–22 the town consented to the erection of the Western Penitentiary on a part of its commons, and the penitentiary was subsequently built, being finished in 1826. It remained there until 1886, when a new set of buildings for it was put up at Riverview, on the Ohio, and the old site reverted to the city as an addition to the park grounds. Through the munificence of Mr. Phipps, who donated a large sum for that purpose, a splendid series of greenhouses has been erected on the old penitentiary site.

There were but a few years between the periods of starting the two towns,

*So called because it was, in early days, the "road to Ohio" for emigrants traveling with their families, by wagon, overland to Ohio.

Pittsburgh and Allegheny, and most onlookers, not knowing the difference in the genesis of each, wonder why they were not both made parts of one town. But each got started in its own direction, under totally different auspices, and are, like the two parallel lines of the mathematical problem, forever approaching each other without ever meeting. Pittsburgh was started by the Penns, in 1784, on a part of the manor reserved by them in 1769, and was not, therefore, so far as the ownership of the territory was concerned, under the control of the legislature, while Allegheny was a part of the purchase made by the state from the Indians in 1784, and was laid out as a town, specially and directly, by an act of the legislature. Indeed, it is supposable that the success of the Penns in starting a town on this side of the Allegheny river must have suggested to the legislature the profitableness of another town on the other side of it. The state, then just out of the exhausting struggle of the Revolution, was very hard up for money. Its currency was greatly depreciated; it had maintained a force of many thousands of militia during that long war, and it had no resource to turn to, for means to liquidate its debt to the soldiers, but to the public lands of the state. These lands it had wrenched from the Penns by the act of 1779, and this act not only alienated the Penns, but left a tinge of bad blood between them and the state. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the state did not offer to coöperate with the Penns in extending the limits of Pittsburgh over lands just acquired from the Indians by the commonwealth; nor that, having full power over its own territory, it chose to start out, "on its own hook," to establish a town of its own. By rare good luck, for the state, the border of the new purchase from the Indians was separated only by the river Allegheny from the new town of the Penns, and it was enabled thereby to profit by the close neighborhood. The growth of one place would naturally stimulate the growth of the other. The legislature, it must be admitted, showed rare good sense in selecting the site of the new town. It has grown up with Pittsburgh, keeping pace with it steadily, and is practically, what it ought to be in fact, a part of that city. The two, however, got separate starts, each with an impetus of its own; and this separate existence has been kept up so long, and so harmoniously, withal, that it would be useless to try to join them. Municipally they are better governed separately.

Historically they are one. The history of one, after the starting-point is passed, is the history of the other. In these pages, therefore, beyond this separate mention to show its origin, the two places are regarded as one, and it has not been deemed necessary to keep up a separate line for each. Allegheny has an aboriginal name, which is preferable, on all hands, to that of Pittsburgh; but the people generally know the two places, taken together, as Pittsburgh, and in that sense we use the name as comprehending the history and interests of both.

In 1790 the western Indians again became troublesome, and the people of Pittsburgh, terrorized by their past experience, were alarmed lest the Indians

near at hand should be tempted to re-enact their past savagery on this exposed neighborhood. An expedition under Gen. Harmar was sent from Fort Washington against them to the Scioto river. He met with a pretty severe repulse, and returned to Fort Washington. His ill-success encouraged the Indians, and their incursions were extended nearly to this city. In consequence, a town-meeting was held here in March, 1791, to prepare to resist them, and demanded the loan of one hundred muskets from Maj. Isaac Craig, then acting as quartermaster here, to defend the town, and if he would not loan them it resolved to take them. The alternative offered was not a pleasant one, and rather than submit to it Maj. Craig, much against his will, loaned the citizens such arms as they asked for. The citizens appear to have been very much in earnest, and very much scared. But nothing came of it. The Indians did not come, and the arms were finally returned.

In a letter to the secretary of war, May 19, 1791, Maj. Craig says: "We have frequent accounts of murders being committed on our frontiers by the Indians. Several parties of them have penetrated ten, fifteen and twenty miles into the country." It was no wonder, then, that the people of this place, then on the borders of the western wilderness, were in a state of fright. It was this exposed condition of Pittsburgh, Fort Pitt being in a dilapidated condition, that induced Gen. Knox, the secretary of war, on December 16, 1791, to order Maj. Craig to procure materials for a blockhouse and picketed fort, to be erected in Pittsburgh so as to cover and protect the town. Maj. Craig acted promptly upon this order, and selected lots on what was then the upper end of Penn street, corner of Garrison alley, running through on one side from Penn street to the Allegheny river, and on the other from Penn to Liberty, the fort and blockhouse occupying both sides of Penn street.* The following letter from Maj. Craig to the secretary of war, dated December 29, 1791, with other reports, explains his action under his orders:

I am making every possible exertion for the erection of a work to defend this town and the public stores. Accounts from Fort Franklin, as well as your orders, urge the necessity of prompt attention to the defense of this place. By next post I shall inclose you a sketch of the ground and the work that I have judged necessary; it will be erected on eight lots, Nos. 55, 56, 57 and 58, 91, 92, 93 and 94; they belong to John Penn, Jr., and John Penn; Anthony Butler, of Philadelphia, is their agent; *the prices were fixed when the town was laid out.* It is not intended to cover the whole of the lots with the work, but the portion not covered will be suitable for gardens for the garrison.

I take the liberty of inclosing to you two letters from Fort Franklin, and extracts of other letters of same date (December 26th), by which it appears that that garrison is in imminent danger, and that the fidelity of the northern Indians is not to be depended on.

I am mounting four six-pounders on ship-carriages for the blockhouses; but there are no round shot nor grapeshot for that caliber here, the last being sent to Fort Washington.

As there is no six-pound shot here I have taken the liberty to engage four hundred at

*The government still retains possession of a part of this property, that part running from Penn street to the Allegheny, on the corner of Garrison alley. It is occupied by a recruiting-office and a building now used as a bonded warehouse for imported goods.

Turnbull & Murmie's furnace,* which is now in blast. Reports by the way of Fort Franklin say that in the late action (St. Clair's† defeat, November 4, 1791) the Indians had three hundred killed and many wounded, that there were eight hundred Canadians and several British officers in the action. I shall take the liberty of communicating to the inhabitants of Pittsburgh your assurance of such ample and generous means of defense.‡

I have contracted for forty-two boats, viz., thirty-two of fifty feet each, four of sixty feet, and six of fifty-five; they are to be one-fourth wider than those purchased last year, viz., fifteen feet; to be also stronger and better finished; delivered here, with five oars to each. Price per foot, eight shillings, ninepence—$1.17 per foot.§

The fifty boats now ready will transport three thousand men; they are the best that ever came here, and, I believe, the cheapest.‖

Capt. Hughes with his detachment has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the 1st instant. Two of the six-pounders are very well mounted in the second story of the blockhouses. The others will be mounted in a few days. The work, if you have no objections, I will name Fort Lafayette.¶ Gen. Wayne arrived here yesterday.**

For the situation of Fort Lafayette see cut of Pittsburgh in 1795. In the same map between the town boundaries and Suke's run, on the Monongahela river, there is a building known as "Gen. Wayne's stables." Probably some horse-sheds put up for the use of his cavalry, which, it is likely, was well drilled here before he undertook his (the third) expedition against the Indians. He was known as "Mad" Anthony Wayne, from the strict severity of the discipline he exercised over his men, and may have been a high-tempered man, as well as something of a martinet. It was, nevertheless, owing to the perfect control he held over the force under him that his expedition was not a failure. He administered so terrible a defeat to the Indians that his name became a perfect terror to them, and they did not need another chastisement for some time. They had become inflated with the silly idea of their invincibility, from the successive defeats they administered to Harmar and St. Clair, but Wayne took all this conceit out of them. The site of his stables, in this city, was most likely on the ground afterward occupied by Bakewell's glasshouse, and now covered by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad depot. Wayne, besides being connected locally by the site of these stables, and by making this the starting-

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* In Craig's "History of Pittsburgh" the following note is appended to this passage: "We have taken some pains to ascertain the time when this furnace, the first west of the mountains, was erected and where it was located, and have ascertained that it was situated on Jacob's creek (in Fayette county), fifteen miles from the mouth, and that it went into blast on the 1st of November, 1790." To which note, in the copy before me, J. Bowman Sweitzer, Esq., has added: "I know the site of this furnace and make this correction," striking out fifteen and inserting two. The furnace, then, was two miles from the mouth of Jacob's creek.

† St. Clair is a well-preserved name in this region. St. Clair street (now Sixth street) was named after this general, as was also St. Clair township, in this county. He was prothonotary of Westmoreland county when Hannastown was the county seat, and while Allegheny county was a part of Westmoreland. He had the full confidence of Washington when he undertook this unfortunate expedition of 1791. His grave is to be seen yet at Greensburg, Pa.

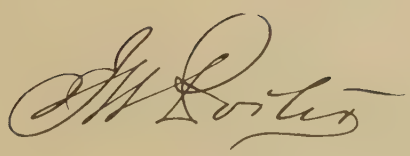
‡ Craig to the secretary of war, January 12, 1792.

§ Craig to the secretary of war, March 11, 1792.

‖ Craig to the secretary of war, May 11, 1792.

¶ Craig to the secretary of war, May 18, 1792.

** Craig to the secretary of war, June 15, 1792.



place of his expedition, had a street named for him, which is now Tenth street. The starting-point of Wayne's army was Legionville, a spot below Logstown. The army of Gen. Wayne was called the Legion; hence the name Legionville. Both it and Logstown were below the present site of Sewickleyville, and between it and Economy.

Gen. Wayne, it will be seen, arrived in Pittsburgh June 14, 1792, and he went into winter quarters at Legionville November 30, 1792. He must have passed the time between June and December in gathering and drilling his forces. Maj. Craig writes, November 9, 1792: "This morning a detachment of the troops and the artificers, with the necessary tools for building, set off for the winter ground below Logstown, on the Ohio. In a few days the whole army will follow." On November 30, 1792, he writes: "This morning, at an early hour, the artillery, infantry and rifle-corps, except a small garrison left in Fort Lafayette, embarked and descended the Ohio to Legionville. The cavalry crossed the Allegheny at the same time, and will reach the winter ground as soon as the boats. As soon as the troops had embarked the general (Wayne) went on board his barge, under a salute from a militia artillery corps of the place,* and all have no doubt, before this time, reached their winter quarters."

Gen. Wayne was severely censured for the severity of his discipline while he was in Pittsburgh, and Craig mentions the execution of Sergeant Trotter as an instance. No facts are given in this case; but it is supposed that the sergeant had been guilty of gross disobedience or insubordination, and the general, feeling that a severe example was needed, had him tried, condemned and executed. As is usual in such cases, the sergeant had some sympathetic friends, who would naturally rail at such severity; but the following from Gen. Wayne's letter to the secretary of war, July 20, 1792, shows that severe discipline was absolutely necessary: "Maj. Ashton's detachment arrived here on Monday. Lieut. Campbell and Stokes' dragoons and Faulkner's riflemen on Tuesday.

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* The military spirit must have been active in Pittsburgh to have called into life an artillery company in a place so small as this was in 1792. The following is given in the "American Museum" as a list of the mechanics of this place in that year: "1 clock- and watch-maker, 2 coopers, 1 skin-dresser and breeches-maker, 2 tanners and curriers, 4 cabinet-makers, 2 hatters, 2 weavers, 5 blacksmiths, 5 shoemakers, 3 saddlers, 1 maltster and brewer, 2 tinners, 3 wheelwrights, 1 stocking-weaver, 1 ropemaker, 2 whitesmiths; total, 36 mechanics. The number of families was said to be 130." At six to a family, this would make the total less than 800. A small population from which to organize a volunteer military company.

The reader will notice the cassification here of "one skin-dresser and breeches-maker." As skin-dressing and breeches-making are coupled together the presumption is that leathern breeches are meant, and that in those days, when deerskins were plenty, buckskin breeches were cheaper and more serviceable than breeches made of cloth. In all parts of this country buckskin breeches were then the common resort. The commonness of this article of wearing-apparel suggests here an anecdote of Maj. Kirkpatrick, who owned and occupied, about 1792, the house on Water street, below Ferry street, occupied at a later period by Judge Shaler, his son-in-law, as a residence. The major, it is stated, was working at putting a new roof on the house, which was nearly finished, when he felt himself slipping down the roof toward the eaves. There was nothing to catch at, to stop his slipping, and realizing the certainty of what was going to happen, he exclaimed: "Oh! what a h—— of a fall I am going to get!" But the impossible always happens; for just at that moment his buckskin breeches caught on a slightly protruding nail and held him fast until relief came. The one breeches-maker in Pittsburgh could doubtless have got a certificate from the major that this pair was made of good stuff.

Not less than fifty of Ashton's detachment and seven dragoons deserted on the way from Carlisle to this place."

The troops remained at Legionville until April 30, 1793, and during all that time were subject to constant and severe drill. "Sham fights were frequently resorted to," says Craig, "and neither life nor the lash was spared." Witness this order upon the quartermaster at Pittsburgh: "Maj. Craig, please send down some whipcord for cats; they have no cats to whip men with. John Finley, Legionville, February 22, 1793." The date of Washington's birthday was scarcely appropriate for the issuance of an order that looks brutal, at this distance.

Maj. Craig, May 3, 1793, reports to Gen. Knox, secretary of war, that "on the 30th ult. Maj.-Gen. Wayne, with the troops under his command at Legionville, embarked in good order and set off for Fort Washington (Marietta, Ohio); the troops were in high spirits. The boats being well fitted for transportation made a fine appearance. As the river was considerably swelled by the late rains, it is probable that the troops will reach Fort Washington in six days."

A few days before Wayne left, Gen. John Gibson, on behalf of a public meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, of which he was chairman, expressed to him, in a letter, their great respect for him, personally, and for the just attention paid by him to the rights of the citizens while the army lay at this place. The general responded in a tone of keen appreciation of the compliment thus paid him. We judge from this action of a public meeting that the general did not leave a bad odor behind him, no matter how severe he may have been with the reckless troops he had to break in. As he returned successful, all the hard complaints against him vanished into thin air except those which crystallized in the epithet of "Mad" Anthony Wayne.

On May 20, 1793, a trial took place at Pittsburgh that illustrates how near to Pittsburgh the Indian outrages came that took place in 1791. The following is a history of the trial:

PITTSBURGH, May 25, 1793.

On Monday last, the 20th of this month, a court of oyer and terminer and gaol* delivery and of nisi prius, for the county of Allegheny, was held at this place by the chief justice and Judge Yeates.

The only criminal business that came before the judges was the trial of Capt. Samuel Brady, who, when the judges were last here, had been indicted for murder in killing certain Indians near the mouth of Beaver creek† in the spring of the year 1791.

It was proved to the satisfaction of the court that, notwithstanding the treaties of Fort Stanwix, McIntosh, Muskingum and Miami, which established peace between the Indians and the people of the United States, and obliged the Indians to surrender all who should commit any murder on the frontiers, certain banditti of them had, from time to time, infested the western frontier, stolen horses, taken boats, and murdered our citizens;

* This is the old form of spelling "jail," and is still in use in England, which yields slowly to changes in spelling as well as to all other changes. In all the old newspapers and books this form is uniformly found, the only variation being an occasional "goal" for "gaol." The g was sounded soft, as in congest, precisely as if the word was spelt with a j.

† Beaver county had not then been formed, and was included in Allegheny county.

that recently, before the killing of the Indians for which Brady was now tried, several people from Ohio county (West Va.), particularly Boggs, Paul Riley's family and Mrs. Van Buskirk, had been put to death; that to pursue the Indians who had committed these murders, and to recover some property stolen, a party of volunteers from Ohio county, of which Brady was one, crossed the Ohio, and, led by the trail of the Indians toward the place where the killing happened, fired and killed those for whose death Brady was tried. It was proved by the oath of Keyasutha, an Indian chief,* that the Delawares had long before let go the chain;† that they, the Shawanese, Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots and some renegade Mingoes‡ were in the battle against Gen. Harmar in 1790. It was also proved that the attack and firing upon Capt. Kirkwood's house was by Delawares; that some of the instances of murder and rapine above mentioned were by Delawares; that the persons killed were Delawares, and had in their possession some of the property just before taken from Ohio county, manifested an intention of proceeding to commit other murders on our citizens, and, when fired on by those who attacked them, and whom they had just discovered, were in the act of seizing their guns; and, moreover, the relation of John Hamilton, a trader on the spot, satisfied the court of the malignant and hostile temper of those very Indians.

The chief justice,§ in a charge distinguished not less by learning than humanity, explained the laws of war, and the right of putting enemies to death, urged the impropriety of killing those who might with safety be taken prisoners, and the baseness of killing women; lamented that any acts of outrage by our citizens should occasion retaliation on themselves, but stating that, in his opinion, the Indians killed were hostile; directed, if the jury concurred in his opinion, of which he had no doubt, they should acquit the prisoner without leaving the bar. The jury did so, and the court ordered Capt. Brady to be discharged on payment of fees.

The testimony of Keyasutha in behalf of Brady, on this trial, was so one-sided and partial that James Ross,‖ Esq., who was Brady's counsel, was

* An Iroquois chief, who made his home on the broad bottom-lands just above Sharpsburg. His name is variously spelled *Guyasuta*, *Kiashutha*, and as given in the text. He appears to have been detailed by the Iroquois, as early as 1758, to watch the Delawares and Shawanese then resident at and near Fort Duquesne, and keep them in subjection. He committed the blunder, afterward, of lending himself to and actively promoting the schemes of Pontiac, and the still greater blunder of taking up arms for the British in the revolutionary war, which folly culminated in the dispersion of the Iroquois confederacy. He seems to have regained his senses in his old days, and to have been the friend of the whites at this time and for some years previously. He with Cornplanter, visited Gen. Wayne while at Legionville, and went to Ohio as commissioner to induce the western Indians to submit to the government; but their mission was a total failure. The western Indians, having beaten Harmar and St. Clair, were too much elated thereby to listen to the cooler counsel of Keyasutha and Cornplanter.

† This is the figurative expression used by all Indians to indicate a state of war. To brighten "the chain" of friendship was to promote peace; to let go the chain was to promote war. One old chief gave utterance to the idea that he and his tribe had held in their hands so long the chain of friendship binding him to the whites that it had grown rusty and needed brightening afresh. The Delawares and Shawanese were continually taking up and brightening "the chain," and letting it go again. They held on to it only so long as it suited their purpose to do so.

‡ The Delaware name for the Iroquois, *Mengwe*, was corrupted into *Mingo*.

§ Edward Shippen was chief justice of the supreme court from December, 1790 to 1806, and Jasper Yeates was a judge of the same court from 1791. The supreme court appears to have held court in those days regularly in the various counties.

‖ James Ross survived until 1842 or 1843. He was United States senator from 1794 to 1803, and made a speech on the acquisition of Louisiana and the free navigation of the Mississippi—a subject in which the people of Western Pennsylvania took a deep interest. He was elected to succeed Albert Gallatin, who was elected in 1793, but was ousted in 1794 on a question of eligibility. He was re-elected for six years in 1797, and was president *pro tem.* of the senate from 1797 to 1799. He was a splendid-looking man, even in his old age, tall, erect, and of large frame, and was for some years a leading man at the Pittsburgh bar. He owned the square between Grant and Ross and Fourth and Fifth avenues, and sold the one-half of it, from Diamond alley to Fifth avenue,

abashed by it, and expressed his surprise to the Indian at the decided tone of his testimony. Whereupon that chief clapped his hand upon his breast and exclaimed, "Am I not the friend of Brady?" His idea was that one friend should testify for another in the same spirit that he would fight for him.

On the 22d of April, 1794, an act was passed by the legislature incorporating the town of Pittsburgh into a borough. As the act may prove interesting, in showing how things were managed in those days, it is hereby appended:

ACT OF MARCH 5, 1804.

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of the borough of Pittsburgh, in the county of Allegheny, have petitioned for an alteration in the law for incorporating said borough, stating that, on a fair experiment, they have found the existing law insufficient to promote convenience, good order and public utility; therefore, be it enacted:

SECTION 1. That the said town of Pittsburgh shall still continue and forever remain a borough, under the name and title of "the borough of Pittsburgh," the extent and bounds of which shall be the same as in the original law, to wit: Beginning at the point or confluence of the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, and running up the northeast beach of the said river Monongahela, south 57° east 39 perches to Short street; thence south 64° east 207 perches to Grant street; thence south 74° east 49 perches to Suke's run; thence north 30° east 150 perches to a post in Andrew Watson's field; thence north 19° west 150 perches to the river Allegheny; thence down the said river Allegheny south 71° west 315 perches to the place of beginning.

SEC. 2. That the freeholders, housekeepers and other inhabitants of said borough who have resided within the same at least one year immediately preceding the election, and within that time paid a borough tax, shall have power on the third Saturday in March next, and on the same day in every year hereafter, to meet at the courthouse, in said borough, and then and there, between the hours of twelve and six o'clock of the same day, elect by ballot one respectable citizen residing therein, who shall be styled "the burgess of said borough," and thirteen reputable citizens to be a town council, and shall also elect as aforesaid one reputable citizen as high constable, all of whom shall be freeholders in said borough; but previous to said election the inhabitants shall elect three reputable citizens as judges, one as inspector and two as clerks of the said election, which shall be regulated and conducted according to the general election law of this commonwealth, so far as relates to receiving and counting votes, and who shall be subject to the same penalties for malpractices as by the said law is imposed; and the judges, inspectors and clerks, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices, shall take an oath or affirmation before any justice of the peace of said county to perform the same with fidelity, and after said election shall be closed shall declare the persons having the greatest number of votes to be duly elected; and in case any two or more candidates shall have an equal number of votes, the preference shall be determined by lot, to be drawn by the three judges; whereupon duplicate certificates of said election shall be signed by the said judges, one of which shall be transmitted to the persons elected, and the other filed among the records of the corporation; and in case of the death, resignation, removal or refusal to accept any of the said offices, the burgess, or in his absence or inability to act, the first-named of the town council, shall issue his precept directed to the high constable requiring him to hold

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in 1835, to the county commissioners, for a courthouse and jail, for $20,000, I think. These were built in 1836-40, and burned down in 1882, the present new courthouse occupying the whole of the lot. Mr. Ross lived on the other half of the lot until the time of his death. The house, an old frame, was known after his death as the "Oregon House," from the circumstance that it was occupied for some time by the "Oregon" brewery. The lot was also known as the "Oregon" lot.

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an election in the manner aforesaid, to supply such vacancy, giving at least ten days' notice by advertisements set up at four of the most public places in the said borough.

SEC. 3. That from and after the third Saturday in March next, the burgess and town council duly elected as aforesaid and their successors shall be one body politic and corporate in law, by the name and style of "The Burgess and Town Council of Pittsburgh," and shall have perpetual succession, and the burgess and town council aforesaid and their successors shall be capable in law to have, get, receive, hold and possess goods and chattels, land and tenements, rents, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments to them and their successors, in fee simple or otherwise, not exceeding the yearly value of $5,000, and also to give, grant, let and assign the same lands, tenements, hereditaments and rents, and by the name and style aforesaid they shall be capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in any of the courts of this commonwealth, in all manner of actions whatsoever, and to have and to use one common seal and the same from time to time at their will to change and alter until it shall be otherwise directed by law. The inhabitants of said borough *may hold two fairs every year hereafter*, to continue two days each, commencing on the first Thursday of June and upon the first Thursday in October.

SEC. 4. That if any duly elected burgess or a member of the town council or constable as aforesaid, and having received notice thereof as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to take upon himself the execution of the office to which he shall have been elected, every person so refusing or neglecting shall forfeit and pay the sum of $20, which fine and all other fines and forfeitures incurred and made payable in pursuance of this act or of the by-laws and ordinances of the town council shall be for the use of the said corporation.

SEC. 5. That the burgess and town council and high constable and each of them before entering upon the duties of their respective offices shall take an oath or affirmation, before any of the justices of the peace of said county, to support the constitution of the United States and of this state, and execute the duties of their respective offices with fidelity, and the certificates of such oaths and affirmations shall be filed among the records of said corporation.

SEC. 6. That it shall and may be lawful for the town council to meet as often as occasion may require and enact such by-laws and make such rules, regulations and ordinances as shall be determined by a majority of them, necessary to promote the peace, good order, benefit and advantage of said borough, particularly of providing for the regulation of the market, improving, repairing and keeping in order the streets, alleys and highways, ascertaining the depth of vaults and sinks and pits for necessary houses, and making permanent rules relative to the foundations of buildings, party walls and fences. They shall have power to assess, apportion and appropriate such tax as shall be determined by a majority of them necessary for carrying the said rules and ordinances, from time to time, into complete effect, and also to appoint a town clerk, treasurer, two persons to act as street and road commissioners, a clerk of the market and collector, annually, and such other officers as may be deemed necessary from time to time; *Provided*, that no by-law, rule or ordinance of said corporation shall be repugnant to the constitution or laws of the United States or of this commonwealth, and that no person shall be punished for a breach of a by-law or ordinance as aforesaid until three weeks have expired after the promulgation thereof, by at least four advertisements set up in the most public places in said borough; and *provided*, also, that no tax shall be levied in any one year on the valuation of taxable property exceeding one-half per cent on the dollar, unless some object of general utility shall be thought necessary, in which case a majority of the taxable inhabitants of said borough, by writing under their hands, shall approve of and certify the same to the town council, who shall proceed to assess the same accordingly.*

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* This limitation of taxation on real estate to five mills on the dollar was continued in force when the city was chartered, and was not repealed or altered until 1867. All expenditure outside of the revenue raised within that limit, such as paving streets, etc., was provided for by the issue of city bonds, until the railroad furor swamped the city.

SEC. 7. That the burgess elected and qualified agreeably to this act is hereby authorized and empowered to issue his precept as often as occasion may require, directed to the collector, demanding him to collect all taxes assessed, and to the high constable to collect all fines and forfeitures imposed by this act or by the ordinances or regulation of the corporation, and the same to pay over to the treasury; and the said burgess is hereby authorized to carry into effect all by-laws enacted by the council, and whatever else shall be enjoined upon him for the ordering and governing of said borough.

[Sections 8, 9 and 10 prescribe the duties of the town clerk, treasurer and other officers.]

SEC. 11. That five of the town council, to be chosen by lot, drawn by the town clerk in the presence of the said council, annually, shall be a court of appeal, a majority of whom shall be a quorum. And prior to the collection of any borough tax, the collector shall inform each inhabitant of the amount of his tax and of the time and place of the appeal; *Provided*, that said court of appeal shall have no other power as such than to determine the justness of the apportionment of said tax and to remedy any grievances that may occur in imposing the same.

[Section 12 directs the high constable to give notice of borough elections. Section 13 empowers the council, *by and with the consent of a majority of the taxable inhabitants*, in writing, to authorize lot-owners on the Allegheny and Monongahela to build wharves opposite their lots and erect buildings thereon.]

The town was evidently very small at that time, and was simply part of Pitt township, with nothing but a township government. The necessity of some more efficient form of government must have been keenly felt; and as the town was laid out upon what was then thought a large scale, with streets to maintain and bridges over the sloughs to build, some local power competent to minister to the wants of the town was an absolute necessity. The boundaries, it will be seen, were extended beyond the limits of the town laid out by the Penns, along the Monongahela river to the mouth of Suke's run, taking in the territory covered by Ross and Try streets. There must have been some good reason for this at the time, but it has not been made apparent.

The sole elective offices in the borough were those of burgess and council, and overseers of the poor, and in the county, those of sheriff and representatives in the legislature. All the other county officers and justices of the peace were appointed by the governor. This continued until the constitution of 1838 was adopted. The magistrates, commissioned by the governor, naturally gathered in as close a way as possible, to the courthouse; and the "Diamond," as the public square was called, bristled all round its four sides with magistrates' offices.

We have already noted the establishment of a post-route from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. But no postal communication with the west had yet been opened, nor was any possible, overland, except for short distances. The only way open was by water, and all communication with Limestone, Ky. (the original name of Maysville), or with Fort Washington, where Wayne's army was left, must be had by means of transient travelers or special expresses sent through Western Virginia and Northern Kentucky. This was too uncertain for a government to depend on for correspondence with its army. The result was

that in July, 1794, a line of mailboats was established to run from Wheeling to Limestone (Maysville, Ky.), and back, once every two weeks. From Wheeling to Pittsburgh the mail was carried on horseback. "The mailboats," says Craig, "were twenty-four feet long, built like a whaleboat, and steered with a rudder. They were manned by a steersman and four oarsmen to each boat. The men had each a musket and a supply of ammunition, all of which were snugly secured from the weather in boxes alongside their seats. The whole could be protected in wet weather by a tarpaulin, which each boat carried. This mode of carrying the mail was continued until 1798, and the conductors of the boats were so careful that, in all that time, but one attack was made upon them by the Indians. The time allowed for the first trip from Pittsburgh to Maysville and back to Wheeling was from July 5th to the 24th, nineteen days. At this rate the boats could have traveled only in the daytime. Night travel would have been dangerous.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Effect of Wayne's Victory—First Glasshouse—Paper-Mills—Pittsburgh in 1796—Boat-building—Origin of the Coal Trade—Pittsburgh from 1810 to 1826—In 1828—Mrs. Royall's Account of the Place.

THE victory of Wayne, August 20, 1794, over the combined forces of the Indians, and his pursuit of them even to the gates of a British fort, broke the spirit of the Indians, and led to the treaty of Greenville and the cession to the United States of the Indian title to Eastern Ohio. It also removed all danger of hostile incursions in this neighborhood, and by removal of all fear of the Indians contributed greatly to the security and growth of Pittsburgh.

In the spring of 1795 the first glassworks were started at Pittsburgh, by James O'Hara and Isaac Craig, the late Mr. William Eichbaum, then superintendent of the glassworks at the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, being engaged to direct the erection of the works. Mr. Eichbaum was thus connected with the beginning of this important business here; was afterward engaged in other business enterprises; was postmaster from 1824 to 1833, and city treasurer from 1857 to 1866. He died in 1866, during his term as treasurer, leaving behind him the record of a well-spent life, and a son who succeeds to his father's reputation for integrity and business ability.

Craig, according to his own account, tried to find coal and a site for the glassworks on a run at the upper end of Allegheny City, but failed. He then bought a lot from Ephraim Jones and two adjoining lots from Ephraim Blaine,

just below where the Point bridge terminates on the South Side, and there the first glasshouse was built. There is a glasshouse still on the same site, but the original works consisted of one house on the river bank and another on the opposite side of the river road. The latter is not now in existence; fifty years ago it was known as Lorenz's glasshouse.

The Ephraim Jones from whom Craig bought "the house and lot near the spring for one hundred pounds" must have been the father of the Thomas Jones who started the ferry across to Liberty street, and farther up the river than the site of the glasshouse, and the grandfather of Ephraim Jones, Jr., and Thomas Jones, the river pilot, a large, fat man, who, from his obesity, was known as "Paunch-ion Pilot" among the wags. It was this Thomas Jones, not his father, of the ferry, who first established the shipment of coal down the river in flatboats, of which we shall speak again.

James O'Hara, who formed a partnership with Mr. Craig in starting the glass business, was apparently, at this time, a citizen of Detroit, but afterward took up his residence here, and died in 1819. He was well acquainted with Washington, and was the quartermaster-general of the army brought here to put down the whisky insurrection. He rendered efficient service during the Revolution, which accounts for his acquaintance with Washington and for the confidence of the latter in him. His name is very familiar to Pittsburghers, not merely for his connection with the first glasshouse, but more particularly for his being the founder of sundry large estates which have not been a marked advantage to Pittsburgh, but which speak well for his thrift and carefulness. He must have been a resident of Pittsburgh at the time or after the survey of the manor of Pittsburgh and the laying out of the towns of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, for it was in all of these he picked up the lands constituting his estate. The three acres at the Point, lying between the old Fort Pitt and the Allegheny, or between Penn and the Allegheny river, and between Water and Marbury streets, purchased, after the manor was surveyed by Craig and Bayard, from the Penns, were afterward sold by them to O'Hara, and the latter also acquired, by purchase from the Penns, lots in several parts of the town of Pittsburgh, including one or two blocks on Market street. O'Hara also purchased from the Penns large tracts of land in the manor of Pittsburgh, beginning at Two-Mile run, on the Allegheny, and extending across to the Monongahela, and he also bought a large number of lots in Allegheny when that town was laid off by the state, together with a tract on the South Side, on the extreme western line of the manor, and a portion of the "Guyasuta plain," above Sharpsburg. These large acquisitions, now extremely valuable, were only relatively so then. Their selection indicates the shrewdness of his judgment, and his faith in the future prosperity of this place; but there was a time before his death when his large and judicious investments placed him in a very straitened condition. There is a condition out west known as being "land poor," that is poor from having too much unproductive land, and O'Hara had

his last days embittered by being in this condition. After the war of 1812 was over this nation passed through one of its periodical panics or business depressions, which culminated about 1817. Money was scarce, industry was paralyzed, enterprise was torpid and business at a standstill. No one would build, or buy or rent a lot, and very few were willing to pay their debts, if they could avoid it. This stagnation of trade struck O'Hara when he had many irons in the fire, for he was an active, enterprising man, and, although he had a large and nominally valuable estate, he found himself so pressed for means as to be on the verge of bankruptcy.

In this hour of distress he found a helping friend in James Ross, Esq. It was the peculiarity of Mr. Ross to be the friend of men in trouble, and when he had money to lend he was ready to help anyone in whom he had confidence. And he was no Shylock. He never exacted a heavy rate of interest. When money was worth 20 to 30 per cent he stuck to the legal rate of 6 per cent. He never demanded more, and would accept of nothing less. And he always got his money back, or its equivalent in land. His kindness was shown, not in giving, but in helping, and he helped many a one, both then and long afterward. Among others he helped O'Hara, and delivered him from the fear of the sheriff and from the agony which pecuniary pressure brings. Ross tided him over that terrible depression, and when O'Hara came to die he was able to make a careful division of his huge estate, free from the burden which would have broken him down had Ross not lifted its weight from him.

O'Hara, at the time of his death, had three children, one son and two daughters, between whom he divided, as equally as he could, the various parts of his estate. One-third went to his son James, another to his daughter Mary, and another to his other daughter, Elizabeth. In his will he was careful to balance one corner lot to Mary with another to Elizabeth, one next to the corner to the one, and one next to another corner to the other, the value of each lot being duly weighed, so as to make the division equal. The "Springfield" farm, on the Allegheny, went to Elizabeth, and the "Smithfield" farm, on the Monongahela, to Mary. His will showed extraordinary care and impartiality. I have understood, but will not be sure of it, that the devise to Mary was entailed upon her son; but if so, providence broke the entail by the early death of this son, so that her daughter inherited, not from her mother, but as the heir of her brother. Mary married William Croghan, Jr., a brother of Gen. George Croghan, and Elizabeth married Harmar Denny; thus, from these three children, sprang the O'Hara, the Croghan (now Schenley) and the Denny estates.

The Gen. George Croghan here referred to is not the Col. George Croghan known to our military annals, who appeared at Philadelphia in 1758 as the representative of Sir William Johnston, of New York, then general superintendent of Indian affairs in the American colonies, and who came to Pittsburgh afterward as Indian trader and Indian agent. The William Croghan,

Jr., who married Mary O'Hara was the son of Maj. William Croghan of revolutionary fame, and a resident of Kentucky. He came here on a visit, became acquainted with the O'Hara family, and ultimately married Mary. He was admitted as a member of the Allegheny county bar on the 20th of May, 1835, and died at his residence, "Picnic," near Pittsburgh, in 1850. His wife died in 1827, leaving a son and a daughter. The son died soon after her, so that the daughter fell heir, as the next of kin to her dead brother, to the whole of her mother's estate. This daughter was born in 1826, and was married to Capt. Schenley, a British officer, in 1842. This was the origin of the Schenley estate. The captain is since dead, but Mrs. Schenley is still living in England, where she has resided the greater part of her married life. Her family now living consists of five daughters and one son. The estate she inherited remains as yet nearly intact, the revenue from rents being sufficient for all the family's wants, without any necessity to sell.

The Denny and O'Hara estates are not now near as large as they were, sales of portions of them having been frequently made, and the ultimate disposal of them is only a question of time. The Schenley estate may last for another generation, perhaps two; but as it is contrary to the policy of the law to encourage such aggregations, and contrary to the usual course of property in this country, all traces of them as separate estates will disappear in the progress of time.

James Ross also accumulated a large estate above Sharpsburg, probably as a consideration for his advances to O'Hara in the latter's lifetime, but part of this tract fell to the heirs of James O'Hara, Jr., and will eventually be absorbed by the advance of Allegheny City northward. Maj. Kirkpatrick also had a large estate on Mount Washington. One of his daughters married Judge Shaler, and one or more of Shaler's sons occupy a part or all of her share. Another daughter married a man named Lewis, of Philadelphia, and the only surviving daughter of Lewis married Thomas J. Bigham, now deceased. His children and their descendants will inherit what is left of this other share of Kirkpatrick's farm. One other estate, the Ormsby estate, was on the South Side, at, around and above old "Birmingham." Ormsby was a quartermaster here after Forbes captured Fort Duquesne, and had good opportunities of picking up good pieces of property, as had Ephraim Blaine after him; but the latter appears to have been less thrifty than the former, or at least to have acquired less property.

These are the principal estates acquired, mainly out of the manor of Pittsburgh, by those who were then on the ground and had the means to buy them as well as that faith in the future of Pittsburgh which was so necessary when the site of the present city was nearly all a wilderness. After the lapse of over a hundred years the Schenley and Denny estates still remain prominent. All the others have lapsed, or have begun to lapse; and another century, perhaps another generation, will witness the absorption of all of them.

We have chronicled the establishment here of glassworks in 1795, thus initiating a business since grown to immense proportions. We have now to add the establishment of a paper-mill in 1796. This was not, it is true, established in Pittsburgh, but in Brownsville. Pittsburgh, in fact, has never been the seat of paper manufacture. A factory for the manufacture of wall-paper was established here prior to 1840, by Hind & Howard, but the manufacture of printing-paper has been invariably established at smaller places, such as Steubenville, West Newton and Brownsville. The projectors of this new industry were Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless, both Quakers from the Brandywine mills, near Philadelphia. They set up the "Redstone Paper-mill" at Brownsville, the first of its kind west of the mountains. Previously, the Pittsburgh *Gazette* had had to borrow, once or twice, cartridge-paper from the United States arsenal, to make up for the failure of supplies from Philadelphia. Henceforward it drew its supplies from Brownsville.

The winter of 1796–97 was one of uncommon severity, the rivers at this place closing November 26, 1796, and remaining closed until February 3, 1797. But this severity was not then unusual, nor afterward. The winter of 1831–32 was as bad, the rivers closing in November and breaking up in February. The winter of 1855–56 was another instance. The rivers closed shortly after Christmas, and did not open till the March following. It will be found upon examination that the winters from 1830 to 1840 were nearly all of this class. The freezing over of the rivers in November or December was not an unusual occurrence. There were no icehouses in those days. If there had been it would have been impossible to get up a corner on ice.

In the Pittsburgh *Gazette* of January 9, 1796, it is stated that "the number of inhabitants in the borough of Pittsburgh, as taken by the assessor, last week, amounts to 1,395."

An assessor's return is a poor basis for a census. All that an assessor is bound to return is the number of resident taxable inhabitants and non-resident property-owners. The "taxable inhabitants" include all males above twenty-one years of age. The above calculation was probably made by someone who took the total of names on the assessor's book, resident and non-resident, and multiplying by, say seven or nine, as the imagined number of inhabitants to each taxable, assumed the total as the sum of the population. By increasing the multiplier he could, on the same basis, make out any total he pleased. The previous calculations of the population are all of the same kind. The first United States census was taken in 1800—all previous estimates are mere guesses. It gave a population of 1,565.

In 1761 an enumeration made by the military authorities gave the population as 332, and the number of houses, 104. But this included the soldiers and families in the garrison as well as the Indian traders. This enumeration gives but little over three to each house, presuming each one to be occupied, and was probably correct.

In 1786 Brackenridge gives the population at 1,500, and the number of houses at 100. This is a mere guess, and a very wild one at that; for in *Niles' Register*, Vol. 30, page 436, it is stated that "Pittsburgh, in 1786, contained thirty-six log houses, one stone and one frame house, and five small stores." The particularity of these details would seem to make it trustworthy. Counting the stores as dwelling-houses, which they generally were at that time, this, at six to a family or house, would give a total of 258, or, at seven to a house, 301. This latter sum is about the correct figure.

An extract from a "Historical Review of North America," published at Dublin, Ireland, in 1789, says: "Pittsburgh is a neat, handsome town, containing about four hundred houses." This book, with its estimates, was probably, like the peddler's razors, "made to sell," and was not intended as an authority. Whatever Irishman wrote it must have licked the blarney-stone incessantly. Pittsburgh, in 1789, was neither "neat" nor "handsome," and did not contain over one-fourth of four hundred houses.

The eleventh volume of the "American Museum," for 1792, gives a list of thirty-six mechanics and one hundred and thirty families in Pittsburgh. This is a rapid, but not incredible, increase upon the enumeration of *Niles' Register* for 1786, but the number of families is apparently too large, unless, which is not improbable, there were more than one family in quite a number of houses. This total of the "Museum" would give a population of about nine hundred.

Mr. Craig, who was a young man in 1796, with a distinct recollection of the town and its inhabitants as it then stood, speaking of the calculation made by the Pittsburgh *Gazette* January 9, 1796, says: "This is the earliest authentic account of our population, and it may be well to tarry awhile and notice the condition and appearance of this place at that time. The number of inhabitants, at six to each house upon an average, would give 232 houses, and although the writer's memory goes back pretty distinctly to that time, he can not conceive where that number of houses could then be found. I have tasked my own memory severely, and, with the aid of one whose recollection is more distinct than my own, have made out the following enumeration of the houses in Pittsburgh about the time above mentioned:

On Penn street, east of Fort Pitt, Col. William Butler, James O'Hara, D. McHenry, 3; Liberty street, Cecil's and Dr. Bedford, 2; The Diamond, Blackbear tavern, George McGunnigle, William Denning, 3; Market street, old jail, corner of Fourth, John Irwin, Molly Murphy, Brady's smithshop, corner of Third, Horner's, corner of Second, Brackenridge's, Mowry's, Ewalt's, and Christy's, corner Water, 10; Water street, P. Neville's, McIntyre's, Scull's, Wilmer's, Duncan's, J. Irwin's, John Ormsby's, S. Sample's, John Neville's, Craig's, Redoubt, Kirkpatrick's, O'Hara's, Tannehill's, Greentree tavern, Ferry house, Ross', Audrain's, 18; Wood street, John Wilkins, Jr., John Wilkins, Sr., Henderson's, Sturgeon's, Palmer's log house, Rody's, McKinney's, 7; Ferry street, Devereux Smith's, Diehl's, Funk's, Charles Richards' and two other log houses, Willock's, 7; Front street, Ward's, M. Adams', George Adams', Hanlon's, stone house, Larwill's, Cooper's, Watson's, log tavern, Delaney's, 10; Second street (west of Market), Hex Gibson's, Chambers', Gen. Gibson's (the first brick house), Turnbull's stone house, McLaughlin's, Jimmy Lang's,

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Benjamin Askin's, Maj. Irwin's, 9; Second street (east of Market), McNickle's, Mrs. Elliott's, H. Reed's, Nicholson's, Hanna's, Addison's, 6; Third street, Benjamin Richards', 1; Fourth street (west of Market), Hamsher's, McCord's, 2; (east of Market) two one-story log houses, two-story log house, small log house east of Pittsburgh bank, Granny Irwin's log house, Engleman's, D. Hogg's, Jones', Murie's, 9; Fifth street (east of Wood), Riley's, Cogan's, Vaughan's, and two or three more, 6; (west of Wood) Lightenberger's and two others, 3; Marbury street, Gen. R. Butler, 1; Bouquet's old redoubt, 1; in Fort Pitt, four or five, 5; total number of houses, 103.

"In this list I do not think there are five houses overlooked, and allowing eight to a house the poulation would be a little over eight hundred."

This a very careful enumeration, giving street and name for each house, and, taking the subsequent enumerations, would seem to be near right. The census of 1800, taken nearly five years after, makes the population 1,565; that of 1810 makes it 4,768. As the population tripled itself in these last ten years, it is easier to comprehend that it doubled itself from 1795 to 1800 than to suppose it gained only 170 in that time. Mr. Craig further says, of his personal reccollections of that time:

We would be pleased if we could give our readers an adequate conception of the situation and appearance of the plain on which our city stands at the time of the first assessment, or even many years later. Those who see Pittsburgh in its present not very pleasant aspect can scarcely imagine its former ragged and broken appearance. We shall attempt to describe it.

The ramparts of Fort Pitt were still standing, and a portion of the officers' quarters; a substantial brick building was used as a malthouse; the gates were gone, and the brick wall called the revetment, which supported two of the ramparts facing toward the town, and against which the officers and soldiers used to play ball, were gone, so that the earth all around had assumed the natural slope. Outside of the fort, on the side next the Allegheny river, was a large, deep pond, the frequent resort of wild ducks. Along the south side of Liberty street, and extending from the foot of Diamond alley to the foot of Fourth street, was another pond, from which a deep ditch led the water into a brick archway, leading from Front street, just below Redoubt alley, into the Monongahela. By whom this archway was built I have never learned. It was no trifling work. The writer, when a boy, has often passed through it. The sides, which were from three to four feet high, and the top, were of hard-burned bricks; the bottom of flagstones. Before it was made there must have been a deep gully extending up from the river below Redoubt alley, and I have supposed that when Col. Grant built the redoubt on the bank of the river, just above the gully, he probably had the archway or culvert constructed to facilitate the communication between the redoubt and Fort Pitt.

South of Market street, between Front and Water streets, was another pond, and still another in the square in front of the St. Charles hotel. Finally, there was Hogg's pond, extending along the north side of Grant's hill from Fourth street up to Seventh. From this last there was a low, ugly drain, extending down nearly parallel to Wood street to the river. A stone bridge was built across this gully in Front street, probably soon after the borough was incorporated, because without it the gully would be very difficult to pass.

We have now [1850] a beautiful landing along the Monongahela from the bridge to the point. Fifty years, nay, even thirty years ago, nothing could be less pleasing to the eye than the rugged, irregular bank. From the bridge down to near Wood street the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was from sixty to seventy feet. Wood

street was impassable when the river was moderately high. From Wood to Market the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was fifty or sixty feet. At Market street there was a deep gully worn into the bank, so that a wagon could hardly pass along. At the mouth of Chancery lane there was another chasm in the bank, so that a horse could not pass between the post at the corner of the lot and the precipitous bank. At the mouth of Ferry street there was another similar contraction of the way, so that it required very careful driving for a wagon to pass along. At Redoubt alley there was quite a steep and stony descent down to the level of the covered archway, of which I have before spoken. Below that archway the space between the lots and the break of the bank nowhere exceeded twenty feet, and between Short and West streets it varied from fifteen feet to five. Between West street and below Water street was closed by a fence extending to the foot of the bank, so that persons going to Jones' ferry from any place on Water street had either to climb down the steep bank and go along the beach or else turn up from Water to Front and pass along it to Liberty. Such was Pittsburgh less than fifty years ago. No doubt the next fifty years will produce as much improvement as the last.

In 1796 James O'Hara, who was then quartermaster-general in Washington's administration, had occasion to visit Niagara, and there learned that Onondaga salt could be carried to Lake Erie, and from there via French creek to this city, much cheaper than via Baltimore, as was the practice at that time. This changed the current of the salt trade, which came by the Lake Erie and French creek route from then down to 1810, when supplies began to come in from the Kanawha, in Virginia. We can not learn exactly when the saltworks at the mouth of Saw-Mill run were started, but probably during, or shortly after, the war of 1812. The works were old in 1829, and must have been worked then for some years. Salt has been made also at and near Tarentum and on the Kiskiminitis river for a long time; and in Temperanceville and Allegheny City, after the oil-fever broke out, salt water was obtained instead of oil, and salt has since been extensively made at both places, as well as at several places up the Monongahela. The supply, however, has never been fully equal to the home demand, but would be much larger if prices were more remunerative. Salt water can be had for boring all over Western Pennsylvania, as is shown by the experience of those sinking wells for oil and gas. Saltworks were established here by Craig & Bayard in 1784, but the main supply came from New York up to 1810.

Boat-building began here in 1777, when a large number of barges were built for army use at a point above Turtle creek. On the 19th of May, 1798, the galley President Adams was built. The keel of a second one, to be called Senator Ross, was laid just after the launch of the first. Gen. Wilkinson, the commander-in-chief, embarked here June 8, 1798, in the President Adams. The Senator Ross was not launched until the spring of 1799, and was then fully equipped for the Mississippi.

The shipments down the river from this point were mostly made in flatboats, which were not intended to be brought back. The use of such boats was rendered unnecessary by the keelboats, which could be brought back, and, having better appliances, rapidly superseded the earlier vessel. These boats

were commonly manned by from five to ten men, under the command of a "patroon," and carried from twenty to thirty tons of freight. After the opening of the Mississippi the increased demands of trade gave rise to the barge, a vessel similar to the keelboat, but of greater capacity, provided with oars, and carrying a crew sometimes reaching the number of fifty men. Both kinds of vessels were furnished with masts, square sails and coils of cordage known as cordeilles. A horn was also a part of each boat's equipage. It was originally intended for making signals, but it became the custom of the boatman, at intervals, to sound on it a sort of cadence, the mellow notes of which, floating landward, announced the passing boat in melodious tones which have been celebrated in a touching poem by Gen. W. O. Butler.

Another factor which contributed to shape the destiny of the town planted in the forks of the Ohio, and one scarcely second to its natural command of inland navigation, was the abundant supply of the best fuel right at its door. It is estimated that the bituminous coal-field which underlies Pittsburgh and the region for some sixty miles about, from which it draws its increasing annual supply, is equal to fifteen thousand square miles, and is practically inexhaustible. It was regularly mined as early as 1760, and according to tradition was first tied up in rawhides and tumbled down Coal hill, now known by the more ambitious title of Mount Washington. The first manufactories started here were supplied from the same source, but the method of transportation was improved. It is said that "the coal was hauled down the hill on a sled-car, made of two oak saplings formed as shafts for a horse to work in, and a box fastened onto the outer end of the shafts that would contain fifteen bushels. The road was made with a rut each side about ten inches deep for the ends of the saplings to run in." In 1795 coal was brought from Minersville, now the Thirteenth ward of the city, and a year later coal was discovered and mined on the east side of the Youghiogheny, near Robbins station. In 1803 a ship was ballasted with coal, which sold at Philadelphia for thirty-seven and a half cents per bushel. This was probably the first shipment of coal down the river, but such shipments did not assume any commercial importance until 1817. At this time "Pilot Tom" Jones, whose father then owned and conducted a ferry from the foot of Liberty street to the opposite side of the Monongahela, began to ship it down the river. "The coal was brought down the hill on a 'sled-car' driven by Pilot Tom, and placed in piles on the bank of the river during the winter, and in the spring, when 'flatboats' arrived from 'French creek,' Jones would purchase a pair, hire four or five stout young Irishmen, and have his coal wheeled into the boats, lay in a stock of provisions, jump aboard the boats with only the steering-oars at bow and stern, cut loose, and not attempt to land until he reached Maysville, Ky., where he first commenced to make sales; and from this place he would take a fresh start for Cincinnati." Two years later coal was mined under the present cemetery near Monongahela City, and hauled in wagons to the mouth of Pigeon creek. There

it was loaded into boats and brought to Pittsburgh. This plan of shipping coal continued for several years, and the business gradually grew in proportions. The "French Creeks," as the boats were called, from a tributary of the Allegheny, where they were built and loaded with produce for sale at Pittsburgh, carried from four to six thousand bushels of coal. These were lashed in pairs, and in charge of a crew of five men, floated with the current to market. After the French Creeks, larger boats were built, and loaded and manned in the same way. Even this primitive method stimulated the activity of coal-owners, and greatly advanced the price of mineral lands in the vicinity of the rivers. The rapid progress in boat-building at length began to suggest an improvement in this method, and in 1845 Daniel Bushnell began to "tow" coal with a small sternwheel boat, the Walter Forward. The enterprise was looked upon with contempt by the old boatmen, but it proved a success, and in the same year Thomas H. Baird, constructing two barges for the purpose, and using a small sidewheel boat, engaged in the same business, bringing the barges back loaded with pig-iron. From this beginning the business continued, until now "packages" made up of as many as eighteen flats and barges, containing from eight to twelve thousand bushels each, are successfully propelled by a small steamboat. There are now from ninety to one hundred boats thus engaged annually, carrying down the river from three and a half to four million tons of coal.

With cheap and abundant fuel, the cheapest transportation of the period, and a large and growing market for everything that could be manufactured, the future of Pittsburgh as the "Birmingham of America" was assured.

The yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia in 1798, and a sum of nearly five hundred dollars was remitted from Pittsburgh for the relief of the sufferers. This was doing well for a town of but little over a thousand inhabitants, mostly poor people.

The character and growth of Pittsburgh at this point is thus summarized in the *Navigator* of 1811: "In 1807 the public buildings of the town were a large and spacious brick courthouse and market-house, situated in the public square or Diamond, having Market street running between them; a stone jail; a bank in West Second street, established January 1, 1804, being a branch of the Pennsylvania bank, also of stone; a large four-story stone house on the bank of the Monongahela river, built by Oliver and Owen Evans, of Philadelphia, for a steam gristmill, which was put in operation in the spring of 1809; it is conducted by George Evans (son of Oliver), who is part proprietor; this mill is of great value to the town and adjacent country, forming a good and sure market at all seasons of the year for vast quantities of wheat, rye, corn, etc. The calculation is that she is able to grind eight bushels per hour on each pair of stones throughout the twenty-four hours. She has two pairs of stones constantly running, but her power of steam is calculated for three pairs." The running-gears of the mill were made of cast-iron, which were made at McClurg's air furnace. "The other public buildings were a handsome octagon Episco-

John Taggart

pal church, at the point of Liberty and Wood streets (the 'Round church'); a large and spacious Presbyterian meeting-house, on the east side of Wood street and near the church; a church for the Covenanters; one for German Lutherans; and a Roman chapel at the end of Liberty street, and an academy, all of brick; and a large frame warehouse, at the corner of Wood and Water streets, built by Thomas Cromwell."

It was noted in 1818 that "the price of property has increased in a most surprising manner within the last ten years; it is now at least ten times as high as it was at that period. There are but few sales of lots in fee simple; the custom is to let on perpetual lease. The price in Market and Wood streets varies from ten to twenty dollars per foot front, and in the other streets from four to eight dollars, and in particular situations still higher. The rents are equally high. In Market, Wood and Water streets, the principal places of business, it is difficult to procure a common room in an upper story under one hundred dollars per annum. The rent of stores varies from three hundred to five hundred dollars. There is one warehouse which rents for twelve hundred dollars. The rent of dwelling-houses varies much, according to the locality and kind of tenement. A genteel private family can scarcely attain a good dwelling under three hundred to four hundred dollars. There was little show of luxury, however, in the new city, and strangers who were not engaged in business found little to attract them to it. There were but one or two carriages in the place. There was a small theater, occasionally occupied by some traveling company from the east, but public amusements were few. A few balls in the winter season sufficed for the workaday people who comprised the population. The community was apparently largely made up of matter-of-fact Presbyterians, who were 'diligent in business, serving the Lord.' Other denominations had not felt the necessity of building more places of worship since 1810, or at least had not yielded to it, while the Presbyterians had by this time 'three large ones.'"

It required a bushel and a half of wheat to buy a pound of coffee, and twelve barrels of flour to purchase a yard of superfine broadcloth. In 1825 and 1826 the city began to rally, and in 1830 she was again prospering.

In 1802 one of those bitter prosecutions got up by local influence and fanned by local feuds resulted in the impeachment and removal from office of Alexander Addison, the president judge of the Allegheny county district. The ostensible reason given was his temper and want of courtesy on the bench; but the real reason is believed to have been a political one. Party spirit then ran exceedingly high, much higher than now, when an impeachment of *any* judge would be considered a great rarity.

In 1804 Joseph McClurg erected the first iron-foundry in this city. In May, 1805, the first stage started from Pittsburgh to Chambersburg, and in May, 1806, the advertisement appeared for the construction of a turnpike road from Pittsburgh to Harrisburg. In 1809 the first steam flouring-mill was

built, on the corner of Water street and Redoubt alley, by Oliver and Owen Evans. It was still running after 1840, under the management of Cadwallader Evans.

Mrs. Ann Royall visited Pittsburgh in 1828. She was a native of Maryland, but long a resident of Westmoreland county, and had settled down finally in Washington City, where she published the *Huntress* and the *Paul Pry*. She was an eccentric woman, eaten up with self-conceit, and was that rarest of all things among women, an infidel. She railed constantly at the clergy, the missionaries, Sunday-schools, and at whatever was distinctly religious. She published, in 1829, two volumes of her travels in Pennsylvania, and although much of it is taken up with accounts of her squabbles with landlords, stage-drivers and stage-owners, her descriptions of scenery and of places is very graphic and correct. Her account of Pittsburgh as she found it at the close of 1828 is herewith given, omitting all irrelevances:

Pittsburgh is entirely concealed by hills, approaching it from any point excepting the Ohio river.

As we drove down the Allegheny river we were closely hemmed in by a vast hill on our left. This hill makes a sudden stop as you draw near the city, and runs across in a steep, perpendicular precipice to the Monongahela, forming a perfect wall in its rear, seventy feet high. This hill takes different names in its progress; that part opposite the Point, or the great body of the city, is called Grant's hill, so named from Col. Grant, who was defeated on its summit by the French and Indians in 1758; that part of it on Monongahela is called Boyd's hill, from one Boyd, who hung himself there; that part extending to Allegheny river is also distinguished by the name of Quarry hill, four hundred and forty feet high. Over each river there are also seen vast hills, so that you are in the city before you can see it.

Its situation is much lower than I expected to find it—more level and the hills much higher. The city runs up upon the banks of both rivers, beyond its limits in the center; much further up the Allegheny, however, the Monongahela and the Point give it the figure of a triangle. It is about one mile on one river, one and three-fourths on the other. The whole city sits on an even plain, from thirty to forty feet above low-water mark, higher, however, upon the Allegheny side. On the opposite side of the Allegheny river is a steep hill called Hogback hill. On the opposite shore of Monongahela is another steep called Coal hill.

In this hill, nearly opposite the city, a fire has been burning many years, which is visible by the smoke, the coal having caught fire, by what means is unknown to any of the present race. But it is generally supposed to have caught from the carelessness of the miners. Several attempts have been made to extinguish this fire by stopping the holes and fissures on the surface, but all in vain; it still continues to burn, and is daily increasing.

There is another eminence called Castleman's hill. Coal hill is four hundred and sixty-five feet high, and very rugged. The height of Hogback hill is unknown; it is a barren eminence of unsightly appearance. In all these elevations coal is found, except in Grant's, Boyd's and Hogback hills, their altitude not being sufficient to bring them within the range of the great strata of that mineral which pervades this region.

The scenery around Pittsburgh is very beautiful, I am told, in summer, and when viewed from some points presents the most interesting associations of nature and art. The view from Castleman's hill is not surpassed in any country—earth, air, rocks, water, wood, town and sky break upon the vision in forms the most picturesque and delightful. Coal hill, immediately above the burning pits, is another point of interesting observation,

where the eye, at a single glance, takes in a hundred beauties, which might vie with the purest and brightest of the other hemisphere.

Pittsburgh has several suburban villages that contribute to and are supplied from the great center, with which their strength and prosperity are intimately connected. On or nearly adjoining the northeastern boundary of the city, and on the flat between Quarry hill and the Allegheny river, the Northern Liberties are situated, and are intended as a continuation of the city. They were laid out in 1816 by George A. Bayard and James Adams, and are now improving rapidly, and contain the Phœnix cotton-factory, Juniata iron-works, etc.

Adjoining the southeastern boundary of the city, on the Monongahela, stands Kensington, or, as it is commonly called, Pipe Town, deriving this name through one of its early settlers an eccentric little gentleman, still well known among all classes for his odd humor and the universality of his mechanical business, Mr. William Price, who established a pipe-manufactory there. Kensington is partly on a steep hillside; the houses, which are low, seem to stick to Boyd's hill by magic.

Over the Monongahela is another considerable village called Birmingham; it is incorporated into a borough, and sits at the base of Coal hill, on the bank of the river, and here the celebrated Birmingham glass is manufactured. It also contains several steam mills and an extensive lock-manufactory. It is well built, and makes a handsome appearance from Pittsburgh.

Over the Allegheny river, directly opposite the city, is another very handsome and flourishing town called Allegheny. The Western Penitentiary is built here, one of the most splendid buildings in the United States, and the site of the town is, by far, one of the most pleasant of any in the vicinity, or even in Pittsburgh itself. It is unrivaled in the scenery and soil. There are two superb bridges, one over Monongahela and one over Allegheny, of the first architecture, and are the finest ornaments belonging to Pittsburgh.

Two miles above Pittsburgh is the village of Lawrence, the seat of the United States arsenal, on the Allegheny. The Allegheny river is 1,100 feet wide at Pittsburgh, and the Monongahela 1,400 feet wide. No language can convey the beautiful appearance of these rivers. I should say the Allegheny was the handsomest of the two; it is equal in beauty to the Ohio, and just such another river. These rivers and the Ohio, and bridges, constitute one of the handsomest sights, beyond doubt, in the Union; I mean where beauty alone is considered.

I had heard so much of the steam manufactories, and coal and smoke of Pittsburgh that I tried to form some idea of them, but was greatly disappointed. More smoke than I could have conceived, and the manufactories were far beyond my conception in skill of workmanship and amount of capital. I give the population of all the towns: Pittsburgh City, 10,600; Northern Liberties, 711; Kensington, 390; Birmingham, 459; Allegheny, 711; miscellaneous, 260.

Of those born in foreign countries, 3,000, or nearly. Pittsburgh at the last enumeration contained—dwelling-houses, 1,140; churches, 12; public buildings, 7; stores, 60; groceries, 146; banks, 2; taverns, 16; factories, mills and shops, 440; warehouses, etc., 76.

This number, however, has greatly increased, and buildings are going up at this time in all parts of the city. Most of the houses are brick, and some of them are lofty, fine buildings; but all of the houses are colored quite black with the smoke. The interiors of the houses are still worse, carpets, chairs, walls, furniture—all black with smoke; no such thing as wearing white; the ladies mostly dress in black, and a cap or white ruff put on clean in the morning is tinged quite black by bedtime. The ladies are continually washing their faces. Meantime the smoke, particularly in the absence of the sun, is quite annoying to the eyes of strangers, and everything has a very gloomy, doleful appearance at first, excepting, always, the interior of the workshops. But in a few days the stranger becomes so familiar to it that the novelty of the thing is completely worn off, and your walks and rambles through the city are pursued with the same pleasure common to others.

In all the towns of Pennsylvania of any size the public buildings and offices are built on squares in the centers of their towns. These squares are uniformly called "The Diamond." I had often heard the word, and from haste and inattention never stopped to ask what it meant, and that it meant the public square is one of the last things I should take it to apply. "You will find such a man on the east, west, etc., of the Diamond," said my friend, Mrs. Roberts. "And what is the Diamond?" "Where the market-house is." The Diamond is about the center of the city; is large, and contains the market-house in the center, and the public buildings, attorneys' offices and a few oyster-cellars. The public buildings are large and well built of brick. The churches are small, and make no show, except one, just rebuilt, touched off in great gothic style.

The streets of Pittsburgh are not regular, running in all directions; most of them, however, angle with the Monongahela. They are paved, but not lighted. The sidewalks are narrow, and the whole are dirty, and in wet weather very muddy in some parts of the town.

The citizens are now engaged in furnishing the city with good water, and have sunk a very handsome reservoir upon the top of Grant's hill for the purpose. But, from some cause to me unknown, the pipes have mostly bursted, and flood the streets with water, which I found very unpleasant.

There are in Pittsburgh thirty-two attorneys and counselors, and sixteen physicians, a museum, the Western University, a high-school, an academy, and forty smaller schools. The manners of the people of Pittsburgh, as in all other large towns, some are liberal and polite, and others quite the reverse. The university exists only in name, and can not be said to be in operation, though it has a long string of professors. Miss Parry is at the head of an academy for young ladies. Misses Roberts and Campbell have a large school of both sexes. The Sisters of Charity also have a very large school. The high-school is by far the best conducted seminary in the place. It is kept in the Unitarian church. The name of the principal is E. Worthington, Esq. He has fifty-four students.

Lambdin's museum and gallery of paintings was established September 8, 1828, and now contains a valuable collection of paintings from ancient as well as modern masters—fine landscapes by Doughty, Birch, Lawrence, etc.; pictures from the collection of Baron Muller, portraits of distinguished characters by Stuart, Sully, Peale and Lambdin. The museum contains about two hundred foreign birds, among which are the birds of paradise, twenty quadrupeds, five hundred minerals, three hundred fossils, three hundred marine shells, twelve hundred impressions of medals, one hundred ancient coins, a handsome collection of articles from the South seas, marine productions, Indian articles, etc., etc.

Mr. Lambdin is himself an artist, and his museum is the only specimen of taste or amusement in the city—no library, no atheneum, no gardens, no theater. I understood there was an apprentices' library, got up by a few liberal gentlemen, Messrs. Holdship, Eichbaum and several others. There are, however, many liberal and enlightened men in Pittsburgh. The whole city is a perfect workshop; and the most remarkable fact in regard to the character of the society of Pittsburgh, and one which excites astonishment and pleasure, is that the mechanics and artificers are by far the most enlightened part of the society. There is not a more honorable, orderly and well-behaved collection of men, doubtless, to be found on the globe, of their calling. I was not prepared for this part of the history of Pittsburgh, having never heard it mentioned by any writer. They appear to form an exclusive society of gentlemen.

I am now come to the most difficult, but by far the most interesting, portion of my description of Pittsburgh, and without which the city would have little weight—its trade and manufactures, in which last it excels any city in the Union, either in the quantity, excellence or variety of the articles. Every article manufactured out of iron, copper, brass, tin, leather or wood is made in Pittsburgh in a superior style; besides glass, delf, pottery and paper, they manufacture sheeting, shirting, coverlets, carpets, cloths, cassinets, plaids, checks, etc. But what distinguishes Pittsburgh from every other part of the Union is the fame she has acquired from her steam-engine foundries.

F. F. Beilstein

Another distinguished trait in the character of Pittsburgh is the polite, chaste and gentlemanly deportment of her workmen and mechanics, which, joined to their skill, sobriety and industry, surpass any set of mechanics in America, or perhaps in the world. They, as a body, are the only gentlemen in the city.

In all the manufacturing establishments I have visited in the United States I never failed to find the mechanics more or less depraved. Even in New England you too often find the workmen, and very often the principals, vicious, idle and impertinent, with a total want of respect to strangers. Not so in Pittsburgh. I spent thirteen days in the manufacturing houses and foundries in this city, where, but in three cases, I found none but mechanics, and never saw nor heard the most distant indelicate look or word among the whole of them; on the contrary, I was treated with marked and gentleman-like respect. I was more astonished at this than anything else in the wonder-working city. Why Pittsburgh should differ so widely in this respect from all other manufacturing towns I am unqualified to say, but it is a well-known fact that both in this country and in Europe, I am told, those manufacturing houses exhibit a most lamentable picture of low, vicious manners. During the whole of my visit to these manufactories I never saw an instance of intoxication, or the smallest indication of drinking. Whether this highly honorable trait in the mechanics of Pittsburgh has been noticed by other travelers or not I am unable to say, but it was the first thing that struck me, not only with surprise, but pleasure. The workmen were almost as black, throughout, as the coal of their pits, but this disguise could not conceal the noble mien, the chaste smile and manly deportment for which they are unequaled. Had they been looking for me I should have thought their manners assumed; but, to recur to my own maxim, no one can affect what they do not possess, least of all politeness. But nothing was farther from them than the thought of receiving a visit from a female; and, though sometimes accompanied, I mostly stole a march upon them. A visit from a female was doubtless the last thing these men were thinking of, and such was my curiosity to see these far-famed foundries and workshops that, without consulting a friend, I popped into one the next day of my visit, it being understood that these manufactories are profusely scattered throughout the city, and being much delighted with the good order, stillness and innocent manners of the workmen I pursued the business unceasingly, which took up thirteen days, but not finding the proprietors in the shops, or anyone who could give me any accurate account of the capital, hands employed, or amount manufactured.

The *Sligo Rolling-mill* is situated on the south side of the Monongahela river, immediately opposite the mouth of Market street, and is owned by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyen. It was erected in 1825. Sligo mill may be considered as a branch of those extensive iron-works which the proprietors own on the Juniata, as all the iron they make use of is brought from there in a state partly manufactured, that is, in large blocks, called blooms, which do not require the process of puddling, but are immediately fit for rolling. The consumption of blooms at the Sligo mill is about 1,400 tons annually. The engine is one of the most powerful in or about Pittsburgh, being 130-horse power, and was built by Mark Stackhouse. Some idea may be formed of the strength and immensity of the various machinery, when we say that their weight is 120 tons. Fifty hands are employed in the different departments, and the consumption of coal per annum is about 14,000 bushels. The value of iron made per year is $150,000. . . . The *Juniata Iron-works*, on the Allegheny river, in the Northern Liberties, is owned by Dr. Peter Shoenberger. They were erected in 1824, and may also be considered as a distant branch of the extensive forges of the proprietor on the waters of the Juniata. The establishment here is a very extensive one, and was put up under the superintendence of M. B. Belknap. The engine is of 120-horse power, and was built by Matthew Smith, of the firm of Binney & Smith. One thousand tons of blooms are used here annually, and the mill contains six nail-machines, making six tons of nails a week. Eighty men are employed. . . . The *Grant's Hill Iron-works*, owned by William H. Hays and Daniel Adams, was erected in

1821. The engine, built by the Columbian Steam-engine company, is of 80-horse power. Thirty hands are employed. The mill used, the last year, 800 tons pig-metal and 400 tons blooms. Coal used yearly, 90,000 bushels, and annual product, $80,000. . . . The *Union Rolling-mill*, in Kensington, is owned by Baldwin, Robinson & McNickle. This is the largest and most extensive establishment of the kind in the western country. The machinery is driven by two engines of 100-horse power each, which were built by the Columbian Steam-engine company in 1819. The quantity of metal converted annually into merchantable iron was about 1,500 tons, which, at $100 a ton, which it averages, is $150,000 annually. Attached to the mill is an extensive nail-factory. Hands employed, 100; coal consumed, 182,000 bushels; capital, $100,000. . . . The *Dowlar Iron-works* was erected in1825, in Kensington, by Mr. Lewis. It has an engine of 100-horse power, and makes about 600 tons of iron per year. . . . The *Pittsburgh Rolling-mill*, on the corner of Penn street and Cecil's alley, is owned by R. Bowen. Has an engine of 120-horse power, built by the Columbian Steam-engine company, which drives one pair of rollers and slitters and ten nail-machines. In this mill there is no other than bar-iron made use of. From the blooms three tons per day are reduced to rods, sheet, etc. The nail-machines make 1¾ tons per day, besides hoops and sheet. Capital, $40,000; hands employed, 80. Mr. R. Bowen was, for a long time, a common sailor. . . . The *Pine Creek Rolling-mill* is owned by Elkins & Ludlow, and is on Pine creek, a few miles above Pittsburgh. It has an engine of 100-horse power. At this establishment both steam and water power are employed, and the manufacture of axes, scythes, sickles, shovels, is carried on extensively. Forty hands are employed, and about 600 tons of bar-iron used annually.

The *Pittsburgh Foundry* was erected as early as the year 1804, by Joseph McClurg, and was the first establishment of the kind west of the mountains. The opposition that Mr. McM. met with from his friends shows how limited the views of the citizens of that period were in relation to the important situation of Pittsburgh, and the great sources of wealth that lay around it. Many thought at that time that Mr. McClurg would certainly be ruined, that a foundry was useless, and that he could not possibly succeed. He persevered, however, and subsequent years have shown the fallacy of human prognostications. He realized a fortune; has retired from business, and left the old foundry to fill the pockets of his successors with better stuff than pig-metal. The foundry is at present carried on by A. McClurg, Cuthbert & Co., on an extensive scale. There are two furnaces in daily use, which produce some 600 tons of castings a year. The cannon used by Com. Perry on Lake Erie were cast here, and the United States government still uses it as a source of supply of cannon and balls. . . . The *Jackson Foundry*, corner of Sixth and Liberty streets, is owned by Messrs. Kingsland, Lightner & Sowers. It makes stoves, grates, wagon-boxes, plow-plates, machinery and all kinds of heavy castings. It employs twenty hands, and turns out 500 tons of castings annually. The *Eagle Foundry*, in Kensington, is operated by the same men, but was erected by A. Beelen. Its annual product is 300 tons. . . . The *Phœnix Foundry* is on Scotch hill, corner of Ross and Third, and is owned by Freeman & Miller. It was established in 1821, by —— Clark, and is principally devoted to the highest order of castings, sad-irons, grates, stoves, wheels, etc. Annual product, 200 tons. The same gentlemen have just established the *Washington Foundry*, with nail-factory attached. . . . *Stackhouse's Foundry* is attached to the Columbian Steam-engine factory, corner of Front and Redoubt alley. The principal part of the castings made here are for steam machinery. Annual product, 400 tons. . . . The *Allegheny Foundry* is near the Allegheny river, on McCormick's alley, and is owned by William Franklin. Annual product, 150 tons. . . . *Stackhouse & Tomlinson's Foundry* is on the corner of Liberty and Second streets, and is attached to their steam-engine foundry. It produces 120 tons annually. The steam-engines here produced are mainly for steamers. . . . *Price's Cupola Foundry* is situated one-fourth of a mile east of Pittsburgh, and may be considered a brass as well as an iron foundry, as all the articles of a light nature in both branches are produced here. . . .

The *Birmingham Foundry* is carried on by Sutton & Nicholson, and produces 200 tons of castings annually, as well as screws for tobacco-presses and paper-mills and for fulling-mills. . . . The *Union Rolling-mill Nail-factory* has 14 nail-machines, producing 360 tons of nails a year. The *Sligo Nail-factory* has four machines, and produces 200 tons a year. The *Pittsburgh Nail-factory* has 10 machines, and produces 400 tons a year. It produced last year 5,804 kegs of cut nails and 22,000 pounds of wrought nails. The *Grant's Hill Factory* has five machines, and yields 250 tons annually. The *Juniata Factory* produced the same amount with five machines. The *Pine Creek Factory*, with four machines, produced 228 tons.

In manufacturing steam-engines Pittsburgh has acquired great celebrity. No place in the world can surpass Pittsburgh as to the means and materials for manufacturing these powerful machines. There are six steam-engine factories in Pittsburgh—the *Columbian*, owned by Mark Stackhouse; the factory of Warden & Arthurs, corner of Second and West; that of Stackhouse & Tomlinson, corner of Liberty and Third; that of Smith & Binney, on Grant's hill; that of M. B. Belknap, at Pine creek, and that of Mahlon Rogers, corner of Grant and Hewith. . . . The *Steam Wire-manufactory* of Mr. Arnold Eichbaum is in Kensington, near the Union Rolling-mill. It manufactures wire from No. 1 to No. 16. Employs 7 hands. . . . The *Steam Cotton-factory* of James Arthurs & Sons is on Strawberry near Cherry alley. Runs 288 spindles, and is principally employed in the manufacture of fine yarns, from No. 16 to 20. Employs 13 hands. . . . The *Phenix Steam Cotton-factory* is owned by Adams, Allen & Grant. It is in the Northern Liberties, and runs 2,700 spindles, producing daily 700 pounds of yarn, from 5 to 22, and 450 yards of cotton cloth. It employs 170 hands, and its annual product exceeds $100,000. . . . John McIlroy, on Wood, between Front and Second, has in operation 80 hand-looms, producing 1,200 yards of plaids, stripes and checks. Employs 155 hands. Annual product, 363,600 yards. . . . James Shaw, Wood street, between Sixth and Liberty, has 80 hand-looms, producing 300,000 yards cotton cloth yearly. . . . Thomas Graham, Market, between Fifth and Liberty, has 34 hand-looms, and Tilford & Sons, near Pittsburgh, have 8 looms. There are besides 47 looms which are engaged in various kinds of weaving, such as coverlets, carpets, etc., producing over 200,000 yards yearly. . . . James Arthurs & Sons, in connection with their steam cotton-factory, have a woolen establishment, where they last year made or dressed 12,800 yards of broadcloth, cassinette and country cloth. Headrick & Gibb, corner Liberty and Diamond alley, produced last year 4,200 yards of cassinette. The Fleecedale Woolen-factory, on Chartiers creek, near the Steubenville pike, and owned by A. & J. Murphy, produced last year 1,500 yards broadcloth and 9,600 yards of cassinette.

Bakewell's Glasshouse is owned by Bakewell, Page & Bakewell, and is on Water street, above Grant. It was erected in 1811. It is entirely devoted to the manufacture of white or flint glass. Numerous articles are made at this factory, everything in the glass line, and of every grade of workmanship. The value of the glass made here last year was $90,000. . . . The *Birmingham Glassworks* were built in 1812, by Sutton, Wendt & Co., but are now conducted by Wendt, Encel, Ihmsen & Co. This establishment makes window-glass and green hollow-ware entirely. Its product last year was 4,000 boxes window-glass, 100 gross bottles and 10,000 dozen hollow-ware. . . . The *Pittsburgh Glassworks* are on the south side of the Monongahela, opposite the Point, and are now conducted by Mr. F. Lorenz. This concern was the first of the kind established in the western country. It was built as early as 1797, by Gen. O'Hara and Maj. Craig. For a few years their success seemed very doubtful, so much so that the latter gentleman withdrew and left Mr. O'Hara to make the best of what was then termed a losing concern. But the general, who had a happier knack of seeing a few years before him and drawing deductions from the nature of things than any of his contemporaries, persevered with his glass-house, made large additions, prospered, and conducted it until his death, in 1819. It produced last year 7,500 boxes window-glass, 160 gross bottles and 3,160 dozen hollow-

ware. . . . The *Stonebridge Glassworks*, near the corner of Ross and Second, were erected by John Robinson in 1823. Manufacture white or flint glass only. . . . Besides these there are window-glass factories at Bridgeport, New Albany, New Boston, Williamsport and Geneva, up the Monongahela, producing 17,000 boxes window-glass yearly.

The *Anchor Steam Paper-mill*, on Ross street, owned by Mr. Holdship; the *Pittsburgh Steam Paper-mill*, in the Northern Liberties; the *Clinton Paper-mill*, at Steubenville; the *Franklin* and *Big Beaver*, at Beaver; the *Sewickley*, at West Newton; the *Redstone*, at Brownsville, and various other mills, are all engaged in the making of paper, producing about 30,000 reams per year. There are four steam gristmills in operation: The *Pittsburgh*, corner of Water and Redoubt alley, established by Oliver Evans in 1812, now operated by George Evans; the *Allegheny*, on Irwin's alley, operated by John Herron; the *Eagle*, at mouth of Suke's run, owned by Mr. Henderson, and the *Birmingham*, by Sutton & Nicholson.

Besides these there are in Pittsburgh 4 brass-foundries, 24 blacksmith-shops, 6 whitesmith-shops, 1 lock-factory, 4 gunsmiths, 8 silversmiths, 9 tanneries, 3 saddle-factories, 45 boot- and shoe-makers, 8 chairmakers, 14 cabinet makers, 2 coachmakers, 7 wagon and plowmakers, 2 wheelwrights, 360 carpenters, 140 boat-builders, 3 potteries, 1 ropewalk, 3 whitelead-factories, 4 distilleries, 3 breweries, 11 tobacco-factories, 2 wire-weaving establishments, 5 saltworks, 1 sickle-maker, 3 brushmakers, 7 hatters, 2 dyers, 11 painters, 11 plasterers, 12 coopers, 44 tailors, 8 bakers, 4 confectioners, 1 organ-maker, 1 button-maker, 2 saddletree-makers, 2 chemists, 5 chandlers, 1 combmaker, 2 reedmakers, 4 woodturners, 2 sashmakers, 1 rigger, 2 bellows-makers, 3 pattern-makers and 2 cutters.

Value of annual product of factories, $3,400,000; value of total imports, $2,119,000; value of total exports, $2,781,276. There is a city for you, without a parallel in manufactures, in proportion to the inhabitants, perhaps in the world!

Speaking of the general business appearance of Pittsburgh, Mrs. Royall says:

Of all towns (in our country, I mean) Pittsburgh excites most astonishment. Everything pursued in other towns is thrown into the shade by Pittsburgh; even in the building of steamboats it excels, by a long way, our great city, New York. You see nothing but columns of smoke rolling out of these manufactories in every part of the city and in every street. Go to the river Monongahela, and you see nothing but steamboats, *two stories high* many of them, and two tiers of windows, precisely like a house and with gable ends.

Such is Mrs. Royall's account of Pittsburgh, and in a notice attached of the Western penitentiary, she tells us that it then had but forty inmates, two of whom were black women. It was her first visit to Pittsburgh, and she takes a rather enthusiastic view of things; but the city no doubt made a similar impression upon all who examined it leisurely at that time. It had passed through a fearful pinch in the panic which followed the close of the war with England, in 1815; but it had recovered from this, and was now putting on new strength, and reaching out its active arms in all directions. This activity and growth continued until checked by the panic of 1837–38. From the blow it then received it was longer in recovering than it was from the effects of the panic of 1817.

Pittsburgh, it may be as well to add here, does not generally impress visitors favorably, but that is because they are repelled by the first looks and do not seek to investigate further. Mrs. Royall took two weeks for her examina-

tion. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who preceded Mrs. Royall, gave but a cursory look at the city, visited but one factory, and then gave vent to his unreasoning disappointment. He was too much of an aristocrat to examine minutely into the industries of men begrimed by the dirt of their labor.

CHAPTER XXV.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

TRANSPORTATION—EARLIEST MODES—FIRST STAGES FROM PITTSBURGH—CANALS —RAILROADS—STEAMBOATS—BRIDGES.

THE means of travel and transportation were exceedingly limited until 1805. The river was the main reliance for intercourse with the west, and with the east there was the packhorse and the wagon for freight, and travelers could go on foot or on horseback. There were at first two routes to the east, by the old Braddock trail to Cumberland and Baltimore, and by the route through Bedford, Chambersburg and Harrisburg to Philadelphia. Later there came to be three routes. The Braddock trail was abandoned for the road from here to Brownsville, and thence through Uniontown to Cumberland and Baltimore; the northern route, through Murraysville and Ebensburg to the Juniata, and thence to Harrisburg, and the old route through Bedford. The first was substantially the route of Braddock, and the second was a near approach to the old "Kittanning trail" of the Indians. In the course of time the old Bedford route, having been turnpiked, was very generally preferred.

Prior to and long after the establishment of a stage line to Philadelphia, in 1805, travel on foot was resorted to by very many. The wagoners who hauled freight to and fro built up all along the road a line of substantial and comfortable inns, so that the traveler on foot could always find a good eating and resting place. The distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, three hundred miles, was usually covered by foot-travelers in nine or ten days, unless the weather hindered. Travel, of course, was not undertaken for pleasure, and nobody took to the road unless compelled by necessity to do so. Freight, at first, when the roads were bad, was carried on packhorses; but these were soon superseded by wagons of all kinds, mainly large, for four or six horses, with huge beds covered with canvas, in which the freight was packed. The wagon had a trough fastened on behind, in which the horses were fed, the drivers usually carrying oats for their teams along with them. They also carried a flexible mattress for a bed, which they unrolled upon the tavern-floor at night, and lay down in their clothes, with their feet to the fire. They thus became as

little indebted as possible, pecuniarily, to the innkeepers, yet their custom was eagerly sought. The barroom floor at night was usually covered with these recumbent teamsters. One of these wagons was a poor substitute for a freight-car, either in capacity or otherwise, yet all the freight between the east and west passed over the mountains in these vehicles until 1829, when the canal was opened and soon destroyed the wagon traffic.

In 1805 a stage-line was started from Pittsburgh to Chambersburg, where it connected, it is supposed, with a similar line to Philadelphia. This was the nucleus for the stage business that afterward developed here into a daily line of stages to Philadelphia and all points east and south of that city. These stages carried the mails, and were a great public convenience. The canal came in competition with them after 1829, but passage on the canal occupied four days and more, while the stages made the transit to and from Philadelphia in three. After the Columbia railroad was built by the state as a part of its system of public works, connection was made with it at Harrisburg by the Cumberland Valley railroad from Harrisburg to Chambersburg, so that the stage-lines in the end ran as they did at first between Chambersburg and Pittsburgh. It took two days and one night to go from Pittsburgh to Chambersburg, arriving at the latter place about midnight of the second day. The Cumberland Valley railroad took the passengers from there to Harrisburg, landing them at the latter place on the morning of the third day, and from there they passed to Philadelphia over the Columbia railroad. Both of these roads were laid with strips of iron spiked to wooden sleepers, the iron rail not having been then invented, and the locomotives burned wood. The passenger over them thus encountered two dangers—the "snake-head," which was the name given to the iron strips spiked to the sleepers, when the spikes worked out and the strips curled up before the wheels, often penetrating into the cars, to the danger of the passengers, and live cinders from the locomotive, which, when the windows were up, fell upon the clothes of passengers and burned holes in them before their presence was detected. The seats were ranged along the sides of the car, and served as beds at night, a hanging shelf overhead being let down to do the same duty when there were passengers enough. This was the germ of the present sleeping-car, but the idea evidently was borrowed from the canal-boat, which accommodated its passengers in the same way.

This lasted until 1852, when the Pennsylvania railroad was opened. It was 1854 before this road was opened all the way through, but in the intervening time the railroad company made use of the inclined planes connected with the canal to cross the mountains, until its own tracks over the mountains were laid. With 1852 canal and stage travel ceased. I quote:

Mr. David Stephenson, the British engineer, who took the journey over the Pennsylvania state works in 1836, wrote that he traveled the entire distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, then 395 miles, in ninety-one hours, an average rate of about four and a half

miles per hour, at a cost of three pounds sterling, or about four cents per mile, and that 118 miles of the journey, which he calls "extraordinary," were by railroad, and 277 miles by canals. These works were the double-track Columbia railroad, from the Delaware to Columbia on the Susquehanna; the canal by that river and the Juniata to Hollidaysburg, at the eastern foot of the main Allegheny mountain; then the portage railroad over the mountain to Johnstown, at its western base, and the canal again from Johnstown down the Conemaugh and Allegheny rivers to Pittsburgh.

Of these the Columbia railroad is now the only portion used, but with a vast improvement and development. The portage and canal west of the mountains have long been abandoned. This route of the state works was the forerunner of the Pennsylvania railroad. The transfer of freight was at first made between car and boat, but afterward the plan was successfully devised of making canal-boats in sections and carrying them on car-trucks. These sectional boats were hauled down Market and Third and Dock streets to the wharf in Philadelphia by mule-teams over thirty years ago. This uncouth transportation method of our fathers was the primitive way of sending western produce to Europe. These canal-boats, mounted on car-trucks, and Cope's packet-ships from Walnut street wharf, were the germ of the "through bills of lading" that now carry wheat and provisions between the west and Liverpool. The canal-boats were hauled on the railroad to Columbia, and there dropped into the eastern division of the Pennsylvania canal, extending 172 miles along the Susquehanna and the Juniata to Hollidaysburg, then a busy place, but now only a shadow of its former self, for changed methods have taken the business elsewhere. This canal had thirty-three aqueducts and 111 locks, and rose, in its western progress to the mountain, 585 feet above the level at Columbia.

The ingenious device of the portage railroad was used to cross the main range of the Alleghenies, the timbered sides of this great ridge, about three thousand feet high at its chief elevation, being encountered at Hollidaysburg. This railroad extended thirty-six miles over the mountain to Johnstown, cost $1,860,000, was two years in building, being finished in November, 1833, and had a second line of rails constructed in 1835. It crossed the ridge through Blair's gap, at 2,326 feet elevation, and consisted of a series of inclined planes and a summit tunnel nine hundred feet long. It was a difficult and costly work, being almost entirely sidehill cuttings and embankments supported by heavy walls, sometimes one hundred feet high, most of the line being boldly laid out skirting the edges of precipices, and there being four bridges, one of them crossing the Conemaugh river at seventy feet height. There were ten inclined planes, five on each side of the mountain, their rises varying from 130 feet to 300 feet. These planes overcame a total height of 2,007 feet, while the entire rise and fall of the road were 2,571 feet, ordinary gradients providing the remainder.

The steepest face of the Allegheny mountain is on the eastern side, and consequently the railway from Hollidaysburg to the summit, though but ten miles long, ascended 1,398 feet, while on the other side, in twenty miles' distance, the descent was but 1,172 feet. The gradients in these inclined planes varied from one in ten to one in fourteen, the longest planes being about three-fifths of a mile. A thirty-horse-power engine worked each plane, an eight-inch cable being used, with descending and ascending trains moving at the same time on the double track. Three cars, each carrying three tons, were considered a load for a single draft. Twenty-four cars, carrying seventy-two tons, could be taken over a plane in one hour, which was ample for the traffic then passing over the line, for the average was not over one hundred cars a day. These one hundred three-ton loaded cars are to-day condensed by improved methods into fifteen box-cars, which make barely one-half of a single freight-train out of the many now passing over the mountain.

The transit by the portage over the mountain, though considered marvelous then, was slow, for Mr. Stephenson wrote in his account that he started from Hollidaysburg at 9 in the morning, reached the summit at noon, halted an hour for dinner, and, resuming the journey, was at Johnstown at 5 in the afternoon. Seven hours of actual time

were thus occupied in going the thirty-six miles. At Johnstown the western division of the Pennsylvania canal began, and extended along the Conemaugh and Allegheny rivers to Pittsburgh, 105 miles. It had sixty-four locks, a tunnel of one thousand feet long, and went over sixteen aqueducts, its broken bridges and abandoned locks being still seen as relics of the past beyond the mountains.

Although these works were used for twenty years, they had scarcely gone into operation when an agitation began for making a railway over the entire route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Charters were granted for this purpose in 1837, but during some years lay dormant. Surveys were afterward made, and public meetings were held, but nothing was actually done until the Pennsylvania railroad was chartered, in 1846, with $10,000,000 capital. In 1847–48 the great work was given an actual start by contributions from the city of Philadelphia, amounting to the munificent sum, for that period, of about four million dollars.

In the summer of 1847 work began at both ends of the line, contracts being let for building sections leading twenty miles west from Harrisburg and fifteen miles east from Pittsburgh. In the fall of 1849 the first division, sixty-one miles long, from Harrisburg to Lewistown, was opened for business, and in 1850 the line was completed to the junction with the portage at Hollidaysburg. In August, 1851, the road west of the mountains was completed twenty-one miles west of Johnstown, leaving only twenty-eight miles unfinished to join the builders working westward from Pittsburgh. On December 10, 1852, the Pennsylvania railroad, in conjunction with the state works, was completed, and through trains began running (all rail) between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, by way of the portage. In February, 1854, the Pennsylvania railroad finished its own line over the mountain, and the portage was abandoned.

In 1806 an advertisement appeared in the Pittsburgh papers for proposals to construct a turnpike-road, from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. The road was first built to Greensburg, the sections from Greensburg to Bedford, and from Bedford to Chambersburg, following in due course. Craig says, in his "History of Pittsburgh," that proposals were invited for the whole distance from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia; but the conviction of the writer is that the road to Greensburg was built by one company, and the other sections by other corporations. The state subscribed liberally to the stock of these turnpike companies, aiding materially in their construction. For a time the stock in these companies earned dividends, but in the end they became bankrupt, the state losing its investment therein; but the money, nevertheless, was well spent, and contributed greatly to the development of the industry and commerce of the state. Other companies, besides those above referred to, built the Pittsburgh & Washington turnpike from here to Washington, Pa., and the Pittsburgh & Steubenville turnpike from here to Steubenville, Ohio. All of them have long since been abandoned, and are now mere country roads.

There being a fort at Franklin, Pa., a route to Franklin was early opened. Federal street, in Allegheny City, was originally called the "Franklin road," and a ferry from the Franklin road to what is now Sixth (St. Clair) street connected this place with that route. A stage-line was established on the Franklin route, but exactly when can not be stated. The Franklin road followed Federal street to the hill, and thence over the hill and through the country to Butler and Franklin. The country north of the Allegheny was not settled as

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early as the rest of Western Pennsylvania, but intercourse between Pittsburgh and Franklin was at all times constant. Stage-lines were also early placed on the routes to Washington, Pa., and Steubenville, Ohio. After steamboats began to be run on the Monongahela, which was in 1825, connection with Brownsville and the route of the National road was maintained by river.

In 1826 Pennsylvania, spurred on by the example of New York in building the Erie canal, undertook the construction of the Pennsylvania canal, extending from Columbia, on the Susquehanna, to Pittsburgh. The original intention, it is presumed, was to connect at Middletown with the Union canal, extending thence to Philadelphia, but railroads were just beginning to come into use, and a railroad was built from Philadelphia to Columbia to supply the needed connection. The canal and its adjuncts cost, originally, $26,000,000; but subsequent expenses, for losses by flood, and interest, brought the cost, eventually, to $40,000,000. The canal was opened in 1829, the first boat arriving at Pittsburgh November 10. It was maintained, at a steady loss, by the state until 1847, when it was sold to the Pennsylvania road for $7,500,000. It entailed upon the state a debt of $40,000,000, which is now nearly wiped out.

But although the state was the loser by its construction, her trade and commerce gained immensely by it. If it had not been built the Erie canal would have taken from Pennsylvania the immense carrying-trade and travel between the west and the east. As it was, she saved her full share of that trade, built up Pittsburgh and Philadelphia thereby, and developed the resources of the interior of the state.

As soon as the canal was built, packet-lines were formed and freight-carrying companies organized, and, until railroads supplanted it, the canal was a busy thoroughfare for both trade and travel. The stage-lines still took a part of the travel, but the canal was from the start kept full of business. The Ohio river furnished an immense amount of produce for transportation east, and carried off to the west the vast shipments of merchandise for western consumption. The canal has long since passed out of use, but in its day it was of untold advantage to Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania. This city grew very slowly from 1800 to 1817. A great depression then set in, caused by the reaction from the war of 1812 and the want of an adequate tariff. In 1817 many factories stopped, and until 1821 there was a continual downward tendency in business and property. The depression appears to have culminated in 1821. In 1825–26 there was a partial rally, which continued, fitfully, until 1830. The opening of the canal, and the consequent renewed activity in the carrying-trade, infused new life into the business of the city, and from 1830 forward, excepting the depression of 1837–42, her career has been steadily onward; much of this, but not all of it, is due to the opening of a through transportation line to the east. Railroads have more than supplied the suspension of canal traffic; but Pittsburgh can never fail to look back with gratitude to the time when the opening of the canal lifted her out of the slough of despond

Another item in the line of transportation needs mention here before we recur to the railroads; we mean steamboat navigation. Like the canal, this, too, has nearly passed away, the railway having supplanted both the steamboat and the canal-boat; but while it lived it was an immense item in the total of the prosperity of Pittsburgh. John McKinney, who was a prisoner at Fort Duquesne in 1756, notes the arrival at the fort of thirty batteaux, which had come up the Ohio from the Mississippi, laden "with pork, flour, brandy, peas and Indian corn;" but these batteaux were not built at Pittsburgh. In 1761 James Kenney, a trader at Fort Pitt, states that William Ramsey had built a double-keeled boat, propelled "by an engine that goes with wheels enclosed in a box, to be worked by one man" treading on treadles; but while this was an approach to the paddle-wheeled steamboat, it was a long way from the steamboat itself, and led to nothing practical.

Many vessels were built and sent down the river from 1801 to 1811, but they were all sailing-vessels, and could not return. But the fact that they were built and fitted out here demonstrates not only the importance of the Ohio as a channel of trade, but of Pittsburgh as standing at the head of navigation, and as being then, and long remaining, the great gateway of the west.

The applicability of steam to navigation was demonstrated by Fulton in 1807, but the first steamboat built was built by him at Pittsburgh in 1811. This was the New Orleans, 138 feet keel and of 300 to 400 tons burthen. "Her cabin was in the hold," says Thurston,* "and she had portholes; also a bowsprit eight feet in length, in ocean-steamer style, which was painted sky-blue. She was owned by Messrs. Fulton, Livingston and Roosevelt, and her construction was superintended by the latter gentleman. Her cost was $40,000. She was launched in March, and descended the river to Natchez in December, at which point she took in her first freight and passengers, and thence proceeded to New Orleans on the 24th of the same month. She continued to ply between New Orleans and Natchez until 1814, making the round trip in ten days, conveying passengers at the rate of $25 up and $18 down. On her first year's business she cleared $20,000, net. In 1814 she was snagged and lost near Baton Rouge." Fulton, who crossed the mountains with some Kentuckians while his boat was building, was full of the idea of what steam could do, and boasted of it so much that they laughed him to scorn. He is then reported to have predicted that the day would come when carriages would be drawn over the Allegheny mountains by steam. This, of course, only made them laugh the wilder, and reminds one of the story told of James Burns on the same subject. Burns had been canal commissioner, and was a prominent contractor, but somewhat incredulous as to the power of steam to surmount the heights of the Allegheny mountains. Meeting J. Edgar Thomson, then engineer of the Pennsylvania railroad, at Hollidaysburg, before the road had been built over the mountains, he asked the engineer how many miles an hour they made over the part already constructed, and being told, he inquired further how many

* "Pittsburgh in the Centennial."

hours it would take from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh when the road was completed. "Fifteen," Thompson answered. "And then I *knew*," said Jimmy, "that he was a raving idiot!" Burns is dead now, but he lived to see it done in nine hours. People were just as incredulous in 1852 as in 1811.

The Comet, a stern-wheeler, 25 tons, was built here in 1812–13; the Vesuvius and Etna in 1813–14. The Enterprise, 45 tons, was built in 1814. In 1816 the Franklin, 125 tons, the Oliver Evans, 75 tons, and the Harriet, 40 tons, were built here. The Expedition, 120 tons, and the Independence, 50 tons, were built in 1818, and the Western Engineer in 1819. For a long time after steamboats began running the conviction was general that they could navigate very well down-stream, but could never stem the Mississippi above Natchez nor overcome the rapidity of the Ohio; but Capt. Shreve brought the Enterprise back from New Orleans to Louisville in 1817, and the Washington shortly afterward repeated the experiment successfully. This convinced the incredulous public that the rivers could be navigated by steamboats up-stream as well as down, and as soon as this conviction got a good hold of the public mind the work of boat-building began in earnest. From 1811 to 1835 there were built 197 boats at Pittsburgh, 22 at Brownsville and 7 at Beaver. In 1836 there were 61 boats built here, making 287 boats in all in twenty-five years, the bulk of them having been built from 1825 to 1836. In 1837 there were 63 steamboats running in regular lines to this city. In 1846 there were 63 boats built here; from 1852 to 1856 the number built here was 362; and 84 were built in 1857. From 1857 to 1875 no less than 649 boats were enrolled as built here. From 1875 to the present time the number built yearly has been steadily decreasing, the navigation of the Ohio being now confined mainly to a few local steamers plying from here to Brownsville, and from here to Cincinnati, and to the steamers engaged in towing coal to Cincinnati, Louisville and New Orleans. The tonnage of this coal business far exceeds that of the ordinary freight-steamers in the best of times, but it does not require so many steamers.

The large number of steamboats built here and trading here shows the great importance of the navigable waters of the west to the trade of Pittsburgh in times past. The railroads do not carry freight so cheaply as steamboats, but they carry it much more quickly, and so get it into market sooner and more surely. Hence shippers prefer the cars to the steamers, and the freight that used to employ over one hundred steamers constantly now glides into the city by rail, and passes east mainly without transshipment. The time may come, and it probably will, when the cost of carrying freight will enter more largely into mercantile calculations, but for the present the steamer scarcely enters as an integer into the sum total.

The Monongahela river was first navigated by steam in 1825. A steamboat was then put upon it to ply between this city and Brownsville, but it was only wnen the river was swollen by rains that it was navigable. In midsummer it went nearly dry, and Milner Roberts, a distinguished civil engineer, estimates,

after a careful examination of it, that in a dry time all the water it furnished would flow through a two-inch pipe. In midwinter it was frozen over; so that it was only in the spring and fall that the river was navigable. But spring and fall were the traveling seasons; and many availed themselves of this route to connect with the National road at Brownsville, whence it was but a short transit to Cumberland, to which point the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was early built (in 1846). It was probably this fact, together with the growing importance of the coal-veins cropping out all along the Monongahela, that led to the formation, in 1836, of the Monongahela Navigation company, by which the river was made navigable the year round. The first suggestion of improving the river was made by E. F. Gay, a civil engineer in the employ of the state, in 1828. He made a survey of the river, and recommended its improvement by means of locks and dams; but the state was then burdened with the canal debt, and nothing came of this recommendation. In 1832 Hon. Andrew Stewart, of Fayette county, made an effort in Congress to have the river improved by the United States, and made to connect with that great highway, the National turnpike, which crossed the river at Brownsville. As a consequence a survey was ordered, and made in 1833 by Dr. William Howard, United States civil engineer. He proposed a series of eight dams, four and a half feet high, except No. 1, which was to be six feet, the object being to use them only when the river was low. But Congress was as unwilling as the state legislature, and the proposition failed. Finally, in 1836, by the act of March 31, a company was chartered by the state, known as "The Monongahela Navigation Company," to slackwater the river by locks and dams from Pittsburgh to the Virginia state line, and as much farther as Virginia would allow it to go. The capital stock was to be $300,000, in shares of $50 each, and as much more as might be needed. The United States bank, in its state charter, was required to subscribe $50,000 at first, and $50,000 more when $100,000 was subscribed by others. The state, in 1838, subscribed $25,000, and in 1840 $100,000 more. The charter was issued in 1837, and in that year the company began work, based on the following subscriptions of stock:

Citizens of Allegheny county, 948 shares	$47,400
Citizens of Fayette county, 508 shares	25,400
Citizens of Washington county, 20 shares	1,000
Citizens of other counties, 86 shares	4,300
Monongahela bank, Brownsville, 100 shares	5,000
United States bank, of Pennsylvania, 1,000 shares	50,000
	$133,100
To which the state added in 1838 and 1840	125,000
	$258,100

This, until the work was completed to Brownsville, was its entire capital stock, and much of this was never realized. The United States bank broke, and the second subscription of $50,000 was never paid. The state paid her

subscription of $100,000 in bonds, which were sold at a loss, and many individuals failed to pay from inability, the terrible panic of 1838 having intervened, much to the loss of the company. Yet it went on with its work promptly. W. Milner Roberts was chief engineer, with Nathan McDowell and Robert W. Clark, assistants. The distance to Brownsville was found to be fifty-five and one-half miles, and from Brownsville to the state line thirty-five miles. The ascent to Brownsville was thirty-three and one-half, and to the state line forty-one feet more. The dams were at first fixed to be four and one-half feet high, but this would make seventeen dams necessary, and the dams were afterward fixed at eight and ten feet. Dams Nos. 1 and 2 were finished and in use in 1841. Nos. 3 and 4 were begun, but work was suspended for want of funds. In 1843 the state sold its stock in the company at a low figure, which brought men of capital into the corporation, and by their aid the work was completed to Brownsville in 1844–45, where it ended for some years. The Pennsylvania railroad was not opened until 1852, and up to that period the navigation company had a good thing of it in accommodating the trade that flowed over it from the Baltimore & Ohio road at Cumberland. In 1853 the coal traffic had begun to develop, and from that period to the present has been the main item in the company's business. The terrible debt which hung over it in 1843 was soon extinguished, and the stock of the company is now among the best in the market. In 1854 Dams Nos. 5 and 6 were put under contract, but Dam No. 7, to carry the work to the state line, was, by an understanding with the people of Virginia, not to be undertaken until the Virginians should construct other dams, beyond the state line, sufficient to carry the navigation to Morgantown, Va. In later years the United States has built the dams in Virginia, and No. 7 has been accordingly completed, but the business above Brownsville has never yet paid more than expenses. In the meantime the coalmen are clamoring for free locks on the river, and it is proposed that the United States shall buy the works from the company, and so make the navigation free. This will undoubtedly be done ultimately, and the United States will thus, say in 1890, be compelled to do what Andrew Stewart urged her to do in 1830. It might have cost the national government $500,000 then; it will cost nearer $5,000,000 now.

There was also a company chartered to slackwater the Youghiogheny, and two dams and locks were built in 1851; but the Youghiogheny is a rapid stream, with many falls, and very crooked, so that the great flood of 1865 swept both locks and dams away, and they have never been rebuilt. The immense coal-beds of that stream are well worked, the bulk of the coal mined being converted into coke, for which it is specially fitted. The coal and coke of this region, however, all finds its way to market by rail, the country being traversed in all directions by four separate railroad lines, all of which find plenty to do.

An item in the account of transportation must not be omitted here—the bridges. From 1764 to 1819 the only way of crossing the rivers was by ferry.

The first ferry is said to have been from the foot of Ferry street (whence its name) to a point opposite; but later on, in the early part of the present century, Jones' ferry, from the mouth of Liberty street, was established. Up to near 1840 the only way of crossing was by skiff for foot passengers and by flat for horses and teams. The flats were pushed across by poles when the river was low enough, and propelled by oars when the river was high. About or before 1840 horseboats were introduced, blind horses tramping on a horizontal wheel forming the propelling power. Some years afterward Capt. Erwin established a steam ferry-boat, from a point below the Point bridge to Penn street, but it did not succeed then. In after years the Joneses abandoned the ferry at Liberty street, and established a steam ferry from Saw-Mill run to Penn street. This continued until the Point bridge was built. Indeed, there would have been no business for a ferry on the Monongahela at all, after the Smithfield street bridge was built, but for the fact that it was so far up the river. The Liberty street ferry was a short cut into the city, and intercepted nearly all the South Side business that came from below the bridge.

There was also a ferry at St. Clair (now Sixth) street to Allegheny, connecting St. Clair street with the Franklin road, now Federal street. The building of the St. Clair street bridge put an end to its existence.

The Smithfield street bridge was opened in 1818, and the St. Clair street bridge in 1820. Both bridges were chartered in 1810, but these charters lapsed, and new ones were got in 1816. Both bridges were of wood, and roofed, after the style of the present Hand street bridge over the Allegheny, and both were dismal places at night, lighted only by oil-lamps, which went out about midnight. In 1830 or 1831 two spans of the Monongahela street bridge, the two next the northern side, fell down, but fortunately there was nothing on them at the time but a loaded coal-wagon, drawn by four horses, which was precipitated into the river and lost. When the flood of 1832 came, these two spans were still down, and there were some ill-natured souls, disgusted, probably, by having to cross the dark and dusty concern after dark, who prayed heartily that the river might rise high enough to carry off the remaining spans; but it did not, though it came within a few feet of it. The fallen spans were afterward replaced, and the bridge stood until 1845, when the great fire swept it completely away in a brilliant flash of light. The late Mr. Roebling undertook to rebuild it as a suspension bridge, using the old piers for supporting the cables; and this bridge stood until 1885, when it was replaced by the present elegant structure. For many years after it was built, the old bridge failed to pay much to its stockholders, it being too far up the river to catch the bulk of the then South Side travel; but when the South Side, above the bridge, began to fill up with population, the bridge became, and has ever since continued, a good-paying institution. There was a steam ferry to Birmingham from the foot of Grant street for awhile, but it disappeared long ago.

The St. Clair street bridge has always paid well, and the old structure lasted until 1860, when the present splendid suspension bridge took its place. It, too, was built by Mr. Roebling, and so substantially that when, a few years ago, the cables were carefully overhauled and tested they were found nearly as sound as when originally put in. The toll on both these bridges was originally two cents for men, women and children, but was finally cut down to one cent for men, and women free. The yearly toll for a family is four dollars. Low as these rates are, many workingmen feel they are burdensome, and an agitation for free bridges has set in, which will probably be successful at an early day. Toll-bridges in the heart of a city can hardly be maintained long.

The state, when it built the canal, brought it over the Allegheny into Pittsburgh at Eleventh street, over an aqueduct. This was in 1829. Foot-passengers were allowed to cross it on payment of the usual toll of two cents. In 1843, or thereabout, one pier of the aqueduct gave way, and it had to be abandoned. Pittsburgh, despairing at losing the canal trade, urged the state to rebuild it; but the state was too poor, and finally authorized the city to rebuild it, and repay itself with the tolls. The city did rebuild it, but the tolls never repaid the cost of its construction. It was rebuilt by Mr. Roebling, who strung wire cables across the river to support it. As the canal was abandoned in 1854, the aqueduct soon fell into decay. The present bridge of the Fort Wayne railway is about half a square below the old aqueduct.

The Hand street bridge was built in 1837; the Mechanic street bridge in 1838; the Ewalt street bridge about 1868; the Sharpsburg bridge in 18—, and the Seventh street bridge in 1884. The Union bridge, at the Point, connecting Allegheny and Pittsburgh, was built in 1876, and the Point bridge, to the South Side, in 1880. The Tenth street bridge, to Birmingham, on the Monongahela, was built in 18—. The Tenth street, Union, Hand street and Mechanic street bridges are all of the old covered kind, while the Smithfield street, Point, St. Clair street and Seventh street are suspension bridges, all of different styles. There are, besides, four railroad bridges, two across each river, and one is projected over the Ohio from Cork's run to Allegheny City at or near Wood's run.

Last, but not least, are the railroads—the last to come and probably the longest to stay. No city in the Union has a more complete connection with all parts of the country, north, south, east and west, than Pittsburgh. So complete is it that, although she has three rivers at command, with a system of water navigation reaching out to nearly all parts of the south and west, as well as with the north and the lakes, the railroads have absorbed the great bulk of travel and trade, nothing but coal and a few items of heavy freight seeking the water-courses. The contrast between 1788, when freight cost $6.67 per hundred pounds, and 1888 is something marvelous. The packhorses of 1788 could not carry as much in ten years as the Pennsylvania road now carries in a day.

The desire for a railroad connection with the east broke out here at an early date. Railroads began about 1826, but did not spread rapidly. It was 1842 before the Baltimore & Ohio road reached Cumberland, Md., and the Pennsylvania road was not begun until 1848. Naturally, the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, being only 150 miles to the southeast, first attracted attention. It was within reach before the Pennsylvania road was begun. It first attempted to reach the Ohio by passing through Western Pennsylvania; and if Pennsylvania had not been struck with judicial blindness at that time, the right-of-way would have been granted her. Philadelphia saw, or thought she saw, that if this road was permitted to enter the state a connection with Pittsburgh would be as certain as it would be easy, and western trade would thus be diverted from Philadelphia to Baltimore. So the Baltimore & Ohio road was driven to hew its way through the rough hills of West Virginia to Wheeling. The legislature of this state, acting then under the constitution of 1838, was in the habit of passing what were called "omnibus" bills; that is, toward the close of the session, when a bill was under consideration, other bills would be tacked on as amendments, until this one bill comprised fifteen or twenty other bills, all of differing character. It happened, when a bill for opening or vacating a street in Erie was before the house, Mr. Darsie, of Allegheny county, offered as an amendment a bill incorporating the Pittsburgh & Connellsville railroad. This bill conferred power, really, to construct a road from Pittsburgh to Cumberland. As was usual in such cases no one was paying any attention, the Philadelphians least of all, and the amendment was tacked on without objection. The bill passed and became a law, and it was not until the session was over that the Philadelphians discovered the interpolation, and it was then too late to apply a remedy. Under this bill the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad company was organized, and the road was built and is operated under it, although it is only a branch of the Baltimore & Ohio. Progress under it, however, was very slow, and many stockholders, sick with hope deferred, withdrew their subscriptions and put the money into the stock of the Pennsylvania & Ohio road, a company chartered by Pennsylvania and Ohio to build a road from Pittsburgh to the Indiana state line. It is now the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago railway.

In the meantime Philadelphia, stirred by the successful effort to overreach her in the interest of Baltimore, determined on organizing the Pennsylvania railroad. It was begun in 1848, and completed, all but the mountain section, in 1852, but locomotives could not run all the way through till 1854. In the meantime the Pennsylvania & Ohio road was begun, and the Cleveland & Pittsburgh. The latter was to begin at Rochester, pass along the Ohio to Wellsville, and from there to Cleveland, crossing and connecting with the Pennsylvania & Ohio at Alliance, Ohio. These two roads, together with the Pittsburgh & Erie, also beginning at Rochester and running north to Erie, the Pittsburgh & Steubenville, now the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis,

J. J. Booth

and the Pittsburgh & Washington, now known as the Chartiers road, are all operated together under a corporation known as the "Pennsylvania Company."

The Pittsburgh & Steubenville was begun as a separate road, to connect at Steubenville with the Steubenville & Indiana road, but the panic of 1858 bankrupted both of these and the Chartiers. They were afterward consolidated into one line, and completed, in 1866, as the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis railway.

The Allegheny Valley railway was begun and carried on for awhile under Pittsburgh auspices, but gradually fell into the hands of the Pennsylvania railroad. The Pittsburgh, Virginia & Charleston railway was begun in the same way, but eventually suffered a like absorption. The West Pennsylvania, extending from Allegheny City to Bolivar, on the Pennsylvania railroad, was built by the latter on the site of the old canal after it was abandoned.

The Pittsburgh & Lake Erie begins at the south end of the Monongahela bridge, and runs on the south of the Ohio to Beaver, where it crosses, and terminates at Youngstown, Ohio, where it connects with a congeries of roads running in all directions, forming connections with Buffalo, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati and all western and southern points. The Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Youghiogheny railroad, running from Pittsburgh to Connellsville, is a branch of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie. The Pittsburgh & Western railroad begins in Allegheny City, and runs thence through Butler and New Castle to Youngstown, Ohio.

We have thus a network of railroads occupying every open route in reaching Pittsburgh, and extending to every point of the compass:

Pennsylvania railroad, to Philadelphia, connecting with Baltimore, Washington and the south, and with Erie and the north at Harrisburg, and with New York and the east at Philadelphia; Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, connecting with all points northwest at Chicago; Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, connecting with Louisville & Nashville at Cincinnati, and with the south and southwest at St. Louis; Chartiers railway, to Washington, Pa.; branch of Baltimore & Ohio, to Washington, Pa.; Baltimore & Ohio, connecting with all points south and west; Allegheny Valley railroad, to Oil City, Titusville and Buffalo; West Pennsylvania, from Allegheny City to Bolivar, Pa; Pittsburgh & Western, from Allegheny City to Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, from South Side to Youngstown, Ohio, with connections to all points; Pittsburgh, Virginia & Charleston, to Brownsville; Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Youghiogheny, Pittsburgh to Connellsville; Cleveland & Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh to Wheeling and Cleveland; Pittsburgh & Erie, from Pittsburgh to Erie; Pittsburgh & Ashtabula, part of Fort Wayne route, extends from Homewood to Ashtabula, Ohio, through Warren, Ohio.

The Pennsylvania was aided by a $1,000,000 subscription from the county, the Ohio & Pennsylvania by $400,000 from Allegheny City and $200,000 from Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh & Steubenville, Pittsburgh & Connellsville, Chartiers & Allegheny Valley by $1,600,000 among them from Pittsburgh, and a considerable amount from the county. After the panic of 1857 these roads, except the Pennsylvania, all failed to pay the interest on the bonds issued to them,

and both city and county for a time repudiated all responsibility for the issues, but eventually compromised with the holders of the bonds by issuing new bonds at lower rates. The Pennsylvania road assumed payment of the county's million upon surrender of the stock; all the rest of the subscriptions were lost. But the loss has been more than made up to both city and county by the advantage to them of these roads. As long as the roads were unfinished it was a great burden to have to shoulder an unproductive debt of several millions; but now that the roads are finished, and are daily pouring wealth into the coffers of the city, the burden vanishes. Indeed, after it was once fairly shouldered it proved a very light burden, and if the panic had not temporarily impoverished this community, there would have been not even a temporary repudiation. The folly of issuing bonds to railroad companies was one indulged in by a great many counties in the western country, and nearly all went through the sad experience of this city and county. The disgrace, bad as it was, did not last long, and the people can now look back upon it with the profound consciousness that honesty is the best policy, for communities as well as for individuals. The financial credit of both cities and the county is now of the very best.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Floods—Disappearance of Smoky Island—Low Water—Fires—Conflagration of 1845—Relief Appropriations—Losses.

PITTSBURGH has been an occasional sufferer from floods, but the occasions have been few and far between. The "Annals of the West" mentions a great flood in 1789, which overflowed Marietta and the town of Symmes, at the mouth of the Little Miami, and demonstrated the superiority of Cincinnati as a town site over every other place on the Ohio. At Symmes' town the inhabitants took refuge at first in the blockhouse, were driven finally to the loft of that building, and thence they had to take refuge in a skiff. No mention is made of this flood in the annals of Pittsburgh, but it must have been as high as any of our more modern floods, and thus disproves the theory that they had no such overflows in olden times as we have now. The fact is that high spring floods were more common then than since, so common that when they happened no mention was made of them as of anything extraordinary. Brackenridge, in 1786, speaks of the flood-marks left on the trees as indicating spring freshets of thirty feet, which is higher than any modern record; but Brackenridge is given a little to exaggeration, and, having no tape-line to measure with, was driven to guess at the height, which was probably nearer twenty than thirty

feet. But the inside figure indicates very high rivers in the spring as a matter of annual occurrence.

There is a legend about a great flood, called "the pumpkin flood," which occurred either at the close of the last century or the beginning of this, which is always spoken of as sinking all subsequent floods into comparative insignificance. Like all legends, this story has grown by repeated transmission, and is exceedingly indefinite as to dates and measurements. No account ever yet written of it gives either the year or the height of the flood. It must have been in the fall, or there would have been no pumpkins to float, and it must have been at a time when the river and creek bottoms were well settled and cultivated, or there would not have been pumpkins enough to characterize the flood by their name. It therefore probably took place in this century. There was a second legend, current in 1832, that great floods happened every twenty years; if this was based on experience it would be safe to fix it in 1812. The period, probably, was from 1809 to 1812. There were no meteorological records kept then, and we are confined to the vague conclusion that it was higher than the floods of 1832 and 1852, and that it swept off all the exposed produce on the meadows bordering the various streams. Most likely it came suddenly and unexpectedly, and destroyed the hopes of many a farmer who calculated upon the corn-fodder and the pumpkins for the winter food of his cattle.

The next flood was that of 1832, and this, fortunately, was within historic recollection, for there are people still living who saw it, and remember it well. Its exact height, also, was marked upon the brick building just below Penn street, on the banks of the Monongahela. The winter of 1831 set in early in November. The rivers were frozen over in that month, and remained solid until February of 1832. The ferries were closed, and people crossed freely on the ice, loaded wagons venturing without danger upon it, and abundant use was made of it as a natural bridge by the country people, who made good use of the steadily cold weather to market whatever they could muster for sale or exchange. There was some snow, enough for tolerably good sleighing, but not enough, either here or on the mountains, to give token of a large spring freshet. Albach, in his "Annals of the West," p. 969, says: "A winter of excessive cold was suddenly closed by long-continued and very heavy rains, which, unable to penetrate the frozen ground, soon raised every stream emptying into the Ohio to an unusual height. The main trunk, unable to discharge the water which poured into it, overflowed its banks, and laid the whole valley, in many places several miles in width, under water. The towns and villages along the river banks were flooded in some instances so deeply as to force the inhabitants to take refuge on the neighboring hills; and the value of the property injured and destroyed must have been very great, though its amount, of course, could not be ascertained. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it had attained the height of sixty-three feet above low-water mark at Cincinnati."

The river is very narrow at Cincinnati, which accounts for this extraordinary height. At Pittsburgh the marks indicated a height of only twenty-four feet; but this was higher than any subsequent flood, except that of 1882, which excelled that of 1832 by two or three inches. That of 1852 fell short of 1832 about two feet.

Albach's statement of "long-continued and very heavy rains" as bringing on the flood is not strictly correct. The rain, which began to fall early in February, 1832, was a gentle, warm rain, not a "very heavy" one. It fell upon ground deeply and solidly frozen, and melting what little snow there was, ran off, as fast as it fell, into the streams, the frozen ground being unable to absorb any of it. The rain was protracted through several days, but could hardly be spoken of correctly as "long-continued," at least not in the region of Pittsburgh. Possibly the rains were of longer continuance in the lower part of the Ohio valley. They were continued here, however, long enough to swell every tributary of the Ohio river till each spread beyond its banks. The rivers broke up here, as near as the date can be fixed, on the 10th of February, and had begun to fall on the 14th. The whole of Allegheny between the first bank and the second, where the Fort Wayne road crosses Federal street, was covered with water, and all the river bottoms, along the Monongahela and Allegheny, to the bases of the hills. The Point, at Pittsburgh, was from four to six feet under water, and the water extended to St. Clair street, on Penn and Liberty. Wood street, also, was overflowed as far as Fourth avenue, and all along the shore of both rivers the water flowed over the banks, excepting where, as at Market, Smithfield and Grant streets, the banks were too high. A part of the Monongahela bridge having fallen a year or two before, all communication between the town and the South Side was temporarily cut off. Yet, beyond the flooding of cellars and lower rooms, no special damage was done to Pittsburgh. The people living near the rivers were inconvenienced for a time, and business was at a standstill for a few days; but a few weeks served to remedy all this inconvenience.

To the people in the country living near the suddenly swollen streams much loss did really happen. Hay- and grain-stacks were floated off; fences everywhere were swept away; many cattle and horses were caught in the flood and carried off; stables, barns, and in many cases houses, fell a prey to the roaring torrents, and many stories were current about cradles floating down the river with sleeping infants in them, and of houses full of occupants, who found refuge on the roofs; but the people who had skiffs, and were able to use them, were very prompt in rendering aid in all such cases, and experience has shown that one real instance of this nature gives birth to a dozen similar but apocryphal stories. Except where borne away in the night, all who were carried off were pretty promptly rescued.

The one material loss to Pittsburgh was that of Smoky island. In all the old pictures of Pittsburgh, Smoky island is depicted as extending into the

Ohio below the mouth of the Allegheny, and up that river to about a square below the Sixth street bridge. Brackenridge speaks of it as having a hill or ridge upon it, but this must have been on the upper end of it, and had disappeared before 1832. Prior to the flood the lower part of the island was still intact, and a year or two before some adventurous young capitalist had put up a large frame building upon it for a manufactory. It had hardly begun operations when the flood came; and when it had subsided factory and island were both gone. A small part of the lower end was left, and continued there for years, but subsequent freshets gradually wore it away, and now there is nothing left but a sandbar, visible at low water, to show that Smoky island ever existed.

The flood of 1852 came late in the spring, and did not rise so high, but it was dangerously near the high-water mark of its predecessor. But it subsided sooner. A gentleman who left here on the Cincinnati packet just as the river began to fall at Pittsburgh went on to Louisville and St. Louis, returning immediately. He met the flood at its height at Cairo, and when he reached Pittsburgh again the steamboat ran aground at Brunot's island. He was gone less than two weeks. The flood, as is the case in all floods, caught many people unawares, and destroyed a great deal of property, especially logs and sawed lumber; but all freshets have similar accompaniments, and this was in no sense an exception to the general rule.

There was an intermediate flood in July, 1874, but this was not a general flood, but the result of the bursting of a water-spout, which did its greatest damage on Spring Garden run, in Allegheny, and along the middle part of Chartiers creek, southwest of Pittsburgh. The water poured down in impetuous torrents, bringing up the little runs in a short time into small rivers, tumbling down their rocky beds and carrying destruction to all that was in their paths. In "Bulcher's," or Spring Garden run, the ordinary outlet of a usually very quiet stream was unable to carry off the immense body of water that came thundering down the gorge almost without notice. Both sides of the run being closely built up, the torrent had a fertile field before it, and left desolation behind it. Several lives were lost, and a great deal of property destroyed, but the flood was local, both in its destructive power and in its effect upon the rivers.

The flood of 1882 broke the twenty-year rule, and delayed its advent for thirty years. Nature has no fixed rule for either floods or panics. The lapse of twenty years between previous floods was a mere coincidence. An effort has been made to create a similar cycle in business depressions. The first was in 1817, the second in 1837, and the third in 1857; but the fourth came with the suspension of Jay Cooke, in 1873, thus destroying the uniformity of previous coincidences. It is safe to conclude that floods come when circumstances combine to produce them, and are not subject to any rule whatever. Several efforts have been made to base predictions of meteorological events upon vari-

ous meteorological cycles, but all have been abortions so far, and this rule about floods has proved a similar abortion. In like manner the conclusion that floods happen because the timber has been all cut away from the face of the country, so that the rainfall flows off the more rapidly, is demonstrated to be baseless. The floods of 1759 and 1832, as well as the "pumpkin" flood, all happened when the forests on the headwaters of the Ohio were standing intact; there was an interval of thirty years, between 1852 and 1882, showing that floods are less frequent than formerly; and as for periods of low water, there were years about the beginning of the present century when there was no fall freshet, and there was not enough water in the river to launch a barge upon. Some better theory than this will have to be found. The flood of 1882 was, like those which preceded it, a spring freshet; carried its usual devastation along with it; snapped the lines of rafts, and bore off logs and lumber to enrich the wreckers who live below us on the Ohio; washed off fences, stables, barns, stacks and outstanding produce; flooded cellars and parlors and dining-rooms, and stopped business along the water-courses for the time being. A great many who could took no precautions against it, and many who could not were victimized by their inability. It carried desolation into many homes, and brought some to the verge of bankruptcy. But just so it will be when the end of the world comes. The Son of Man, when he makes his appearance, will find men marrying and giving in marriage, buying, selling, trading, eating and drinking the same as if such end was never to be looked for. All unusual occurrences find men unprepared for them. Things go on as if there were never to be any changes in causes and effects, and as if the rule of to-day is sure to be the rule of to-morrow. But human nature, if it will not prepare for changes beforehand, very soon accommodates itself to them when they do happen; and hence, while these various floods have carried a great deal of destruction to individuals, society at large soon fills up any gaps that may have been made, and affairs go on as if floods never occurred, or were nothing wonderful when they do occur.

Pittsburgh has always had a good fire department, and has generally managed well in providing securities against loss by fire. Once, and once only, was she caught in a great whirlpool of fire. This was in 1845. After it was over a public meeting was held to take measures for public relief, and a committee, consisting of Hon. Cornelius Darragh and Hon. Wilson McCandless, was appointed to lay the case before the legislature. As the narrative they presented to that body is the best statement of the facts, it is hereto appended:

On Thursday, April 10, 1845, at 12 o'clock noon, a fire broke out in some frame buildings situated on the southeast corner of Ferry and Second streets. For two or three weeks before the weather had been dry, and high winds prevailed to a great extent. At the time of the discovery of the fire the wind was blowing fresh from a few points north of west. In a very brief space of time the flames had spread throughout the square, and communicated fire to one of the opposite squares. The wind continued to increase, and with it the conflagration extended until it enveloped at least one-third of the city in the

tempest of flame. The fire extended along Ferry street south to First street, consuming the whole square; it crossed from the south side of Third street to the north side, and burned that block, with the exception of one or two houses; it passed east on Market street, and consumed more than one-half the block between Third and Fourth; it passed up Third street to Diamond alley, and destroyed the larger part of the block between Fourth street and Diamond alley to the base of Grant's hill, and consumed all the buildings between Diamond alley and the Monongahela river. Its eastern course was arrested only when every house or building, with few exceptions, was destroyed. It passed from the city into Kensington,* and destroyed that town. The burnt district comprised most of the large business-houses and many of the most valuable factories. Intelligent citizens estimated the extent of the fire as covering at least one-third the geographical extent of the city, and two-thirds its value. The loss can not fall short of six or eight million dollars. The bridge over the Monongahela was entirely consumed. The magnificent hotel, erected at a vast expense, known as the "Monongahela House," is a ruin; cotton-factories, iron-works, glassworks, hotels and several churches are prostrated in the general desolation. It is estimated that not less than eleven hundred houses were destroyed, the greater number of which were buildings of a large and superior kind.

Gov. Shunk sent a message to the legislature, along with this statement. The legislature passed an act appropriating $50,000 for the relief of Pittsburgh, and exempting property in the burnt district from state taxes for the years 1846–48. The news of the fire also excited great sympathy for Pittsburgh, and the contributions for the relief of the citizens amounted to $198,740, besides large donations in provisions and clothing. This was a small sum to make up such a loss; but it came very opportunely for those people who had lost their all, clothing, furniture, etc., in the conflagration. The owners of real estate had to depend mainly on themselves for means to rebuild. The system of dividing fire losses among many companies, home and foreign, was not in existence then. As a consequence, all the insurance companies of Pittsburgh were broken up completely, and there were not banks enough in the city then to help much in the way of recuperation. Yet all did help manfully, and somehow the means for rebuilding were gathered up, and in a very short time the work of rebuilding was going on extensively.

The fire, like the similar big one in Chicago, began in an act of carelessness. Some washerwoman had built her fire in the yard, as more convenient than the house, and the wind carried the sparks to a frame stable adjacent. There was a great scarcity of water, the city then having but a small supply. The firemen worked nobly, but the fire had got a good start in a short time, and the wind carried it eastward faster than the firemen could put it out. When it got a good start it was practically beyond their control.

One life was lost, that of Samuel Kingston, a lawyer on the corner of Fourth and Smithfield streets. He probably went into the office to get some papers, and was smothered by the smoke before he could get out.

The fire extended from Water to Third on Ferry, then cut across to the northern side of Third, working over to Diamond alley between Market and

* Kensington was then the general name for what was also called "Pipetown." It extended from Try street east, between the bluff and the Monongahela river. It is now a part of the Sixth ward.

Wood. It crossed Smithfield at Andrew Fulton's house, between Fourth and Diamond alley, and crossed Fourth on Ross street, just south of the corner of Fourth, leaving, singularly enough, a combustible frame house standing on the corner of Fourth and Ross. The house is still standing, as is also the house which was erected after the fire and which marks its limit on Smithfield street.

The sight of the ruins was a melancholy one. On Water street, the site of the iron and glassware houses, the debris revealed great masses of iron melted into all possible shapes, kegs of nails reduced to useless masses, and lumps of glass mixed with nails, mortar and other rubbish. It was a mass of utter ruin, not a vestige of anything useful remaining, and the result showed how terrible must have been the intensity of the heat produced by such an extended fire.

The individual losses to real-estate owners ran from $20,000 to $60,000. The heaviest loss fell upon Lyon, Shorb & Crossan, owners of the Monongahela House, their loss being put at $60,000. Messrs. Lyon & Shorb also lost $15,000 on the stock in their iron warehouse adjoining the Monongahela House. Their factory, being on the South Side, escaped. The burnt section embraced a large part of the business portion of the city, but not the manufacturing part; Bakewell's glasshouse, the Novelty works, on Grant street, and the Kensington rolling-mill were the principal factories destroyed.

The banks and other dealers in money exercised great lenience and forbearance, and through mutual acts of accommodation the sufferers were enabled to tide themselves over the difficulties of the occasion. Those who had money to lend found instant employment for it, and those to whom money was due waited patiently until the current of business was resumed. It is astonishing how soon, apparently, a community gets over such a disaster. But it is only in appearance, for in reality it was a long time before the effects were removed. Outwardly, new stores and warehouses and factories took the place of the old ones, and the burnt spaces were mostly soon filled; but many a shoulder was sore for years with the heavy burdens assumed and carried along to the end. The recuperative powers of man are great when fairly called into action.

No great fire has occurred here since, and the fire departments of the two cities seem able to keep any fire from spreading far. London, New York, Chicago and many other cities have had to pass through the same ordeal, and Pittsburgh may therefore console herself that she is in good company. Every year, on the 10th of April, the fire-alarm strikes 1–8–4–5 on its alarm-bell, to remind the citizens of the time when they "passed through the fire."

B. L. H. Webb

CHAPTER XXVII.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Banking—The Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company—Insurance—Manufactures and Trade, 1804-13—Manufacturing Advantages of Pittsburgh—General Business—Statistics.

BANKING.

THE business of banking in Pittsburgh has been of slow growth, and was still slower in the beginning. There must have been private bankers, on a small scale, from the beginning, but as money was never plenty in the early

THE FIRST PITTSBURGH BANK BUILDING.

history of the west, the necessity for bankers was never great or pressing. Barter was the basis of business, and not money.

The first effort in the banking line here was made in 1804, by the Bank of Pennsylvania, a Philadelphia concern, which established a branch in Pittsburgh in that year. It began business on January 1, 1804, in a two-story stone building on the east side of Second street (avenue), between Market and Ferry streets. This was, at that time, the center of business, and was within the bounds of the town originally laid out by Col. Campbell in 1764. The business of the old town of Pittsburgh was concentrated between Ferry and Market streets, extending back no farther than Fifth avenue. The stone building occupied by this bank was a solid and substantial one, and lasted until the great fire of 1845 swept it out of existence. But for that calamity, it was stout enough to have stood until the present. The writer remembers it well, as do

all the old citizens whose memories run back as far as 1840. Of what success this bank attained to there is no record. Probably, as the branch did not last long, its success did not justify the effort of the parent bank. The branch was too far away from the stem.

The next effort was made in 1810, by the Pittsburgh Manufacturing company. This was not a chartered company, but a voluntary organization of Pittsburgh capitalists, its ostensible object being to foster Pittsburgh manufactures by timely loans. The organization shows not merely a disposition to use home capital for home purposes, but that Pittsburgh men had prospered so well as to be able to help others as well as themselves. Heaven, in this case, helped those who help themselves, for this movement was the basis on which the Bank of Pittsburgh was built up, a bank still in healthful and active existence. In 1814 the Pittsburgh Manufacturing company was merged into the Bank of Pittsburgh, the first regularly chartered and organized bank in this city. It was chartered in the winter of 1813–14, by the legislature, and was regularly organized November 22, 1814, with the following board of directors: William Wilkins, George Anshutz, Jr., Thomas Cromwell, Nicholas Cunningham, John Darragh, William Hays, William McCandless, James Morrison, John M. Snowden, Craig Ritchie, George Allison, James Brown and J. P. Skelton.

These are nearly all familiar names to men of fifty years ago. Craig Ritchie was afterward, and probably then, a Washington county man, and the other unfamiliar names are those of Thomas Cromwell and J. P. Skelton. William Wilkins was afterward United States senator, minister to Russia, secretary of war and member of Congress, and served the county also in the state senate. William Hays was a tanner, a member of the state senate, and the father of Richard T. Hays, at one time president of the Iron City bank. John Darragh was the father of Cornelius Darragh, a representative of the county in the legislature and in Congress. William McCandless was at one time prothonotary, and Judge Wilson McCandless, as well as W. McCandless, at present president of the Allegheny National bank, were connections of his. John M. Snowden and George Anshutz both have children and grandchildren still living here. They were all substantial and well-to-do men.

The capital of the bank, at its start, was nominally $600,000, but of this sum only $250,000 had been paid up as late as 1833, but in 1834 it was increased to $1,200,000. It is inferable that $250,000 capital was found abundantly sufficient for the first twenty years of its life.

On the 28th of November, 1814, the board of directors organized by electing William Wilkins as president, and Alexander Johnstone, Jr., as cashier. Mr. Wilkins was succeeded by John Darragh, he by John McDonald, and he by William H. Denny, who, in April, 1835, was succeeded by John Graham. The rest of the history of this bank we quote from Thurston's "Pittsburgh in 1876:"

In 1866 Mr. Graham was succeeded in the presidency by John Harper, who entered the bank in 1832 as chief clerk, which position he retained until 1850, when he became assistant cashier, and, on John Snyder's resignation in 1857, cashier, and, on the retiring of Mr. Graham in 1866, president, as above stated. This office he still fills, after forty-four [now fifty-six] years of continuous service in the same institution, more than three-fourths of the bank's existence, having filled all the official grades from clerk to president, being to-day the oldest bank officer in continuous service in the city.

The leading policy of the Bank of Pittsburgh has been to consider its liabilities, at all times, payable in specie, and to adhere to the avowed object of the "Pittsburgh Manufacturing company," whence it proceeded, to foster the manufacturing interest of Pittsburgh. It is claimed that, in no instance, has the bank coerced a loan in a time of financial difficulty.

The general impression prevails that the Bank of Pittsburgh never suspended specie payments. This is not precisely the fact. In 1837 it suspended, at the general request of citizens, expressed at a large public meeting; but the suspension was only brief, as, after a few days, specie was paid in special cases, to small amounts, and the bank soon resumed full specie payment. In the general suspension of 1839 the bank continued to pay specie on all its liabilities, and in the suspension of 1841, by the banks of the whole country south and west of New York, the bank continued as before to pay in specie. In the great crisis of 1857 the Bank of Pittsburgh still continued its policy of paying coin for its liabilities, and in 1861 again resolved to pay specie on its every liability, and in carrying out that resolve paid from December 30, 1861, to December 1, 1866, in gold, $1,374,939.

It is but fair to say, in explanation of this last statement, that after the national banking system was established, and it declined to become a national bank, it could not, legally, maintain its circulation issued under state laws, and hence accepted the alternative of redeeming its circulation in specie and retiring it. As a merely state banking institution, it has not now any notes in circulation, and has not had since 1866.

This bank declared its first dividend, 4 per cent, in May, 1815, having paid six dividends previously, as the "Pittsburgh Manufacturing company," and has paid regular dividends in May and November ever since. In November of 1888 it had attained the age of seventy-five years, having passed through the depressions of three wars and of five suspensions of specie payments without deviating from its original policy. It is still in the foremost rank as a sound, and safe, and successful institution.

There appears to have been another bank here, older even than the Bank of Pittsburgh. It was called the "Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburgh," but we can find very few traces of its existence. It had a capital of $450,000, and was in operation as late as 1817. That it did not survive is plain, and it did not become, like the Bank of Pittsburgh, an instance of "the survival of the fittest." George P. Smith, Esq., formerly a merchant of Pittsburgh, has kindly furnished the writer a sample of one of its notes. It is a ten-dollar bill, "A No. 41," issued to S. Hill, or bearer, and dated November 2, 1810. It is signed by John Scull, president, and M. Neville, cashier. Plainly it was in existence and doing business in 1810, and issued very neat notes for that early day; but it must have gone down in the depression attendant upon the war of 1812, and none of the wrecks it left behind have remained to this

day to bear testimony to its history. If Craig mentions it in his history, the mention is but a brief one.

To the kindness of Mr. Smith the writer is also indebted for the following copy of a memorial addressed to the managers of the United States bank at Philadelphia, asking for the establishment of a branch of that bank in this city. The memorial, with the signatures, is herewith given:

To the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia:

The memorial of the undersigned, merchants, traders and inhabitants of the city of Pittsburgh, most respectfully showeth:

That your memorialists, in common with their fellow-citizens of the western country, generally labor under great and increasing difficulties from the want of some general circulating medium by which they would, without ruinous sacrifices, be enabled to discharge their eastern debts, and to continue their mercantile and manufacturing establishments with undiminished capital. In consequence of the depreciation of the paper of the western banks generally, the course of exchange has, for a considerable time past, operated powerfully against the business of the western merchants, and compelled many of them to curtail their business, and some to close their concerns entirely, rather than risk their honest gains in commercial traffic, in the payment of a most exorbitant premium for the purchase of eastern funds in exchange for the paper which they are compelled to receive from their customers in payment of their debts. The establishment of your institution, it is fondly hoped, will put an end to this state of things, and restore the circulating medium of the country to the same condition in which it existed before the suspension of specie payments, provided that the aid which its extensive capital enables it to afford be equally and impartially extended to the different sections of the Union. Your memorialists deem it unnecessary to state the importance of the western country, in a commercial and manufacturing point of view, as the facts respecting it are fully and generally known; it is duly estimated by their commercial fellow-citizens in the eastern parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York, and the revenue drawn from it by the United States forms no inconsiderable item of the public accounts. Your memorialists, however, beg leave to state that the establishments made by your institution at Baltimore, Norfolk and Cincinnati (in addition to the original institution at Philadelphia) are entirely too remote to render any, the smallest, assistance to the merchants and manufacturers of the western parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, the northwestern part of Ohio and the Michigan territory, embracing an extent of country the most important, in a geographical point of view, in the United States, and equal in population, riches, extent, variety and importance of its manufactures to any separate state in the Union. The military depot, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, will, for many years to come, cause the expenditure by the United States of immense sums of the public money, the payment of which would be made with more convenience through a branch of your institution than in any other form, while the collection of the public revenue in so great an extent of country would be greatly facilitated, with equal profit to the United States and the citizens concerned; and which, with the deposits of money collected from the sales of the public lands in the northwestern part of the state of Ohio, would at all times form a capital fully sufficient to render the business of such branch, if established, profitable to the stockholders and beneficial to the community at large. The distance of your memorialists from the original bank and from the branches at Norfolk, Baltimore and Cincinnati is such as entirely to deprive them of the benefits which the more immediate situation of their eastern mercantile and manufacturing brethren enables them to enjoy, and which your memorialists believe they would wish them to participate in. The growing population, wealth, commerce and manufactures of this section of the Union, your memorialists believe, entitle them to your consideration; and the establish-

Graham Scott

ment of a branch of the United States bank, while it will greatly contribute to restore the circulating medium of the western country to its proper standard, and aid the United States in the collection of the internal revenue, will afford a liberal accommodation to the mercantile and manufacturing interests, as well in the prosecution of their extensive and rapidly increasing business as to increase their intercourse with the commercial capitalists of the eastern parts of the states with which they are connected. Under these impressions your memorialists pray that a branch of the Bank of the United States may be established at the city of Pittsburgh, with such capital and under such rules and restrictions as you may think find beneficial to the stockholders, and to the interest and prosperity of this important section of the Union.

A. Tannehill, H. B. Holmes, Armor & Wallace, Robert Herron, Bosler & Co., J. & N. Darragh, Richard Bowen & Co., L. Stewart, Doran, McCabe & Co., John Horn, Gilliam & Co., Andrew Wite; J. Whiting, agent for Pittsburgh iron and nail factory; Nich. Cunningham, Hugh Davis, Peebles & McKee, K. Bonnel & Howard, Abner Barker, Isaac Craig, Robert Simpson, Robert Getty, Daniel Wylie, E. Williams, Nathaniel Holmes, William Earl, W. Closey, Samuel Pettigrew, Hyram Badgley, Peebles, Tweedy & Co., Samuel Mackey, Bradly & Butler, William Kipner, John Davis, A. McAlpin, Joseph Thomson, Samuel & John Thompson, John McDonald, Walter Forward, Jacob Welsh & Co., Thomas Read, Christy & Liggett, James Wells, McKee & Co., David Greer, Francis Wilson, William Turney, Samuel Bern, Joseph Goulden, S. Bakley, Joseph Caskey, William Clarke, F. Brunot, Jr., Isaac Harris, William Hutchison, Carey & Wilson, Andrew Otthoff, Robert Wilson, John Hamilton, C. F. Adler, James H. Kattee, Francis Bailey, Jacob Negley, Francis Herron, William Hill, John D. Davis, A. J. Chittenden, William McKnight, Johnston & McClelland, Duval & Short, D. & J. Chute, F. & G. Algeo, James Walker, J. C. Johnson & Co., Benjamin Bloomfield, Daniel Boyle, Isaac Wickersham, James Brown, R. Graham, Cochran & Scottow, M. B. Lowrie, R. Patterson, George V. Robinson, S. V. R. Forward, James Jolley, William Moore, Jeffrey Scaife, Hazelton & Jones, Samuel Davis, Arthur Macoubry, James Gormly, A. Gormly, John Birmingham, Brown & Scott, Thomas Enoch, Thomas Johnston, James Sutton, William Montgomery, Thomas McDermot, Charles Martin, William Graham, John T. Reed, George Watson, Edward Patchell, John Jackson, George Reiter, George Mazurie, William Steele, John M. Snowden, Cramer, Speer & Eichbaum, H. R. Wooley, Sutton, Irwin & Co., A. Kneeland, Benjamin Darlington, John Gibson, Joseph Wiley, Jr., Thomas Taylor, McDonnell & Ekin, H. Bailey, John Little, John I. Wright, Joseph McCullogh, J. Torrens, J. McAdams, James George & Co., George Allison, Lewis Peters, J. W. Hunter, B. Troost, James Lanbie, Philip Mowry, Thomas Ingram, Alexander Smith, M. Stewart, Moses Twitchell, George Schwarts, Robert Cairns, Joseph Armitage, James McCracken, John Means, John Butler, William Caldwell, James McVicker, John McClintock, P. Gilland, Charles Wilkins, Jr., Robert Magee, R. Hilands, Joseph Davis, James M. Riddle, John Irwin, Henry Sutton, G. Fosdick, William Tait, John McCormick, Carter Curtis, Foster & Doan; Bolton, Encell & Co.; Allen & Grant, McClurg & McKnight, Anderson & Bell, Samuel Smith, Armstrong & Ewing, H. McClelland, C. L. Volz & Co.; Anshutz, Rahm & Co.; Aaron Hart, James Liggett, John McGrew, John Wrenshall, Thomas Gormley, Charles Plumbe, George Miltenberger, Christian Latshaw, John Phillips, Solomon Stoner, John Hodge, James Park, Packabury, Peppard & Co., C. Patterson, W. Blair, James Patterson, William Dietsch, William Hays, William B. Irish, A. Kirkpatrick, Mark Stackhouse, George Forrester, Mahlon Rogers, David Logan, James Holmes, James McCully, Stephen Barlow, John Gibson, A. Ernest, Charles Mayes, John L. Johnston, English, Alexander & Co., Thomas Cooper, Robert McElhinney, Jr., Henry Holdship, Fred G. L. Buhring, A. Humbert & Co., Thomas Duncan, John W. Johnson, James Crossan, Robert Cochran, John Jones, Arch Richmond, James Wilson, Walter Glenn, John Meek, P. C. McCombs, John Linton, Thomas Fairman, William Robinson, John McClelland, James Arthurs, James Miller, Andrew Watson; Bakewell, Page &

Bakewell; Jacob Beltzhoover, John Graham, William Semple, Bedwell & Co., William Moore, Henry Westbery, John G. O'Brien, Samuel Young, John Caldwell, Andrew Willock, A. Geary, John Hankart, James Cummings, Peter Beard, William E. Robinson, John Scott, Hugh Hazelton, A. & J. Sherriff, John Byrne, A. Brackenridge, James M. Huhn, Thomas J. Lea, Neal & Miltenberger, Cromwell & Dobbin, William Watson, J. & J. Wason, Charles Craig, Arthur F. Gore, George Robinson, Benjamin Kendrick, John Osborne, Jacob Carmack, Daniel Speir, J. L. McMillan, Gormly & Bell, Avery & Stevenson, Robert Alexander, R. L. Dunn, Ephraim Blaine, Scudder Hart, George Scott, William Church, John Poyntz, Andrew Johnson.

This memorial is indorsed, "Petition from citizens of Pittsburgh for a branch at that place, 1817." This fixes the date definitely. The petition sets forth fully the financial difficulties the people of this city labored under at that date. The currency, such as they were compelled to take, was bad, and as a consequence the rate of eastern exchange was high. To convert their depreciated currency into drafts on the east was a severe tax upon the merchants, and consumed all, or nearly all, their profits. The Bank of Pittsburgh had been in existence for three years, but appears to have been unequal to the occasion. The petition is valuable as showing the low commercial condition that followed upon the war of 1812. The signatures, too, are valuable, as embracing the active mercantile interest of the city. The reader will note among them the names of John M. Snowden, George Allison, William Hays, John Darragh (J. & N. Darragh), George Anshutz (Anshutz, Rahm & Co.) and Thomas Cromwell (Cromwell & Dobbins), all of them in the directory of the Bank of Pittsburgh elected in 1814; and this shows that it was not a movement against that bank, but one intended to supply what that bank could not furnish. The list also contains the names of Nathaniel Holmes, founder of the still extant banking-house of N. Holmes & Sons, established in 1826; Walter Forward, Isaac Craig, Ephraim Blaine (grandfather of James G.) and many others of note in the history of the city.

The petition was successful. The branch was duly established, and remained here actively employed until the charter of the bank expired under the war upon it begun by the refusal of Gen. Jackson to approve the bill passed by Congress for its recharter. The marble building on Fourth avenue, now occupied by the Mechanics' bank, was built by the United States bank, and was used by it until the charter expired, or until the state bank of the same name broke. There is no doubt that the establishment here of this branch contributed largely to the relief of the merchants of the city from the burdens of which they complained. The United States bank, whatever else may be said of it, furnished a good and safe currency, and was always available for a supply of eastern exchange, the great want, then, of the entire western country.

The next bank here was the Merchants' & Manufacturers' bank. It was organized in 1833, when Michael Tiernan was elected president. In the war upon the United States bank, Gen. Jackson removed the national deposits from it, and they were parceled out, for a few years, among several banks in

each state. The Merchants' & Manufacturers' bank became the recipient of the national money here, and was much helped thereby. The removal of the deposits from the United States bank to so many state banks, however, caused a great expansion of the currency, of which the government felt the bad effects when the panic of 1837 supervened. The result was the establishment of the subtreasury and the withdrawal of the national money from all the banks. The Merchants' & Manufacturers' bank was not seriously affected by this change of policy.

The Exchange bank was chartered in 1836, with William Robinson, Jr,. as president, who was succeeded in 1852 by Hon. Thomas M. Howe. The Mechanics' bank followed in 1855, the Iron City and Allegheny banks in 1857. There were no new banks started until 1863–65, when a shoal of trust companies, savings banks and private banking companies organized as national banks. The First, Second, Third and Fourth National banks of Pittsburgh, the First and Second of Allegheny, the First of Birmingham, the Farmers' Deposit, German, People's, Citizens', Bank of Commerce, Tradesmen's and Union were all so formed in these years, and all the state banks except the Bank of Pittsburgh. The other national banks followed in subsequent years; but from 1857 to 1863–65 the banking business was carried on by the five state banks and a host of private bankers and incorporated companies, issuing no notes.

In Thurston's "Pittsburgh as It Is," published in 1857, a list is given of thirteen private bankers then doing business in this city. As a matter of history the list is appended:

George E. Arnold & Co.. established in 1850; Arthur, Rodgers & Co., 1854; Harris & Co., 1848; Hanna, Hart & Co., 1846; W. A. Herron & Co., 1855; Hill & Co., 1845; N. Holmes & Son, 1826; S. Jones & Co., 1837; Kramer & Rahm, 1841; O'Connor, Bro. & Co., 1851; R. Patrick & Co., 1851; William H. Williams & Co., 1848; John Woods, 1852.

The following list of incorporated companies, issuing no notes, is also given:

Farmers' Deposit bank, Citizens' Deposit bank, Pittsburgh Trust company, Commercial bank, Dollar Savings bank, Allegheny Savings bank, Mechanics' Saving Fund company, Merchants' & Farmers' bank, Manchester Savings Fund company.

The Farmers' Deposit became a national bank in 1865; the Pittsburgh Trust company in 1863; the Citizens' Deposit became a state bank in 1857 and a national bank in 1864; the Commercial bank became first the Shoe and Leather bank, and afterward, in 1881, the Commercial National bank, and O'Connor, Bro. & Co. organized the Fourth National in 1864. With these exceptions, and those of N. Holmes & Son and R. Patrick & Co., among the private bankers, and the Dollar Savings bank, all the rest of the private bankers have gone out of business, and the incorporated companies have either died out or retired into comparative obscurity.

Thurston, in "Pittsburgh in 1876," gives the list of private banking-houses

at five at that time: N. Holmes & Son, established 1826; R. Patrick & Co., 1850; Robinson Bros., 1864; Semple & Jones, 1859; T. Mellon & Son, 1870. These houses are still in existence, and to them are to be added the names of Rea Bros., established in 1885, and W. A. Thompson & Co.

The present condition of the banking business in this city will best be shown by the following lists, which give date of incorporation or organization and amount of capital in each case.

National Banks.—Allegheny, incorporated 1865, amount of capital $500,000; Citizens', 1864, $800,000; Commercial, 1881, $300,000; Diamond, 1870, $200,000; Duquesne, 1875, $200,000; Exchange, 1865, $1,700,000; Farmers' Deposit, 1865, $300,000; Fort Pitt, 1879, $200,000; First Pittsburgh, 1863, $750,000; First Allegheny, 1864, $350,000; First Birmingham, $100,000; Second Pittsburgh, 1864, $300,000; Second Allegheny, 1865, $150,000; Third Pittsburgh, 1864, $500,000; Third Allegheny, 1875, $200,000; Fourth Allegheny, 1865, $300,000; Fifth Allegheny, 1875, $100,000; German, Pittsburgh, 1865, $250,000; German, Allegheny, 1868, $200,000; Iron City, 1865, $400,000; Marine, 1875, $200,000; Mechanics', 1865, $500,000; Merchants' & Manufacturers', 1865, $800,000; Metropolitan, 1875, $200,000; Monongahela, 1888, $200,000; People's, 1865, $1,000,000; Pittsburgh National Bank of Commerce, 1865, $500,000; Tradesmen's, 1865, $400,000; Union, 1865, $250,000.

State Banks.—Bank of Pittsburgh, incorporated 1814, amount of capital $1,163,650; Arsenal, 1871, $55,000; Masonic, 1869, $200,000.

Individual Banks.—Central, incorporated 1868, amount of capital $100,000; City Deposit, $50,312; Diamond Savings, 1869, $90,000; Fifth Avenue, 1869, $100,000; Keystone, new, $300,000; Nations for Savings, 1871, $100,000.

Savings Banks.—Anchor, organized 1873, amount of capital $57,350; City Savings, $100,000; Dollar, 1855, none; Enterprise Savings, $72,150; Freehold, 1870, $200,000; Farmers' & Mechanics', Sharpsburg, $135,000; Farmers' & Mechanics', $49,300; German Savings, Birmingham, 1871, $70,265; Germania, 1870, $150,000; Iron and Glass Dollar Savings, $100,000; People's, 1866, $300,000; Pittsburgh Bank for Savings, 1862, $75,000; West End, 1871, $62,600; Wood's Run, 1871, ———; Lawrence, $80,000; Odd-Fellows', $100,000.

INSURANCE.

There are in the city twenty-two insurance companies, organized under state laws, with a cash capital of $3,825,000, with $119,000,000 at risk. They all, with few exceptions, declared dividends of six per cent and upward in 1884, and paid $689,000 for losses. They all seem to be on a substantial basis and to be doing a safe business. The insurance companies of several other states have agencies and do a considerable business here, besides. By dividing large risks among a number of companies the loss by fire falls lightly upon each of them. The total assets of the twenty-two local insurance companies footed up over six millions in 1884, and their total income for that year was near $1,600,000. Notwithstanding the frequent losses met by the companies, their stock is a very general favorite for investment, though not so much so as bank stock. To show their general condition the following table is appended:

W. P. Hamphill

COMPANIES.	Capital.	Income.	Losses.	Dividends.	Risks.
Allemania	$200,000	$181,995	$77,588	$16,000	$12,876,350
Allegheny	100,000	26,554	12,310	8,000	2,111,148
Armenia	250,000	51,718	24,635	9,823	4,806,300
Artisans'	100,000	41,756	22,592	8,104	2,802,697
Ben Franklin	150,000	42,890	13,674	9,000	3,076,988
Birmingham	200,000	55,402	15,477	12,000	3,503,583
Boatmans	250,000	141,225	62,944	20,000	7,030,862
Cash	100,000	21,945	4,078	7,920	1,711,183
Citizens'	500,000	135,477	48,734	16,000	10,818,042
City	100,000	92,959	50,269	8,000	6,759,981
German	200,000	216,086	110,053	24,000	18,760,687
German American	100,000	48,219	13,462	6,000	3,654,204
Humboldt	100,000	29,909	9,930	6,000	2,498,175
Manufacturers' & Merchants'	250,000	54,721	11,628	22,500	4,922,246
Monongahela	175,000	28,638	5,461	11,386	2,038,880
National	100,000	37,118	13,875	8,000	3,603,706
Pennsylvania	200,000	133,868	65,710	15,622	9,699,014
People's	200,000	88,558	60,303	12,000	5,409,677
Pittsburgh	100,000	46,685	14,214	16,000	3,097,826
Teutonia	125,000	35,217	12,571	7,500	2,898,971
Union	100,000	22,924	12,803	2,881	2,279,079
Western	225,000	63,719	27,123	15,750	4,938,627
Total	$3,825,000	$1,597,583	$689,264	$272,486	$119,298,226

These companies have all been organized since the great fire of 1845. That fire completely wiped out every insurance company existing when it happened. Their offices were all in the track of the fire, and it swept away capital, assets, office-furniture and the safes, with what was in them. Insurance companies were never calculated for such a calamity as that. The present companies always keep it in mind, however, and guard, as well as they can, against its repetition. A portion of the risks above detailed, it must be remembered, are marine risks.

GENERAL BUSINESS AND STATISTICS.

The principal business of Pittsburgh, from the beginning, has been manufacturing. Nature pointed out the site for that purpose. Standing at the headwaters of inland navigation, and at the very gateway of the west, with fuel in abundance, and raw material accessible at all points, there was no spot in the west with equal advantages at the close of the last century, and at the close of this century it still maintains its old pre-eminence.

But manufacturing did not spring, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, full-orbed and well equipped. It was a plant of slow but steady growth. The demand was confined mainly to the west, and the west, for many years after the history of Pittsburgh began, was a wilderness. Ohio and West Virginia began to fill up gradually at the end of the last century, but the present century was well on in years before Indiana, Illinois and Michigan began to assume prominence. The west was poor, too, and the demand was restricted by paucity of means as well as by sparseness of population.

Manufactures, at first, were literally what the name implies, handwork. Tanneries grew up first; then the making of harness, saddles and other

articles of leather; blacksmith-shops were abundant, and wagon-makers' shops were adjacent. Shoemakers were as plenty as saddlers; carpenters and bricklayers, but particularly stonemasons, were in demand. Stone was plenty, and bricks scarce, hence stone houses were plentier than brick ones for many years. Hatters were more numerous than tailors, and clock- and watch-makers were plenty. The coal-mines in Coal hill were first worked in 1760, but the demand was confined for a generation to the wants of housekeepers, who, it is likely, found wood as cheap as coal, and much cleaner. The first distillery was started in 1770, but, though of small capacity, found an abundant demand for its product. Boat-building began in 1777, but was confined to the building of barges, flats and skiffs. The first paper-mill was started at Brownsville in 1796, and the first saltworks in 1784. Education and religion do not properly come in here as manufactures, but were necessary adjuncts. The first church was organized in 1785, and the first school in 1786. The first foundry started in 1790, but was more properly spoken of as a furnace. It was, in fact, a furnace, with appurtenances for producing castings as well as pig-iron. The fuel used was charcoal. It was not in Pittsburgh, but in Fayette county, where both charcoal and ore were abundant. The first glasshouse was put up in 1795 or 1796, and the first rolling-mill began operations in 1812. Albert Gallatin, however, was ahead of Pittsburgh as the pioneer of glass-making, for he began to make window-glass at New Geneva, some distance above Brownsville, in 1787. The old century, it will be noted, was drawing well to its close before manufacturing, in the modern sense, began, and the new one had opened before it attained any prominence. In 1804 Cramer's Almanac says: "Do not be surprised when you are informed that the aggregate value of the articles manufactured in Pittsburgh for 1803 amounts to upward of $350,000." That was a big sum for those days, and indicates how quickly the business sprang into activity.

But manufacturing was not, by any means, the principal business of the city for many years. Access to the east being difficult, laborious and slow, the traders of the west made Pittsburgh the center of their business operations. Hither came wheat, flour, grain of all kinds, bacon, peltries, furs, wool, potash, hemp, flax, flaxseed; and all other portable produce, including whisky and lumber, came in abundance down the Allegheny. All this was exchanged for dry goods, hats, shoes, saddles, harness, wagons, tinware, cutlery, iron and nails, guns, glass, clocks, furniture, and the thousand small things that go to the supply of human wants. The general jobbing trade of Pittsburgh has always been large and active from the beginning. For awhile after the railroads made access to the east so easy there was a lull in this activity, but, after a few years of jobbing in the east, country dealers found it as cheap and more convenient to buy their supplies in this city, and the jobbing trade is as active to-day in Pittsburgh as it ever was. There has been a fading out of the commission-houses, which received consignments from the west and southwest by

river, except what is needed to supply the local demand going east direct; but with this exception the general business of the city, outside of manufacturing, continues steadily to thrive and increase. There was at first, especially among railroad men, an idea that Pittsburgh business was confined exclusively to manufactures. The late J. Edgar Thompson, president of the Pennsylvania road, said to the writer, in 1858 or 1859, that Pittsburgh was no place for business. It was a market for iron, nails, glass, etc., but it was too dirty a place for dry goods and other wares to find a wholesale demand. He said this to justify the plan on which his road started out, to treat Pittsburgh as a mere way-station; but it is probable that he found out his mistake before he died, as have his successors. There are dry-goods and jobbing houses in this city doing business up in the millions yearly, and this is doing well for a place that failed to compare favorably with Philadelphia in the point of cleanliness.

Until the railroad system crushed out the cheaper but less expeditious method of transportation by water, the business of boat-building was one of the chief industries of Pittsburgh. The first steamboats on the western waters were built here. In 1818 there were 22 steamers on the Ohio and Mississippi, and 23 more building, 9 at Pittsburgh, 5 at Cincinnati, 5 at Louisville, 2 at Wheeling, 1 at Corydon and 1 at Maysville. In 1835 a list was published of all the boats built on the Ohio river from 1811 to 1835, and of this list 197 were built at Pittsburgh, 22 at Brownsville and 7 at Beaver. In 1836 the business took a sudden spurt, and 61 boats were built in this city in that year. In 1846 the number built was 63, besides keels and barges, and in the absence of specific figures it is fair to infer that the business was equally brisk in the intervening years. In 1852 the number built was 70; in 1853, 78; in 1854, 83; in 1855, 72, and in 1856, 59. Besides these 59 steamers, there were 49 keels, barges and flatboats built here in 1856, a total of 108, against 69 at all other points on the Ohio. In 1857 there were 84 steamers built at Pittsburgh, and from 1857 to 1875, eighteen years, 649 steamboats and 578 barges. The tonnage of the steamers was 155,243 tons, and of the barges, 100,883 tons. The business, however, had begun to fall off before 1875, and from that period to the present the construction of boats has been confined mainly to coal-barges and immense towboats for towing coal down the river.

The total tonnage of the boats thus constructed here up to 1875 could not have been much below 350,000, and the total value not below $40,000,000. From 1836 to 1856 the value averaged more than a million yearly, and from 1857 to 1875 it was nearly $22,000,000. This is a large item to drop suddenly out of the values of industry.

The first statistical table of the industries of Pittsburgh is given in Cramer's Almanac of 1804. It is for the year 1803. Considering that the town was practically less than twenty years old, the showing is a remarkable one:

Glass and glass-cutting, $13,000; tinware, $12,800; bar-iron, axes, hoes, plow-points, etc., $19,800; brass, andirons, still-faucets, e c., $2,800; cutlery, augers, chisels, hackles,

planing-bits, etc., $1,000; cut and hammered nails, $16,128; cowbells, $200; guns, rifles, etc., $1,800; clocks and silversmith work, $3,000; grain-screens, $120; scythes and sickles, $1,500; grindstones, tombstones, $2,000; cabinet-ware, Windsor chairs, etc., $16,700; carpenter's planes, $850; wagons, carts, etc., $1,500; barrels, tubs and buckets, $1,150; boats, ships, keel- and flat-boats $40,000; spinning-wheels, pumps, etc., $1,700; carpenter-work, $13,500; candles, soft soap, etc., $5,600; beer and porter, $4,500; flour, 1,400 brls. @ $6, $8,400; boots and shoes, $12,365; saddles, bridles and harness, $9,500; buckskin breeches and dressed skins, $2,300; clothing, price of labor only, $5,950; cigars, snuff and tobacco, $3,000; ropes, cables and bedcords, $2,200; mattresses, 19 @ $20 each, $380; dyeing, cotton and flaxen yarn, $450; carded and spun cotton and woven striped cotton, $6,500; linen, tow-linen and linsey-woolsey, $3,675; rag carpets, woven stockings, coverlid and diaper weaving, $1,900; weaver's reeds, $200; hats, wool, fur and chip hats (chip hats, $675), $14,675; leather, tanned, $10,000; brushes, all kinds, $2,500; bricks, 1,250 M @ $4, $5,000; crockery-ware, $3,500; mason-work, $10,500; plastering and painting, $3,500; books, printed, $1,000; total, $266,443.

Remember these are all home-made goods, not goods bought and retailed. The following are given as the principal items of barter in the trade carried on in the city:

Whisky, 2,300 brls. @ $12 per brl., $27,600; linen, 700, 28,000 yards @ 40 cts. a yard, $11,200; linsey-woolsey, 4,000 yds. @ 50 cts., $2,000; tow-linen, 9,000 yds. @ 25 cts., $2,250; twilled bags, 3,000 @ $1, $3,000; striped cotton, 3,000 @ 80 cts., $2,400; raw cotton, from Tennessee, 30,000 lb. @ 25 cts., $7,500; maple-sugar, 15,000 lb. @ 12 cts, $1,800; lake salt, Onondaga, 1,000 brls. @ $12, $12,000; castings, 50 tons @ $100, $5,000; bar-iron, 80 tons @ $160, $12,800; flax, hemp, oats, cheese, etc., say $5,000; total, $92,550.

The castings and bar-iron came from Fayette county, and should properly be in the other table, but both tables are given as in the almanac. If no other sugar were imported, the grand total of maple sugar, 15,000 pounds, would give but a small modicum to each family in the town. The tables given, however, are confined exclusively to home products.

In 1806 Cramer's Almanac felicitates itself upon the prospect of a cotton-factory, a foundry and a woolcarding-machine. In 1807 it mentions that the "town is growing rapidly in importance," and records the following manufactories: O'Hara's glassworks, annual product $18,000; Kirwin & Scott's cotton-factory; McClurg's foundry; Poter's, Stringer's and Stewart's nail-factories (for hammered nails), producing forty tons a year; two breweries, O'Hara's and Lewis', "whose beer," adds Cramer, "and porter are equal to that so much celebrated in London;" two ropewalks, Irwin's and Davis'; three copper- and tin-factories, Gazzam's, Harbeson's and Bamtin & Miltenberger's.

In 1810 there were three glassworks, producing yearly $30,000 worth of flint-glass, and $40,000 in bottles and window-glass; two cotton-mills, driven by horse-power, producing yearly $20,000; one foundry, "which lately cast seventy tons of cannon-balls for the United States; one iron grinding-mill; one white-metal button-factory, making forty to sixty gross a week; several factories of ironmongery, producing $15,000 annually; several nail-factories, producing 200 tons yearly of hammered and cut nails; one factory of bridle-bits and stirrups; six copper- and tin-factories, producing $30,000 annually.

These factories alone produced more than the entire industry of Pittsburgh in 1803, showing remarkable progress in so few years. Of the linen industry Cramer says that 52,800 yards of linsey-woolsey were produced in 1810, worth about $40,000, and that 80,000 yards of flax-linen were brought to the Pittsburgh market yearly. The manufactures of flax were then attracting much attention.

Concerning flour and whisky, the almanac says: "Of these articles a vast and unknown amount is made throughout the country. There is too little foreign demand for the former, and too great a home consumption of the latter." The old times were not better than the new in that respect.

Altogether, the town had made much progress since 1803. "Kentucky and New Orleans boats, keels, barges, skiffs, etc., are made on all our rivers." A new steam flourmill has been erected by Owen & Oliver Evans, with a capacity of 100 barrels a day, and Cramer says that within sixty miles of Pittsburgh "4,000 tons of bar-iron, 18,000 tons of pig-metal and castings and 400 tons slat-iron were made annually, and 60,000 pairs of boots and shoes."

In 1812 the almanac condenses from the report of the marshal who took the census of 1810 the annexed table of Pittsburgh industries:

1	Steam gristmill, using 60,000 bushels grain yearly	$50,000	
3	Carding- and spinning-mills, producing	14,248	
1	Flatiron-mill	2,000	
1	Button-factory	3,000	
2	Distilleries, producing 600 barrels whisky	60,000	
3	Chandlers	14,500	
4	Brickyards, make brick worth	13,600	
3	Boat- and ship-builders	43,000	
1	Ropewalk	2,500	
2	Foundries	40,000	
10	Silversmiths, and copper-, tin- and brass-factories	35,000	
3	Redlead-factories	$13,100	
6	Nailworks	49,890	
2	Wagon-makers	3,000	
3	Glassworks	62,000	
2	Potteries	3,400	
2	Gunsmitheries	2,400	
16	Looms, producing 19,443 yards cloth yearly	12,000	
3	Tobacconists	11,500	
6	Tanneries	15,500	
17	Turneries	34,400	
4	Cooperies	2,250	
	Saddles, boots, shoes and hats	144,485	
	Total	$625,773	

The factories, it will be seen, are not only increasing in number, but the industries are growing more varied and valuable.

In 1813 the glass-factories had increased to five, the foundries to three, and in new industries there was an edgetool-factory, a steam factory for making shovels, scythes, etc., Cowan's new rolling-mill just erected, Patterson's lock-factory, two steam-engine- and boiler-works, one steel-factory, and quite a number of smaller factories. In 1817 the city councils, by a committee, collected and published the following list of factories in the city:

BUSINESS.	No.	Hands.	Amount Produced.	BUSINESS.	No.	Hands.	Amount Produced.
Auger-maker	1	6	$3,500	Pattern-maker	1	2	$1,500
Bellows-maker	1	3	10,000	Planemakers	3	6	57,600
Blacksmiths	18	74	75,100	Potter, fine ware	1	5	8,000
Brewers	3	17	72,000	Ropemaker	1	8	15,000
Brushmakers	3	7	8,000	Spinningwheel maker	1	6	6,000
Button-maker	1	6	6,250	Spanish-brown maker	1	2	6,720
Cotton-spinners	2	36	25,218	Silver-plater	1	40	20,000
Copper- and tin-smiths	11	100	200,000	Engine-builders	2	70	125,000
Cabinet-makers	7	43	40,000	Gristmills	2	10	50,000
Currier	1	4	12,000	Saddlers	6	60	86,000
Cutlers	2	6	2,000	Silversmiths	5	17	12,000
Iron-foundries	4	87	180,000	Shoe- and boot-makers	14	109	120,000
Gunsmiths	3	14	13,800	Tanners	7	47	58,860
Glass-factories, flint	2	82	110,000	Tallow-chandlers	4	7	32,600
Glass-factories, green	3	92	130,000	Tobacconists	4	23	21,000
Hardware merchants	2	17	18,000	Wagon-makers	5	21	28,500
Hatters	7	49	44,640	Weavers	2	9	14,562
Locksmith	1	7	12,000	Windsor-chairmakers	3	23	42,600
Linen-factory	1	20	25,000	Woolen-manufacturers	2	30	17,000
Nail-factories	7	47	174,716	Wire-drawer	1	12	6,000
Paper-maker	1	40	23,000	Whitelead-maker	1	6	40,000
Total					148	1270	$1,957,166
Estimated by committee					111	357	700,000
Grand Total					259	1627	$2,657,166

This, being an official compilation, carries more weight with it than preceding tables. Compared with that of 1803, the progress is astounding; and 1817, it must be remembered, was just after the war of 1812, when everything in the shape of business was in a terribly depressed condition.

In 1825 the *Gazette* of November 19th enumerates 7 rolling-mills, 8 foundries, 6 engine-factories and 1 wire-manufactory. The glass product, in same year, was 27,000 boxes window-glass, $135,000, and flint-glass, $30,000. In 1829 the *Gazette* enumerates 9 foundries, 8 rolling-mills, 9 nail-factories and 7 engine-factories. The total consumption of iron in the mills was 6,000 tons pig, "and an equal quantity of blooms." In 1830 there were 9,282 tons of iron rolled and 100 steam-engines built. In 1831 there were 8 glasshouses, 4 window and 4 flint, "using 7,000 cords of wood, 700 tons sand, 1,000 barrels salt, 40,000 pounds potash and 150,000 bushels coal, producing about $500,000." There were also 12 foundries, with a yearly product of about $190,000. The following is the list of rolling-mills reported in 1831:

Mills	Weight metal used.	Value.	Mills.	Weight metal used.	Value.
Union	720,000	$43,000	Juniata	500,000	$30,000
Sligo	400,000	32,000	Pine Creek	457,000	34,100
Pittsburgh	782,887	86,544	Miscellaneous	360,000	28,200
Grant's Hill	500,000	20,000			

In 1837 there were the following factories in operation:

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Value Product.
13 Glass-factories	544	$681,000
6 Cotton-factories	900	770,000
5 Breweries	61	118,500
8 Lead-factories	.....	206,000
3 Ropewalks	107	250,000
9 Rolling-mills	1,000	4,160,000
18 Foundries, engine- and machine-shops	1,000	2,130,000
Miscellaneous	.....	3,290,550
Mercantile business of the city	.....	13,100,000
Commission business of the city	.....	5,875,000
Coal trade of the city	.....	565,200
Total	.....	$31,146,250

In 1857, twenty years later, Thurston, in "Pittsburgh as It Is," gives a volume of figures, which we condense below:

MANUFACTURES.

FACTORIES.	Value of Product.	FACTORIES.	Value of Product.
25 Rolling-mills	$10,730,562	5 Lime factories	$48,000
26 Foundries	1,248,300	1 Slate roofer	20,000
1 Cannon foundry	40,000	1 Stocking factory	50,000
16 Machine-shops	836,300	2 Match factories	10,750
7 Boiler-yards	305,000	1 Washboard factory	6,750
4 Shovel and ax factories	823,742	1 Porcelain teeth factory	5,000
2 Forges	224,500	1 Kid glove factory	6,650
7 Chain factories, 100 Blacksmiths	261,000	1 Alcohol distillery	450,000
1 Railroad-spike factory	250,000	1 Etherial oil factory	20,000
3 Safe factories	116,000	3 Linseed oil factories	71,500
3 Cutlery factories	30,000	2 Lard oil factories	60,000
2 Smut machine factories	40,000	2 Varnish factories	46,500
1 File factory	12,000	17 Tobacco factories	443,700
1 Boiler rivet factory	40,000	2 Paper factories	86,000
1 Sickle factory	30,000	5 Flourmills	864,500
2 Saddlery-hardware facts.	44,000	2 Spicemills	25,000
1 Rivet-mill	20,000	2 Whip factories	34,000
1 Wire factory	40,000	2 Saddletree factories	5,000
2 Gun-barrel factories	28,875	2 Coffee-extract factories	60,000
1 Gun and rifle factory	40,000	5 Potteries	33,000
1 Repeating pistol factory	15,000	3 Brush factories	40,000
2 Domestic hardware facts.	450,000	2 Bellows factories	10,000
3 Plow factories	192,000	6 Saddlery-hardware facts.	44,000
1 Lifeboat factory	10,000	4 Trunk factories	30,000
1 Copper rolling-mill	200,000	2 Patent leather factories	80,000
28 Copper and tin smiths	192,000	1 Woolen factory	5,000
5 Cotton-mills	1,269,655	1 Comb factory	1,000
3 White lead factories	443,390	1 Icechest factory	5,000
34 Glass factories	2,631,990	1 Bobbin factory	2,500
1 Stained glass factory	10,000	1 Broom factory	11,000
4 Looking-glass factories	170,000	1 Children's-carriage fact'y	6,000
10 Brass foundries	75,000	2 Box factories	12,480
1 Japan ware factory	60,000	2 Pumpblock makers	10,000
1 Britannia ware factory	18,000	6 Turners	55,000
1 Wire cloth factory	10,000	3 Ropewalks	117,451
3 Agrl. imp. factories	80,000	3 Upholsterers	70,000
		1 Oilcloth factory	75,000

FACTORIES.	Value of Product.	FACTORIES.	Value of Product.
3 Key factories	$166,000	7 Sawmills, 17 Lumber-yards, 8 Sash and door fact's., 9 Planing-mills	$3,241,000
2 Railroad-car factories	65,000		
1 Bucket factory	85,000		
6 Carriage factories	175,000		
29 Wagon factories	204,500	1 Compass factory	10,000
13 Tanneries	463,320	1 Gold leaf factory	25,000
27 Breweries	864,500	Coal	6,336,720
6 Cracker factories	114,000	Boat building	1,924,800
6 Marble-works	75,000	Saddlery and harness	181,000
16 Cabinet factories	503,000	Salt	130,000
8 Candle factories	960,000	Iron railings	52,000
1 Glue factory	7,500	Gilt molding	25,000

This list comprises a total of about $40,000,000 for manufactures alone. For the wholesale trade this table is given:

Groceries	$5,812,000	Hats, caps and furs	$250,000
Produce	3,244,000	Leather	252,000
Pig-iron	3,255,150	Books and stationery	225,000
Dry goods	2,843,230	Tin and metals	216,000
Clothing	960,000	Feed	214,000
Boots and shoes	806,000	Saddlery hardware	130,000
Drugs	725,000	Carpets	125,000
Rectifiers and liquors	731.890	Trimmings	111,000
Pork-packers	645,000	Straw goods	108,000
Hardware	615,000	Paper and rags	80,000
Jewelry and watches	375,000	China and queensware	75,000
Variety goods	284,000	Wall-paper	50,000
Confectionery	279,000	Bonnet factories	36,000
Soda	270,000		

Compared with the statement for 1837, these tables for 1857 show an immense stride for the twenty years. In 1837 the manufactures and coal trade footed up $12,175,550, and 1857 shows a total of $40,000,000. The other business of 1837 is given at $18,975,000, and this includes the retail trade. In 1857 the wholesale trade alone, exclusive of the retail trade and commission business, is about $23,000,000.

The next comparison is 1857 with 1876, the centennial year. Thurston, in his "Pittsburgh in the Centennial Year," gives a large surface of detailed statistics, but no condensed table of figures. We have condensed the following table from his figures in detail as carefully as possible, and can speak confidently of their general correctness:

MANUFACTURES.

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
34 Sawmills and lumber-yards	291	$1,370,000
38 Planing-mills, etc.	821	2,000,000
29 Carriage and wagon makers	400	479,000
11 Furniture factories	300	1,400,000
Carried forward	1,812	$5,249,000

Thomas M. Avery

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
Brought forward	1,812	$5,249,000
12 Coopers and stave dealers	340	1,500,000
5 Stair-builders	65	70,000
3 Wood-turners	20	75,000
2 Bellows makers	8	26,600
2 Coffin and casket works	240	430,000
1 Match factory	27	67,000
Total lumber and products	2512	$7,417,600
24 Window-glass factories	1200	2,500,000
24 Crystal or table-glass factories	1895	2,250,000
8 Vial and bottle factories	619	500,000
11 Green glass factories	944	1,350,000
9 Glass chimney factories	790	600,000
Total glass products	5448	$7,200,000

	Hands.	Bushels Coal.	Total Product.
76 Pits on Monongahela river	6,440	69,409,000	$3,270,450
6 Collieries on Youghiogheny	915	11,460,000	573,000
12 Collieries on P., C. & St. L. Ry	1,859	16,290,000	814,500
5 Collieries on Pennsylvania railroad	2,609	41,300,000	2,165,000
5 Collieries on Allegheny Valley	550	8,250,000	412,500
13 Collieries in and around Pittsburgh	1,481	13,660,000	583,000
7 Collieries on P. & C. R. R.	675	17,700,000	885,000
45 Coking concerns	3,471	72,632,000*	1,452,640
Total	18,000	178,069,000	$10,076,190†

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
11 Pig-metal furnaces	1,000	$3,000,000
33 Rolling-mills for iron	10,148	20,000,000
17 Foundries		
9 Stove foundries	1,936	4,300,000
11 Engine and machine shops		
3 Malleable iron foundries		
3 Steam pump factories	46	100,000
4 Builders' hardware factories	315	450,000
3 Saddlery hardware factories	285	400,000
3 Plow factories	150	650,000
4 Bolt and nut factories	800	1,280,000
2 Locomotive factories	716	1,250,000
2 Iron bridge factories	700	1,500,000
1 Railroad spike factory	225	750,000
1 Spike and rivet factory	35	150,000
5 Wrought-iron pipe factories	1,290	2,500,000
2 Cast-iron pipe factories	not running	
14 Boiler, tank and still factories	587	1,500,000
2 Chain cable factories	125	300,000
1 Anvil factory	20	50,000
1 Forge	40	40,000
1 Wire and rivet mill	30	60,000
1 Glossing and fluting-iron mill	10	30,000
Carried forward	18,458	$38,310,000

* Coke.

† This includes the amount consumed in Pittsburgh. It is impossible to separate this from the rest, but it probably amounts to fifty millions a year, or more, and fifteen million bushels of coke.

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
Brought forward	18,458	$38,310,000
1 Galvanizing works	16	50,000
1 Air-brake factory	120	400,000
2 Cornice makers	30	50,000
2 Machinery and manufacturing supplies		200,000
2 Wood-working machinery	90	150,000
45 Plumbers and gasfitters	200	650,000
6 Steam fitting	40	200,000
1 Gun-barrel factory	20	40,000
1 Carwheel factory	40	100,000
3 Iron railing factories	60	160,000
8 Sheet-iron, tin and copper workers	60	120,000
3 Safe factories	120	150,000
10 Steel factories	2,000	4,200,000
1 Steel rail mill (Braddock)	500	1,500,000
1 Railway steel spring factory	60	390,000
1 Spiral steel spring factory	16	80,000
1 Steel casting company	60	100,000
5 Steel tool works	430	545,000
1 File factory	35	70,000
3 Crucible factories	57	400,000
Total	22,412	$47,365,000
29 Oil (petroleum) refineries	514	4,936,369
6 Lubricating oil factories	103	210,000
3 Lard oil factories	15	180,000
2 Linseed oil factories	26	200,000
Total	658	$5,526,369
1 Lead smelting company (including silver)	80	$2,600,000
7 White lead factories	175	1,000,000
2 Copper-mills	100	650,000
10 Brass foundries	180	400,000
2 Britannia-ware factories	52	90,000
Total	587	$4,740,000
5 Cotton-mills	1,090	$1,050 000
2 Woolen-mills	58	125,000
Total	1,148	$1,175,000
4 Salt factories	34	110,000
1 Pottery	40	75,000
11 Marble-workers	162	290,000
1 Hydraulic cement factory	22	35,000
9 Firebrick makers	262	540,000
25 Building brick makers	499	327,000
1 Glass-sand factory	25	75,000
6 Sewer-pipe and terra-cotta factories	100	225,000
Total	1,144	$1,677,000
250 Cigar factories	1,000	$1,500,000
2 Tobacco manufacturers	80	125,000
6 Breweries (ale)	207	750,000
13 Breweries (lager)	100	360,000
5 Flourmills	80	900,000
4 Cracker factories	135	500,000
14 Tanneries	166	850,000
1 Glue, bonedust, etc., factory	50	60,000
6 Soapmakers	50	450,000
4 Broommakers	133	200,000
5 Brushmakers	50	190,000
Total	2,051	$5,885,000

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
4 Distilleries	120	$4,000,000
1 Architectural iron works	60	200,000
5 Proprietary medicine makers	230	1,300,000
2 Japanned goods factories	125	200,000
2 Enameled tin, etc., factories	115	150,000
1 Tar chemical factory	10	50,000
3 Glass mold factories	35	70,000
2 Glass pot factories	73	80,000
1 Woodenware factory	35	70,000
1 Gasworks factory	30	75,000
1 Agricultural iron factory	100	130,000
2 Stained glass factories	31	80,000
1 Plating establishment	9	30,000
5 Confectionery factories	49	460,000
1 Silver spoon and fork works	3	10,000
4 Harness and saddlery hardware works	71	250,000
1 Leather belt factory	8	20,000
5 Picture-frame makers	80	275,000
1 Showcase factory	7	25,000
1 Paper-bag factory	30	40,000
5 Paper-box factories	84	75,000
1 Cigar-box factory	7	10,000
Total	1,263	$7,600,000

RECAPITULATION.

FACTORIES.	Hands.	Total Product.
Lumber and products	2,512	$7,417,600
Glass products	5,448	7,200,000
Coal and coke	18,000	10,076,190
Iron and steel	22,412	47,365,000
Tobacco, flour, etc	2,051	5,885,000
Oil products	658	5,526,369
Sundry metals	587	4,740,000
Cotton and woolen	1,148	1,175,000
Salt, pottery, etc	1,144	1,677,000
Miscellaneous	913	5,885,000
Total	54,873	$94,662,159

WHOLESALE BUSINESS.

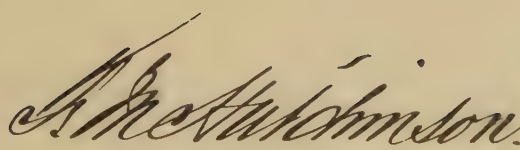
	Hands.	Value Sold.
10 Dry goods houses	144	$4,400,000
9 Hardware houses	78	1,250,000
4 Saddlery hardware houses	30	450,000
7 Boot and shoe houses	59	1,600,000
8 Leather houses	28	570,000
8 Notion and fancy goods houses	30	600,000
17 Liquor houses	99	1,925,000
9 Druggists	104	1,200,000
3 Wholesale clothing houses	450	800,000
3 Hat and cap dealers	27	250,000
3 Glass jobbers and dealers	15	300,000
4 Lamps, glassware, etc	40	350,000
6 China and queensware	30	300,000
21 Grocers	190	10,250,000
8 Pork dealers	40	2,500,000
6 Rag and paper stock dealers	90	330,000
10 Book and stationery dealers	60	860,000
9 Metal dealers	....	6,200,000
45 Produce dealers	....	5,920,000
13 Cattle dealers	64	33,980,000
Total	1,578	$74,035,000

GRAND TOTALS.	
Manufacturing business	$98,662,159
Wholesale business	74,035,000
Total	$172,697,159
Total for 1837	63,000,000
Increase	$109,697,159

The last table in this series is compiled by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce for 1881.

SUMMARY STATEMENT, showing for the year 1881 the class of manufacturers, number of establishments, number of hands employed in each branch of industry (exclusive of the retail industries), with the value of the manufactured products in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny and immediate vicinity:

No. of establishments.	CLASS OF MANUFACTURES.	Number of hands employed.	Value of product.
5	Agricultural implements	365	$675,000
3	Boots and shoes	405	467,000
12	Boilers, tanks, etc	776	1,450,000
16	Brass-founders	330	1,300,000
21	Brewers	429	1,895,752
18	Bottlers	162	430,000
3	Britannia ware	104	127,000
3	Brushes	65	142,000
4	Brooms	112	124,875
3	Bridges, iron	752	1,462,000
5	Bakers, crackers, etc	235	620,000
.....	Boating, rivers	3,260	2,400,000
67	Coal	17,962	12,208,306
60	Coke	5,659	4,423,559
2	Copper	120	975,000
4	Chemicals, acids, etc	511	1,283,583
35	Cooperage	723	1,153,000
3	Cotton-mills	873	785,000
5	Clothing, wholesale	565	1,021,000
13	Confectioners, wholesale	175	1,154,000
31	Carriage-makers	300	400,000
270	Cigars	984	730,000
3	Cigar-boxes	20	30,000
7	Distillers	268	4,470,000
5	Domestic hardware	416	500,000
35	Founders, machinists, etc	2,083	3,953,000
3	Flouring-mills	70	1,158,930
10	Fire-brick and tile	845	1,029,500
57	Furniture, chairs, etc	475	1,220,000
5	Files	40	20,000
59	Glass	6,442	6,832,683
5	Gold and silver plating	32	57,000
5	Guns, pistols, etc	59	257,000
6	Grocers' supplies	270	525,000
43	Harness and saddlery	170	450,000
36	Iron, rolling-mills	18,905	30,242,257
16	Iron, blast-furnaces	2,285	8,766,493
6	Iron railings and fences	85	204,000
884	Carried forward	67,332	$95,037,928



No. of establishments.	CLASS OF MANUFACTURES.	Number of hands employed.	Value of product.
884	Brought forward	67,332	$95,037,928
3	Iron roofs, cornices, etc	141	316,000
7	Lubricating oil	61	638,000
4	Lard oil	15	180,000
86	Lumber, etc	1,450	3,748,000
3	Looking-glass frames	40	150,000
7	Miscellaneous lead and iron	1,050	5,962,921
10	Miscellaneous manufacturing establishments	845	1,405,000
5	Nail-kegs	75	53,000
33	Newspapers	426	1,154,000
5	Paper-mills	535	1,345,000
80	Plumbers and gasfitters	297	507,200
5	Patent medicines	197	649,050
61	Printing	460	560,000
6	Paper boxes	80	90,000
23	Planing-mills	475	850,000
7	Pork-packers	150	1,000,000
6	Railway supplies	1,102	3,177,817
17	Steel	7,060	18,378,836
6	Saws and tools	834	1,345,850
7	Stoves	406	693,000
7	Soap	84	443,450
6	Salt and bromine	90	166,557
4	Safes, fire-proof	127	143,000
3	Steam pumps	60	110,000
4	Stained glass	50	90,000
4	Showcases	41	97,000
4	Sawmills and box-factories	80	210,000
11	Sawmills and barge-builders	330	1,050,000
10	Sash, door, box factories and planing-mills	320	680,000
14	Tanners	345	2,183,000
15	Tinners	276	868,000
3	Tobacco, plug and smoking	123	305,000
19	Upholsterers	123	457,000
8	White lead and linseed oil	306	1,672,000
3	Woolen-mills	50	100,000
1,380	Totals	85,436	$145,721,619

The summarized statement for 1881 gives the following totals:

Manufactures	$145,721,619
Wholesale trade	74,303,152
Totals	$220,024,771
Total for 1876	172,697,159
Increase	$47,327,612

The report of the Chamber of Commerce for 1884 gives the total of business for that year as follows:

Manufactures, mining and mechanical industries	$181,014,000
Commercial business, wholesale and retail	135,387,000
Transportation, rivers	2,000,000
Railroad, express, telegraph, etc	10,400,000
Professional and personal services	14,500,000
Total	$343,301,000

Here, in 1884, as compared with 1803, our starting-point of comparison, we have nearly every dollar of business in 1803 multiplied by a million. That is progress enough for eighty years.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Lost Industries of Pittsburgh—First Oil-borings—Gaswells—Sources of Supply—Artificial vs. Natural Gas.—Decrease in the Amount of Coal Used—Qualities of the Gas.

IT would be an instructive lesson to point out the decayed industries of any city, although not a pleasant one to trace. In all growing places various industries spring up and flourish until the demand for them decreases; then they fall off and die out. Of these, in Pittsburgh, may be enumerated the manufacture of wrought nails, which was flourishing until cut nails supplanted the use of them; ship-building (including keels and flats), with its attendant sail-lofts, anchor, chain and block factories, which lasted until steam was applied to navigation; steamboat-building followed, was very flourishing for years, but has been gradually destroyed by the competition of railroads in the carrying trade; transportation by wagon and stage-coach until the canals came, and by canal and river until the railways came, to which may be added boiler- and engine-building for the boats. Then steam destroyed hand-spinning, knitting and weaving, just as the mowing-machine and harvester are destroying the sickle, the scythe and the grain-cradle. One of the latest instances in Pittsburgh is the oil-refining business.

For years this city was the natural outlet for the petroleum so abundant for many years on the upper Allegheny river, and refineries sprung up here in great abundance, shipping their products, refined oils, to the west and to the seaboard. In 1860 there were 7 refineries in Pittsburgh, 17 in 1861, 26 in 1862, 41 in 1863, 46 in 1864 and 58 in 1867. These had dwindled to 29 in 1876, and in 1888 the oil-refining business is practically dead. There is still a little doing, but it is barely worth mention. It is not a lost art to Pittsburgh, but a lost industry. It rose, flourished and fell within the last twenty years. The business culminated in 1863, when the shipments east reached 27,000,000 gallons.

The first attempt at sinking or boring a well for oil was made by Drake in 1859. It was ridiculed at first, but, being successful, soon tempted the adventurous from all sections to embark in the business. For awhile oil had to be pumped up by steam-power, but in a short time it began to flow freely without

pumping. This brought the oil furor to a climax, and for years the oil-region, mainly in Venango county, was the center of a speculation wild and exciting, profitable to some, but ruinous to many others. Gradually oil was discovered east and north of Venango, in the Bradford (McKean county) district, and west in Butler county; but of later years it has been found abundant in Washington county, on the borders of West Virginia and in Northwestern Ohio, while the Venango district, in which it was first discovered, has been mainly abandoned. The old wells failed, and were given up; but lately they have been found to yield again upon lighter boring, and the business may thus get back again to the point at which it started.

The first great difficulty in the oil trade was transportation. It was too bulky to find storage for any quantity of it, and the river did not always offer facilities for shipping it to market. Gradually the railroads traversed the oil region; tank-cars were made for its transportation; great tanks were built for its storage, from which it was pumped into the cars; and finally pipe-lines were formed, through which it was forced by pressure to market. It was this that broke up the oil industry of Pittsburgh. The Standard Oil company, a huge corporation, by making special terms with the railroads and getting possession of the pipe-lines, was enabled to concentrate the entire oil business in its own hands, and thus to undersell and drive out all the competing refineries. Cleveland, Ohio, was its headquarters, and as Cleveland was as near to the oil-region as Pittsburgh, after the railroads reached it, the refining business gradually dwindled here and grew up there. It was a malodorous and uncleanly business at best, and but for the money involved in it the loss to Pitttsburgh would not be a source of regret.

Kindred to the oil business was that of using natural gas. This use, to Pittsburgh, is not yet a lost industry, whatever it possibly may be. The original oil-wells gave out, and some of the gas-wells have also failed; but the first gas-wells about Pittsburgh still hold out with remarkable regularity, and new ones are constantly coming in, the demand increasing as the supply increases.

Although the extensive use of natural gas in manufacturing is very recent, the discovery of the gas itself is not a new one. It was found extensively in the oil-region, and became a nuisance to the borers from its constant escape through the holes bored for oil. It was oil they were boring for, and not gas. The borers did not know the value of gas then, and hence the appearance of gas, in boring, was as much a detriment as the frequent appearance of salt water in boring for gas. At New Cumberland, West Va., gas has been supplied from wells for more than twenty years, and used in the manufacture of fire-brick. The East Liverpool (Ohio) wells have been burning for twenty-five years, and are still productive. Partial use was made of it by Spang, Chalfant & Co., at Etna, near Sharpsburg, in 1875–76, and by Graff, Bennett & Co., yet its general adoption as fuel dates back only to July, 1884. The Philadelphia company, to supply gas as fuel to all who wished to become consumers,

was then formed, under the leadership of George Westinghouse, Jr. The wells at and just beyond the eastern border of the city were the immediate stimulus to this movement, but it derives its main supply from the Murraysville gas-field, where wells have been burning for ten years or more. It has laid pipes from the wells to the city, has traversed all the main streets of the city with them, has absorbed or formed a union with several other companies, and now supplies nearly all the factories using it in the two cities.

The transition from the use of coal to that of this non-producer of smoke has been simply wonderful. Prior to 1884 the city used 3,000,000 tons, or nearly 80,000,000 bushels, of bituminous coal in a year, the smoke from which hung in a black cloud, like a pall, over the city continually, discharging flakes of soot and fine dust in a steady downfall. The black, pall-like cloud has disappeared; the atmosphere is cleaner than that of most western cities, and the temptation to use bright colors in house-ornamentation is steadily growing. The consumption of coal has fallen much below a million of tons annually.

Gas is used as a fuel in all the glasshouses, iron- and steel-mills, and all other factories, the sole exception being the blast-furnaces, no ingenuity having yet devised a plan for its use in smelting ores. In generating steam and in house-warming it is in general use, and it has been found not only a cleaner and cheaper, but safer, fuel than coal, and it makes better iron, steel and glass than coal did. Its universal employment in every branch of industry proves this. The only question is, will it last? No one can answer that question definitely, but there is an undercurrent of fear everywhere that it will not. Companies for supplying gas are plenty, but their stock is not a favorite investment, because of the dread that the gas-supply will not be permanent. But the advantages of gas as a fuel are so apparent that artificial gas will most likely take the place of natural gas if the supply of the latter fails. Various experiments in the manufacture of artificial gas are in progress, and it is reported that the Disstons, in Philadelphia, have succeeded in producing an artificial gas at a cost under ten cents a thousand feet. If so, the substitute for the natural article has already been found.

The various sources of supply of natural gas are the Butler county field, which is piped down Pine creek to Spang, Chalfant & Co. and others; the Bull creek or Tarentum field, used extensively at and near Tarentum; the Murraysville field, which supplies the Edgar Thomson steelworks at Braddock, and partially the Philadelphia company, and the Washington county field, supplies being drawn from Cannonsburg and the region of the McGuigan well, near Hickory. There are wells, also, along the Ohio, down as far as Beaver, from which supplies are drawn for the city, and there is also a present good supply up the Monongahela river, above Monongahela City, but none of this is piped to the city as yet. The neighborhood of Grapesville, near Greensburg, in Westmoreland county, is also fruitful in supply, as also Freeport, in Armstrong county, and single wells here and there, in other places,

L. H. Vandergrift

are to be found. The more durable wells tap the gas-productive strata at a greater depth than a thousand feet. The Tarentum field, already falling off partially, was tapped at 1,147 feet, and the Murraysville, which shows no signs of failing, at 1,337 feet. Veins struck near the surface soon give out. Of the chemical constituents of natural gas, the Engineers' society of this city, which has given it some investigation, has made a report, the substance of which is given by the Chamber of Commerce in its issue for 1884. It says:

"The few investigations published during the past few years tend to show that it is essentially composed of the hydro-carbons of the series known in chemistry as paraffin.

"The members differ in their relative proportions of carbon and hydrogen. The vapors of these hydro-carbons are heavier as the proportion of carbon is greater. The calorific values show the superiority of marsh-gas, weight for weight, over all the others. Some are odorless; among the others, the odor is stronger in proportion as the amount of carbon is greater. A remarkable similarity of chemical properties is exhibited by all, and by reason of the strong attraction existing between them, the boiling-point of a mixture is always found to be considerably higher than that of its most volatile constituent. They are theoretically the point of departure for the formation of a great number of useful compounds, such as alcohol, chloroform, acetic acid and glycerin, but on account of serious technical difficulties, due chiefly to their remarkable resistance to ordinary chemical reagents (paraffin, parum and affinis) they have never yet been turned to practical account.

"In the lower sand-rocks of the oil-regions occur, probably, all the members of the series, the less volatile flowing as petroleum and the more volatile existing in a state of compression, ready to escape through every opening. Natural gas is, then, a mixture of the most volatile of these hydro-carbons, carrying various quantities of the vapor of the less volatile compounds. The lightest member, marsh-gas (so called from its constant occurrence among the products of vegetable decay), is the chief element of the gas supplied to Pittsburgh. In addition to these, hydrogen, carbonic acid, oxygen and nitrogen are found.* As the gas and oil sands have a slight dip toward the southwest, the gas, in the southern part of the region, is drawn from rock-strata which are higher in the geological series than those yielding the gas in Northern Pennsylvania and New York state. If any attempt at a generalization may be made with the few data at disposal, it appears, then, that the deeper strata yield a gas of higher specific gravity and illuminating power."

Although natural gas has illuminating qualities, but little effort has been made to use it in place of artificial gas for light. In the country, and in country villages, it may be seen in use as an illuminant; but the gas-vents along the pipe-

* The following is given as a chemical analysis of the natural gas used in Pittsburgh: Marsh-gas, .67; hydrogen, .22; carbonic acid, .06; carbonic oxide, .006; oxygen, .008; olifant gas, .001; ethylic hydride, .005; nitrogen, .03; which is suggestive, strongly, of its vegetable origin.

lines are used mostly for illuminating purposes in country villages, and in country houses and outhouses a burner is used that serves for lighting very well. Where artificial gas is obtainable it is always preferred, because, mainly, of its greater illuminating power. That of natural gas is not above half of that of artificial gas. But for heat, its use for cooking, for heating rooms, for keeping up a supply that needs no watching in greenhouses, it is unapproachable by any other fuel. It does not need to be carried in and about, like coal; it makes no ashes, and consequently makes no dust, and can be regulated at will. It saves great labor to the housewife, and reduces the tug and toil of housework to a minimum. It has one drawback, and that is its drying power. It robs the air of its moisture very quickly, and, unless moisture in plenty is artificially supplied, will soon exhaust every article of furniture in a room of whatever moisture it contains. There is a tendency, also, to overheat a room, the heat being cumulative to some degree, and hence rooms grow warmer, but so slowly as not to be perceptible to its inmates. Still it is an invaluable heating agent, clean and labor-saving; and it has proved a godsend to Pittsburgh in providing heat that needs no handling of materials, makes no dirt, does its work better in every way than coal, and has rendered the city much more tolerable to occasional residents. The men who, in 1760, were forced to climb the almost perpendicular face of Coal hill to mine the coal that outcropped there, loaded it in sacks made out of oxhides, and then tumbled the loaded sacks down the hill to its foot, for transport across the river to Fort Pitt, would have been more astonished than the crew of Columbus were when America was discovered, could they have foreseen the advent of natural gas.

It may be added that though the use of gas has cut off the home demand for over two million tons of coal, the foreign, or down-the-river, demand for coal has more than made up for it. The southwest gets all the advantage of an increased supply.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Population—Health—Wealth—Water—Streets—Debt—City Boundaries—The Wards—Additions.

In 1790, when the first United States census was taken, Pittsburgh had no separate existence as a town. The county, formed in 1788, was at first divided into nine townships—Pitt, Plum, Versailles and Elizabeth between the rivers, St. Clair, Moon and Mifflin south of the rivers, and Deer and Ohio north of the river. The small town of Pittsburgh formed a part of Pitt

township, and continued such until 1794, when it was formed into a borough; but Pitt township extended to Turtle creek, and hence the population of that township affords no criterion to judge that of the town by. And there is nothing definite about the town's population at that time to form even a good estimate on. In 1788 Dr. Hildreth, then on his way to Marietta, a new settlement on the Ohio, says that "Pittsburgh then contained four or five hundred inhabitants." The census taken by the borough in 1796 gave a total of but 1,395; and from all this it is fair to infer that Hildreth's estimate, in 1788, of a population of 400 was nearly correct. The following table will therefore indicate the small beginning and the rapid increase of the city's population:

DATE.	POPULATION.		Total.
	Pittsburgh.	Allegheny.	
1790 (estimated)			400
1800			1,565
1810			4,786
1820			7,248
1830	12,568	4,420	16,988
1840	21,115	10,090	31,205
1850	46,610	21,262	67,872
1860	49,217	28,702	77,919
1870	86,076	53,180	139,256
1880	156,381	78,681	235,062

This comprises only the population contained within the corporate limits of the two municipalities. If to these totals the population of the boroughs immediately adjoining the two cities were added, the figures would be increased to 38,931 in 1840, to 79,873 in 1850, to 124,844 in 1860, and to 199,130 in 1870. Before 1880 the boundaries of both cities were extended so as to take in nearly all the adjoining boroughs; but in 1890 the population outside of but immediately adjoining the corporate limits will be as great as it was in 1870. In American cities this suburban population must always be large.

The estimate for 1890 puts the population of Pittsburgh at 250,000, and that of Allegheny at 125,000, which is more likely to be under than over the actual figures; but estimating future figures is like reckoning without your host, never certain and not always safe. It is nearly sure, however, that the figures of 1890 will approach near to 400,000 for the population of the two cities and adjacent boroughs. From four hundred to four hundred thousand is a comfortable growth for the first hundred years of our existence; and the figures are here put on record for the benefit of the future historian of 1990, who, it is to be hoped, will not have the trouble in gathering up his figures that the writer of this history has had.

The health of Pittsburgh has always been good. Notwithstanding the dirt and discomfort which unavoidably attended the use of coal as fuel, and notwithstanding the further fact that dirt begets dirt—that people living in a dirty,

defiling atmosphere become so used to their filthy surroundings as to regard them as a part of their daily life, and submit to dirty streets and dirty clothes as a part of the inevitable—the health of the two cities has always been remarkable. Only for rare periods has the annual mortality exceeded twenty in the thousand of population, and this is as safe a criterion as it is possible to offer. Fifty years ago Dr. Denny, a skilled and observing physician, called attention to the salubrity of the city's position. It is not pretended that Pittsburgh is a sanitarium or health-resort. It is hot in summer and cold in winter, and has all the dirty characteristics of a great manufacturing place; but still its citizens feel much pride in its reputation as a healthy place. The cholera, in its visits of 1832 and 1854, although severe in its visitations, was not so fatal here as in many other cities, and its ravages, in fact, were confined to a very limited locality; and other epidemics, such as smallpox, have yielded easily to municipal control, and have been confined to the neighborhoods where they first broke out. There have been local outbreaks of typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and such diseases, from local causes, but a severe discipline has kept them within their original bounds. While west of us the ague was always prevalent, and east of us, also, to a more limited extent, this hill-country of Western Pennsylvania has always been free from diseases of malarial origin, and the sulphur in the air of a coal-consuming city has been favorable rather than unfavorable to lung-diseases. True, people die here of consumption, just as they do everywhere; but it was Dr. Denny's belief, fifty years ago, and of eminent doctors since then, that the climatic conditions of this place do not develop, but rather restrain, any tendency to lung-diseases.

One drawback to complete healthfulness *does* exist, and that is the want of a complete system of drainage. No city is better situated for drainage. With three rivers to bear off the sewage, and hills on every side affording all the slopes needed for drainage, nature has done her best to furnish all the conditions necessary, except the will and the means to use them. For a long time Pittsburgh and Allegheny both depended upon surface drainage; but within a few years past public attention has been so directed to the want of a system of underground drainage that sewers have now become numerous, and are daily growing more so. Much yet remains to be done; but the beginning has been made, and the city will soon have a complete system. The financial inability of the municipality itself to undertake this costly work has doubtless hindered it, but the capital of property-owners is now being directed to it, and will accomplish what taxation shrinks from. Twice has the city been on the verge of financial bankruptcy; once by lending her credit to the building of railroads, and once by an extended system of street improvements. She has got over both efforts; but she is cautious about undertaking anything so costly as a general system of sewerage would prove to be. The property-owners will build the sewers, slowly but surely.

And this brings into consideration the wealth of the city. This it is hard

to measure, but the few data available will suffice to form a judgment. The valuation of real estate in Pittsburgh and Allegheny was, in 1883, $175,383,766; this had grown in 1888 to over $213,000,000. But this is the assessor's valuation only, notoriously under the real figures; it is probable that $400,000,000 would be nearer the actual amount. The appended table is a mere estimate, but it is an estimate carefully made, of the actual wealth of the city:

Real estate, actual value, $400,000,000; manufacturing, capital invested, $135,000,000; railways, street and other, $5,000,000; wholesale and retail trade, capital employed, $40,000,000; steamboats, principally used in coal-towing, $10,000,000; national banks, capital, $11,450,000; other banks, capital, $3,950,000; various corporations, capital invested, $40,000,000; insurance companies, capital, $4,500,000; coal and coke companies, capital, $12 300,000; blast-furnaces, $5,300,000. Total wealth, $667,500,000.

WATER—STREETS—DEBT.

The city of Pittsburgh has had a good supply of water, drawn from the rivers, for a very long period. Prior to the establishment of a water-works, the supply was drawn almost exclusively from pumps. These pumps were affixed to deep wells, and the water was not only cool and pleasant to the taste, but, until the town became thickly settled, healthful. Fine springs also abounded along the base of Grant's hill, and in other parts of the city. These pumps remained in use throughout the city until after 1840.

The first water-works was built in 1826, on the corner and on both sides of Cecil's alley and what is now Duquesne way, about half a square below the Sixth street bridge. A strong pair of engines forced the water from the Allegheny river to the top of Grant's hill. The basin occupied the western side of Grant street from Diamond alley to Fifth avenue, and from Grant street to Cherry alley. It was abandoned in 1843, or shortly afterward, and the city sold the site in 1848 for the purpose of redeeming its shinplasters, called "city scrip," and the alley through the middle of it was called "Scrip alley," in commemoration of the fact. St. Peter's church and the buildings between Grant street and Cherry alley now occupy the site of the old basin, and the height of the level of the basin was the original height of Grant's hill, which was the height of the courtroom floor of the old courthouse, burned in 1882.

Remembering that the original town extended only to Grant street, this basin was at a sufficient elevation to supply the whole city with water at the time it was built. The water, too, at that time, was good, but is now, at the site of the old pumping-house, foul with the drainage of sewers above it.

The second water-works was put up in what is now the Ninth ward, a short distance above the eastern line of the original town. Thence the water was drawn from the Allegheny river, and forced up to a new reservoir on what is called, in an act of assembly of 1843, "Stone-Quarry hill." This was known as the Bedford street basin, and the hill is the one which towers above the Pennsylvania Central depot, and on which the Pittsburgh high-school has

since been erected. This basin, at the time it was built (1843), was above all the parts of the city then built upon, but the city has since spread all around and above it, and the water-supply is now drawn mainly from the Hiland street reservoir, on a high bluff above the Allegheny, and from Herron's hill, the highest point of land about the city.

The third and present water-works was erected in 1871–74, and is at Brilliant station, on the Allegheny Valley railroad, very near the present eastern boundary of the city. The water is forced by several very powerful engines first to Hiland reservoir, and thence, for the supply of the highest parts of the city, to Herron's hill. The lower and main parts of the city are supplied direct from the Hiland reservoir. The South Side is supplied by the South Side Water company, a private corporation, drawing its supply from the Monongahela above the first dam.

The streets of the city have always been a source of trouble, especially those streets over which the surface drainage was carried. The first paving material used was cobblestones, and many streets are still paved with this material. When wooden pavements came into use, the craze in their favor broke out with great violence, and the city was run into an enormous debt, incurred in constructing them. These pavements were very nice to drive over, for awhile, but soon wore into holes and rotted rapidly. Then the craze for asphalt pavements, of every kind, broke out, and ran the city into further extravagance. The rapid extension of the city limits, bringing in an enormous number of new streets, unpaved, has been an embarrassment to the city, which finds continual trouble in paving them and keeping them in repair. Since the city has reached the constitutional limit of indebtedness, it can no longer borrow money for street purposes, but is making judicious use of what means it can spare to bring its streets, as far as possible, into decent condition.

The debt of the city (now about $14,000,000) has been incurred mainly in paving streets and building water-works. The old city, up to about 1850, had a debt under $1,000,000; to this was then added $1,800,000 of railroad subscriptions, paid by the issue of city bonds. This old debt, including the railroad debt, is in regular course of extinction; the bulk of what remains has been added since 1860, and the city now has it in good control, meeting its interest regularly, and gradually wiping the debt out by the aid of its sinking-funds. Its present rate of taxation is heavy, but ought to decline, as it probably will, in the course of a few years.

During the panic of 1837 the city, being either unable to collect taxes, or being otherwise hard up for money, issued scrip, or "shinplasters," of the denominations of $1, $2 and $3, to the extent of $300,000, and this remained in circulation until 1848, when the old water-reservoir lot was laid off and sold, the proceeds being used to redeem this outstanding scrip. Small sums of this issue were in private hands until a few years since, but it is probably now all redeemed.

CITY BOUNDARIES—THE WARDS—ADDITIONS.

The boundaries of the city of Pittsburgh remained the same as those of the borough until 1837. Prior to that time a borough had grown up east of the borough line, between the hill and the Allegheny river, known as the "Northern Liberties," but it was generally known as "Bayardstown;" probably the Bayards surveyed and laid it out in lots. It was incorporated as a borough in 1829, and in 1837 was added to the city as the "Fifth" ward. The city had been, up to that time, divided into four wards—the West, South, East and North. The West ward was the present First; the South, the present Second; the East, the present Third, and the North, the present Fourth. The Northern Liberties, brought in as the Fifth, is now the Ninth and Tenth wards, and what is now the Fifth ward was originally added to what was then the East or Third ward. The lines of the Northern Liberties are thus given in the act of incorporation of 1829:

> Beginning at the corner of Penn and Washington (Eleventh) streets, on Alexander Laughlin's land; thence along the line of the city of Pittsburgh to the middle of the Allegheny river; thence by the middle of said river up the same to a point opposite John McDonald's and Joseph Patterson's line, adjoining O'Hara's property; thence southeastwardly to said McDonald and Patterson's line, and along said line and that of Boyle Irwin to his southeastern corner; thence along his line, at or near the foot of the hill commonly called Grant's hill; thence to the southeastern corner of the Methodist burying-ground, thence along the southern line of the said burying-ground, and by a line pursuing the course thereof, to the line of the city of Pittsburgh; thence by the said line to the place of beginning.

The only easily recognized points in this description are the starting-point and the Methodist burying-ground, which is now covered by the buildings of the Pennsylvania depot.

The present digest of the laws applying to Pittsburgh does not contain anything relative to the extensions of the city boundary by which the present Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh and Twelfth wards came into the city, but an older digest does, and from it we learn that on June 16, 1836, an act of the legislature was passed creating what was called a "city district" out of parts of Pitt township, adjoining the city, which was subdivided into sections, each section being admissible to the city as a ward, upon a vote of its citizens, at an election to be held under the direction of the court of quarter sessions. Under this act what is now the Fifth ward came into the city as a part of the Third ward; what is now the Seventh and Eighth wards came in as the Sixth ward; what is now the Eleventh ward came in as the Seventh ward; what is now the Sixth ward was brought in as the Eighth, and what is now the Twelfth ward was brought in as the Ninth. All these changes were made by ordinance of councils, after the popular vote had been taken, and the dates of these ordinances range from July 7, 1845, to December 15, 1846.

By the act of April 6, 1867, a wholesale addition to the city was authorized, which took in the East End, Allegheny City and the South Side; but this was

divided into three districts, and the acceptance of the act was left to a vote of the people. The East End district voted to accept; the other two divisions voted against acceptance. The result was that the territory in the East End, from the present Twelfth ward eastward, was added to the city, which was divided into fourteen additional wards from the Tenth to the Twenty-third. The old Fifth was divided into the Ninth and Tenth; the old Sixth, into the Seventh and Eighth; the Eighth changed to the Sixth, the Ninth to the Twelfth, and the Seventh to the Eleventh. By the act of April 2, 1872, the several boroughs on the South Side, viz., Ormsby (Twenty-fourth ward), East Birmingham (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth), St. Clair (Twenty-seventh), Birmingham (Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth), South Pittsburgh (Thirtieth), Allentown, (Thirty-first), Mount Washington (Thirty-second), Monongahela (Thirty-third), West Pittsburgh (Thirty-fourth), Union (Thirty-fifth) and Temperanceville (Thirty-sixth ward), were also added to the city, and this completes the present boundary lines.

On the outside of the city, on the South Side, are the boroughs of Knoxville and Beltzhoover and the village of Mount Oliver, and on the East End, Wilkinsburg, all nearly, if not quite, ready to drop into the city's arms. It need not surprise anyone if the city lines soon extend from Beck's run, on the Monongahela, to Chartiers creek, and take in the bulk of Chartiers township, Green Tree, Knoxville, Beltzhoover, and what is left of Lower St. Clair township, on the South Side, and Sterrett township on the east. The heavy indebtedness of the city is the only drawback; but this will gradually diminish, and with it whatever of opposition is likely to arise.

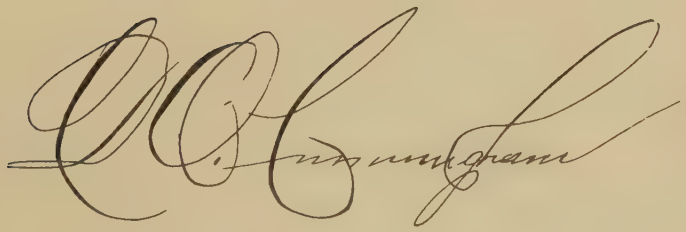
CHAPTER XXX.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Fire Department—Its History—The Bucket Brigade—Fire-Engines—The Paid Department—Police Department—Its Growth in Numbers and Efficiency.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

IN the original plan of the town of Pittsburgh the lots were 60x240 feet, which necessitated, as a general rule, the building of detached houses. It was possible to build what is known as "semi-detached" houses, that is, two houses built together with but one on each lot, but this could be the case only when one man owned two adjoining lots, or where the two owners of adjoining lots agreed to build together. As a matter of fact, "semi-detached" houses were never built in the early history of the town. The house on each lot, for



a long period, was built standing by itself, detached from all adjacent buildings. If fire occurred in any one of the buildings it could not easily extend to an adjacent one, and consequently the danger of fire was reduced to a minimum. We therefore hear little or nothing of fires in the first years of the history of the place. Some of the houses were of stone and brick, but the most of the first buildings were made of logs. Logs were the cheapest material, and the most accessible. The first accounts we have of the town speak of it as consisting mainly of log houses. A log house, well built, was warmer and more comfortable than a weather-boarded frame house, and much cheaper and more easily put up than a brick or stone house. The danger from fire from within was really not much greater in a log house than in a brick or stone house, and the danger from without was lessened by the large space intervening between the several houses. It was not until the city became more compactly built up that the danger from fire made precautions against it needful, and this did not occur until the second or third decade in this century. At least, steps for a free supply of water were not taken until then.

The water-supply of the old town of Pittsburgh was drawn mainly from pumps and springs. The rivers may have supplied a few persons living upon their banks, but the river water was too warm in summer and the ice was too abundant in winter to make this source of supply go very far. Along the base of Grant's hill there were numerous springs, which were in use as late as 1840; but the main dependence was upon wells, sunk to the strata of sand and gravel which underly the city, and these, until 1825 or 1826, furnished all the water that was needed for home uses and for the extinction of fires. They also furnished whatever water was needed for running steam-engines in the factories, each steam-engine pumping all the water required to make the steam to run it.

But the number of pumps, at first, must have been very limited. Lot-owners might be willing to incur the expense of sinking wells upon their own property to supply the wants of those occupying the premises, but few of them, apparently, were public-spirited enough to sink them for the accommodation of the public. The borough was chartered in 1794; and we find that as early as 1802 the public mind was in a ferment about the necessity for public pumps. The feeling was so strong that the borough authorities convened a town-meeting, August 9, 1802, to consider the subject of water-supply. From the records of the borough the following statement of that meeting is taken:

At a meeting of the burgesses, freeholders and other inhabitants, householders of the borough, agreeable to public notice by the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, the following report was made, viz.:

That, in pursuance of a resolution of the corporation at their last meeting, the burgesses and assistants proceeded on the 4th instant to view such parts of the borough as were presumed most immediately to require a more efficient supply of water. In consequence of that view the burgesses are of opinion that on Market street four wells with pumps are necessary, viz., one between Front and Second; one between Second and

Third streets; one between Third and Fourth streets; and one at the courthouse. With respect to the latter the burgesses have ———* that the commissioners of the county will agree that it shall be executed at the expense of the county; with respect to the three former, it is their opinion that the expense will be most equitably defrayed by a tax on property contiguous to the wells and pumps, viz., both sides of Market street, extending from Water street to Fourth street, and extending westwardly to Chancery lane and Jail alley, and eastwardly half the distance from Market to Wood street.

On the minutest inquiry it is found that the expense of sinking and walling a well in this borough will amount to $120, and a pump, with the ironwork, $55—$175; therefore, three, with pumps, will amount to $525. In consequence of the preceding report, on motion of Judge Addison, the following ordinance was passed by a large majority, viz.:

Be it ordained by the burgesses, freeholders and inhabitants, householders of the borough of Pittsburgh, duly assembled, that the burgesses are hereby authorized and empowered to have wells sunk and pumps erected in such parts of the borough as they may think most advisable, beginning with Market street; and it is further ordained, that where individuals have at their expense sunk wells and erected pumps in the streets in useful and necessary parts of the borough, that a compensation shall be made them, assigning them for public use, the whole expense to be defrayed by a general tax.

WILLIAM CHRISTY, *Clerk*. ISAAC CRAIG, *Chief Burgess*.

This was the action of a pure democracy—legislation by the people themselves. The burgesses, it will be noted, asked only for three wells, to be paid for by a *special* tax on the parties benefited; but the people answer by conferring a general power to sink wells wherever needed, to be paid for by a *general* tax. This would seem to indicate a general urgency for wells and pumps, and a general willingness to bear the burden of the cost; and it is not unlikely, although not so specified, that the fear of fires stimulated this general willingness to be taxed for a water-supply.

The first method of extinguishing fires was by forming lines of citizens from the fire to the pumps, one line passing the filled buckets from the pump to the fire, and the other passing the empty buckets back to be refilled. This was a slow and uncertain method, yet I have seen fires in country towns extinguished in this way as late as 1846, or within the last fifty years. Where buildings were detached, the fire was usually confined, by this method, to the building it orginated in. If it had but little headway when the line was first formed, it was easily extinguished; but if it had got a good start before the water could be poured on it, the main effort of the citizens was confined to preventing its spread to other buildings. The whole community, men, women and children, under such circumstances, belonged to the fire department, and everyone worked with determined earnestness and a resolute good-will. The passing of buckets at a fire, especially when the weather was a little cold, was real hard work; and working the pump constantly required a steady relay of help. Yet everybody, at such times, felt called upon to help all he could. If any fires occurred in Pittsburgh prior to 1802, and the people were forced to form long lines to distant pumps, the unanimity with which the inhabitants

* The copy is illegible here; the word used, probably, is "learned."

expressed a willingness to be taxed for erecting more pumps can easily be understood.

From the sketch of the fire department appended to this chapter it will be seen that as early as 1794 the citizens had formed a volunteer fire company, and obtained a small fire-engine, to be worked by hand, from Philadelphia. This was the "Eagle," and was a very small affair, worked by a lever at each end by four men, two to each lever. This would send water up a considerable distance, and squirt a small stream into the fire, which was far more effective than emptying water by hand by the bucketful. By this, the original method, water could be carried up to the upper part of a house on fire only by ladders, and even then a bucketful could not always be delivered where it would do the most good. The hand fire-engine removed this difficulty, but its supply of water was derived solely from the hand-bucket brigade, who first pumped it from the well, and then carried it to the engine by the bucket-line. Even with the engine the supply of water was limited by the capacity of two or three of the nearest pumps. That was truly the day of small things.

"An act to authorize the corporation of the city of Philadelphia to oblige the owners and occupiers of houses in the city of Philadelphia to procure buckets, etc., to extinguish fires," passed April 18, 1795 (3d Smith, 245), was extended, with other acts relating to Philadelphia, to the city of Pittsburgh by the fifth section of the first act of incorporation, passed March 8, 1816. Under the powers thus conferred the councils of Pittsburgh early passed an ordinance requiring each owner and occupier of a house to keep on hand in his house a certain number of leathern buckets, with the owner's name plainly inscribed on them. These were for use in extinguishing fires. Leathern buckets were required because wooden ones were so easily broken, and the painting of the owner's name on them was necessary to enable him to reclaim them when the fire was over. I recollect seeing such buckets in various houses fifty-five years ago, but their use at that time had nearly gone out. The plentiful supply of water by the city, and the use of hand engines, or engines operated by manual power, had rendered a resort to them unnecessary, except outside of the city limits. There are, doubtless, many old citizens who will remember the rows of old leathern water-buckets stowed away for use at fires.

The building of the first water-works, with the supply-basin on Grant's hill, where St. Peter's church now stands, did away with the necessity for water-buckets at a fire at all points, at least below the level of the basin. The first water-works was built about 1826. The record of the introduction of the first hand fire-engine is noted above. At the celebration of the centennial of the formation of Allegheny county, held in Pittsburgh, September, 1888, there were exhibited in the procession two or three of the engines in use immediately prior to the establishment of the present fire department, and one very old one, which preceded even the use of them. This was a small concern, with a diminutive water-chamber and two levers, one at each end, each worked by two men. This

was probably one of the first engines used to put out fires, and was in use long before an improved engine was invented, with longer levers, to be worked by more men. These last continued, with various improvements, until steam fire-engines came into use.

As was the case when pumps and fire-buckets were used, the hand fire-engines were managed exclusively by volunteers. Fire companies were formed, composed largely of young men, in later years, whose vigor and strength were the chief reliance at a fire; officers elected, comprising captain, lieutenants, etc., and each company, when a fire occurred, strove to be first at the fire, if possible. When there, all worked with as much zeal and energy to put out the fire as if their own property were in danger. Many acts of great heroism and endurance were performed by these volunteer firemen, and the feeling among the firemen was as ardent and creditable as the feeling of patriotism brought out in time of war.

The old volunteer fire department consisted of the "Eagle," the "Vigilant," the "Allegheny," the "Neptune," the "Duquesne," the "Niagara," the "Independence" and the "Good Intent" in Pittsburgh, and several others in Allegheny. They had a general organization, which exercised general control, and although the system was as successful and thorough as it was possible for a volunteer organization to be, it failed to stop the great fire of 1845 at its start, but that was not its fault. The engines were all promptly on the ground, and did all that it was possible for men to do, but the supply of water gave out, and the fire, with a strong wind blowing, soon got beyond human control. In all other cases it was of essential service, and it rendered efficient aid in suppressing fires for many years.

But after steam fire-engines were invented, the volunteer department was no longer equal to the occasion. It became too expensive for volunteers to manage, and the necessity was apparent for the cities to step in, take control, buy the engines and employ the men at a fixed salary. Pittsburgh led off in taking this action, but Allegheny City soon followed, and both cities now have paid fire departments that are exceedingly creditable to them.

The paid fire department of Pittsburgh was authorized by act of assembly of March 23, 1870, and the city councils were clothed with full power for its management, and a tax of three and one-half mills on the dollar on the gross receipts of "all fire-, marine- and life-insurance companies or agencies doing business in said city" was authorized, to enable the city to pay the cost of management. The idea in this was that the insurance companies, being the most interested in subduing fires, should bear the cost of extinguishing them. This plan did not long prevail, however. The city now pays the expenses of the department out of its current revenues. In 1873 a loan of $200,000 was authorized, to enable the city to purchase the necessary machines. The affairs of the department are managed by a board of fire commissioners, chosen by the councils, and fire-engines and hook-and-ladder companies are now scattered over the entire city, so that wherever and whenever a fire breaks out, in any section of the city, an

John H. Cox

engine to extinguish it may be found close at hand. If the fire is a slight one, only the nearest engine is called out; but if it grows formidable, as many more as are needed are called out. The "fire-alarm telegraph" extends to all parts of the city, and keys to the alarm-boxes are to be found at all points, by means of which an alarm can be sent promptly to the central office. The horses that draw the engines to the fire are trained as strictly as the men, and when an alarm is sounded both horses and men are almost instantly ready for service. The result is that fires rarely get any headway, and where, by any mischance, they do, the whole force of the department can be used to prevent the fire from spreading. Give the engines plenty of water to use, and a repetition of the disaster of 1845 is absolutely impossible. In this city, as in all others having a paid fire department, large fires are no longer of frequent occurrence. Large losses by fire occasionally happen, but the presence of the steam fire-engines prevents the fire from spreading, and so keeps down the losses. The system has been brought to great perfection, and the men employed exhibit as great daring and as much heroism as was ever displayed under the volunteer system.

Provision is made, in this city, for taking care of all injured or disabled firemen, and whatever accidents befall the men, they and their families are secured from suffering thereby. The fund set apart for this purpose has proven abundantly ample so far. It seems hardly possible to make the city more secure against losses by fire than under the present system.

One feature of the present system deserves special mention here, that of a fire-marshal to examine into the causes of all fires. As soon as a fire is over the marshal begins his examination, and the certainty that it will be made has undoubtedly had a great restraining effect. Incendiary fires are not so likely where there is a probability that such an examination will reveal them.

The contrast between 1802 and 1889 is great and striking. Instead of convening town-meetings to authorize the erection of pumps, and making every householder a furnisher of leathern buckets to assist in putting out a fire, the citizens now know exactly where a fire is when they hear the alarm, and in most cases they scarcely hear the alarm before they hear that it has been extinguished. There is no more need to get up at midnight, run to a fire, form in line, and pass cold and wet buckets by the hour to save a neighbor's house from destruction. An alarm, now, simply excites his curiosity, which he can gratify by reading the paper as well as by going to the fire to look on uselessly. In fact, fires are no longer subjects of general dread.

In the centennial number of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, July 29, 1886, Frank P. Case, Esq., contributes a detailed history of the Pittsburgh fire department, a condensation of which is hereto appended. Mr. Case was for many years secretary of the paid fire department, and the history given by him is as correct as it is thorough:

DETAILED HISTORY OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

To the oldest citizen of Pittsburgh the names Eagle, Allegheny, Vigilant, Neptune,

Niagara, Independence, Relief and Duquesne, as applied to the fire department, are as familiar as "household words," and nearly so to the present generation. It is to the honor and credit of the fire authorities that the popular nomenclature of bygone days should be adhered to, and that they should remain attached to localities where they originated. These old companies are a part of the history of the city.

From them sprang not only merchants and manufacturers, who were successful in their several aims, but many trusty officeholders, who filled their several positions with honor and credit to the city and county. At least seven who were firemen in the early days were chosen in later years to the chief magistracy of the city, while several took positions in the courthouse.

The Eagle.—The first organization for protection from fire, or, more properly speaking, for the extinguishment of fires, was the Eagle company, which was instituted in 1794, when Pittsburgh was but a village, and did not extend further east from the Point than Smithfield street. The hand engine for the company was brought from Philadelphia in pieces, by slow freight (Conestoga wagons) and set up by John Johnston (afterward postmaster), a relative of the Johnstons of printing fame in this city to-day. Mr. Johnston was made first engineer, and Jeremiah Barker and Robert Magee (grandfather of Judge Christopher Magee) were assistant engineers. The engine was small and of the most simple construction, and it is said could almost be carried by the men to a fire. There were no hose or plugs, and water was carried in buckets to supply the "masheen." Messrs. Barker and Magee, already mentioned, were, with John Hannah, James Gray, James B. Clow and William Watson, directors of the association. In 1800 William Leckey, afterward sheriff of the county, was engineer. During the first sixteen years of its existence the company was managed by elderly citizens (as stated in an old account, the "first in the place"). Notwithstanding the undoubted respectability of the members in these early days, they were not without the ordinary passions of men, and could not withhold their tempers on occasions of excitement. It is related that during these early days a Quaker (name not given), who was the captain of the company, finding an unauthorized person laying hands upon the engine at the time of a fire, ripped out a regular trooper's oath, and bade the interloper to "vamose the ranch." Much scandal, it is said, was created by the incident.

The house first provided for the company was a small building erected on First street (now First avenue), near Chancery lane and between Market and Ferry streets. The apparatus was kept under lock and key, Messrs. Barker, Johnston and Magee, who lived opposite, having alone access thereto.

About 1811, William Eichbaum (late city treasurer) was chosen engineer, and continued in the position until 1832, when a fire department was organized by the institution of the Firemen's association, at which he was elected chief engineer. From the oldest record obtainable, 1815, it would appear that the membership (although not given) was large, as is shown by the numerous fines of a "levy" (twelve and one-half cents) upon absentees. In those days one-eighth of a dollar was no insignificant sum. The order of one hundred white ribbons with the words "Eagle Fire Company" upon them is noted in the book, as well as the printing of two hundred copies of the constitution.

About 1819 the company removed to a house on Fourth street (now Fourth avenue), near Chancery lane, and in 1825 a new hand engine was procured.

From this time on the Eagle company maintained its existence through varying fortunes; lax discipline prevailed at times, and at others little interest was taken in the society. In 1840, and for ten years thereafter, great rivalry existed between the different companies of the town. The number of active members rapidly augmented, and races and disgraceful fights were of frequent occurrence. In 1850 a new badge was adopted, "gilt-black letters in green ground;" also parade uniform, "green gauze shirt over white one, white pants and black belt." In March, 1851, the engine-house was destroyed by fire, the company losing five hundred feet of hose (leather only was used in those days),

and other articles, amounting in all to about eight hundred dollars. The apparatus was saved, but remained out of service almost all of the time till 1854, when the present building on Fourth avenue, near Liberty, was erected by city subscriptions and company reserve funds.

In October, 1859, a committee consisting of George Wilson, Henry Moreland, Alex. Gracie, Thomas Rees and Columbus West was appointed to build a steam fire-engine, as to the feasibility of which there was much skepticism. This first steam fire-engine, says Mr. James Irvin in his "Fire Department Sketches," was built altogether by members of the Eagle. James Nelson made the drawings, James Rees the castings, and George Wilson (all of whom are now living) was the builder. Fearing a failure, it is said the first trial was made at midnight, and it was not a success. The company was laughed at by its rivals, and the machine was called a steamboat. Perseverance was, however, rewarded, and the first steam fire-engine, the "Eagle," turned out to be a success, and it continued long in the service of the city, when it was displaced by the present well-known Amoskeag make. In 1869 the engine was purchased by the late James McAuley, on behalf of the city, preparatory to the establishment of a paid department.

The Allegheny.—Mr. David Gregg, an old and esteemed citizen, who was a member of the Allegheny company, gives access to the constitution of the company and the minute-book running from May, 1835, to February, 1847. From the printed constitution in his possession it appears that the company was instituted in the year 1802. It is said to have been located in 1832 on Third street (now avenue), and in 1836 occupied the same house as the Eagle. In later years the company occupied a building erected for the purpose on Fifth street (avenue), about the eastern side of the present Opera-house building. To the constitution of 1834, the first before us, are appended the signatures of many well-known citizens, but as some from time to time dropped out of active membership, their names were erased instead of having been noted as retiring. The minutes of meetings during the period mentioned show a sad want of interest by the officers, as most frequently *pro tems.* officiated. Among the more notable names we find Mr. George R. White, long and until late years in the dry-goods business, elected as first engineer. Mr. John Herron filled the position of second hose-director, and Edward Gregg, now of Logan, Gregg & Co., was fourth hose-director. The late John Birmingham and S. P. Darlington were active members. In 1836 we find W. M. Shinn, S. Gormley, George Darsie, W. W. Wallace and J. O'H. Scully elected officers.

In January, 1837, it was resolved, "That the members of the company be earnestly requested to make as slight noise as possible both at fires and false alarms, and more particularly when such alarms may be on the Sabbath." In June of the same year Messrs. George R. White, W. M. Shinn and George McCandless, delegates to the Firemen's association, laid before a meeting of the company the propriety of nominating one of their members to represent the company in a general convention to digest and report upon a plan for the "relief of disabled firemen." W. M. Shinn was so chosen. At the meeting of February 5, 1838, a long letter from S. P. Darlington was presented, in which he states his inability to attend owing to the occurrence of one of his "public auction sales," and reporting complaints of various kinds heard by him as to the conduct of members. At this meeting Robert M. Riddle, formerly editor of the *Commercial Journal*, was elected vice-president; James B. Murray, late of the Exchange bank, second lieutenant, and Jared M. Brush, since mayor, and now living, third engineer. In 1839 the late John P. Glass, formerly a member of the legislature, appears as an axman; C. H. Paulson and A. Nimick, hose-directors; John Coyle on the election committee, and James Laughlin as fourth tender-director; also R. H. (Benton) Kerr upon a committee, and the now retired Gen. James A. Ekin, as secretary. For the parade of the approaching fall it was decided to turn out the apparatus perfectly plain, but to be drawn by horses. In 1840 Mr. S. P. Darlington, who had for an uninterrupted term of years held the position of captain, tendered his resignation, and a committee of three was appointed to express the regrets of the

company to Mr. Darlington upon his retirement. It was later ordered that a medal be presented to the retiring captain. In September Mr. W. K. Nimick was elected fourth hose-director, *vice* John H. Oliver, resigned.

In 1840 serious trouble appears to have existed, and suits for debt appear to have been brought. In September, 1841, the company was reorganized, James E. Wainwright being chosen president, James B. Sawyer, secretary, and A. Richardson, captain. The name of William C. McCarthy (ex-mayor) here first appears as second hose-director, but at the following December meeting Mr. McCarthy's resignation was presented and accepted. At the February (1842) meeting the name of William H. Whitney appears as president *pro tem.*, and later we notice the names of D. Holmes and William V. Diehl.

At the October meeting of this year it was resolved unanimously, "That we, as members of the Allegheny Fire company, do hereby obligate and bind ourselves, as gentlemen, not to make use of any intoxicating drinks while acting in the capacity of firemen." D. J. Agnew was elected secretary, *vice* A. Nimick, resigned. In November, 1842, it was resolved that when refreshments were offered at a fire the members go to the house containing the same under direction of the officers, who were requested not to allow any but members to enter. Pending a suit by S. P. Darlington to recover some fifteen hundred dollars, the engine and other apparatus were placed in charge of the captain of the company.

On the 22d of December, 1842, in a meeting, with J. B. Murray in the chair, the resignations of Edward Gregg and Alex. Richardson were presented and accepted, although at a meeting the following February we find them elected to important positions, Mr. Richardson being made president. At this later meeting J. Heron Foster, then of the *Dispatch*, is noted as chairman *pro tem.*

In January, 1846, the Allegheny company appears to have entered upon its new house on Fifth street (avenue), about the site of the present Opera-house building. In February of this year the annual election of officers took place, and few changes were made in the prominent places. At the meeting of June 6, 1846, George Bradley was appointed "a committee of one to investigate the late riotous affair in Allegheny City relative to our company."

The Allegheny continued on Fifth street (now avenue) until about 1857, when improvements there compelled its withdrawal, and a new building was erected for it on Irwin (now Seventh) street. The Allegheny became extinct with its absorption into the paid fire department in 1870, there being more companies in the "old city" district than were necessary under the new *régime*. It should be noted that the late Robert W. Mackey was one of the active and influential members of this company during its later years.

The Vigilant.—The praises of the Vigilant Fire company, instituted May 31, 1811, have been sung to an unlimited extent by that faithful chronicler and long life-member, James Irvin, otherwise known as "Vigy" and "Leather" Jim, now a competent city officer, *i. e.*, one of the (three) board of viewers. Had Father Irvin divided the time spent upon his "sketches" of the "Vigy" among all the volunteer companies of his day, giving a succinct history of each, it would be invaluable, and would have largely increased the interest of this necessarily brief *résumé*, and lessened the labor thereon. But James' heart was with the days and doings of this certainly prominent company, and columns of "veritable chronicles" could be given from his "outings."

William Wilkins, afterward an honored judge, was the first president of the company, and John Thaw, father of our well-known William Thaw, was secretary and treasurer. In 1812 a hand engine costing $600 was received from Pat. Lyon, of Philadelphia. It was denominated a "hydraulic fire-engine of the third magnitude with all the improvements lately made." According to the indorsement upon the bill it was "to be delivered to James Morrison in twenty-five days from date, September 10, 1812, at the price (freight) of $5 per 100 pounds." The cost of transportation was $98. The engine was placed in a building on Fourth street, now Fourth avenue. The early meetings of

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the company were held in the tavern of William Morrow, then situated on the northeast corner of Wood and Fourth streets (now Fourth avenue). There were no Woman's Christian Temperance unions at that time, and the company kept an account with Mr. Morrow for refreshments, while it is noted that Rev. Robert Patterson presided at the meeting for organization, and, no doubt, at subsequent meetings. The Vigilant flourished from the start, and many men who afterward became conspicuous in business and professional circles were active members. Between 1824 and 1833 the company appears to have languished, although during a part of that period the well-known William C. McCarthy was captain.

November 26, 1833, a meeting of the old members and others was held in the Washington coffee-house, corner of Penn and St. Clair streets, where a reorganization took place, with James Crossan, father of John McD. Crossan, of Monongahela House fame, as president, and Dr. Jonas R. McClintock as captain. In January, 1834, Neville B. Craig, the editor of the *Gazette*, was elected an honorary member. Mr. Craig took an active part in furthering the organization. March 16, 1834, at a fire at Third and Market, the little engine and those who manned her came near being covered by a falling wall. Capt. McClintock, seeing the danger, insisted upon an immediate change of location, which was made in the nick of time. At this fire the old Bank of Pittsburgh was endangered. Up to this year the Vigilant had no reel or hose, depending upon hose companies of separate organization. In the fall of that year, however, the want was supplied, and attention was then directed to the necessity for a new and larger engine. On September 14, 1834, at a fire at Aaron Floyd's carpenter-shop, corner of Fourth and Ross streets, the little engine was used for the last time, and it was sold to the town of Wellsburg, Va.

The new engine arrived about September 26, just in time for the parade of next day. The engine was the finest then seen here, weighing 3,300 pounds, and cost $1,100. In the spring of 1835 Robert P. Nevin (Uncle Robert) joined the "Vigy." In 1836 the company appears to have held its meetings in the Eagle engine-house, on account of the "miserable condition" of that of the Vigilant. Councils failing to rebuild or obtain a suitable place for the company, there was much feeling exhibited, and the matter of suspending was discussed. In December, a resolution to suspend failing to pass, quite a number of prominent members withdrew by resignation. The feeling of rivalry and jealousy between some of the companies appears to have run high. It was not until 1839 that they succeeded in getting their apparatus suitably housed. In 1841 the company expressed great indignation because of certain newspapers charging half price for notices of meetings.

In 1842 dissensions arose among the members of the Vigilant, which caused a split, and resulted later in the organization of the Duquesne company. The apparatus of the Vigilant was out of service for some time, and councils ordered the mayor to take possession, which that official, it appears, declined to do, and at a meeting held November 7, 1842, at which D. D. Bruce acted as secretary, resolutions of censure were passed. November 11 a new constitution was adopted. In February, 1843, the company again went into active service. The minute-book for the years 1842 to 1849 contains a record of fires, something that does not appear in similar books of any other company.

The new house for the company was finished and occupied first after the big fire in January, 1849.

In November, 1861, the name of the company was changed to the Vigilant Steam Fire Engine and Hose company, the first steam engine having been brought to the city at that time for this company. The house, that now occupied by W. B. Scaife & Son, Third avenue, near Market street, to whom it was sold by the city at the organization of the paid department, was handsomely arranged and fitted up, and in the supervision of the work no one was more active and interested than Robert C. Elliott, who was long thereafter one of the most painstaking members. John J. Torley, then a member of council and of the fire committee, was also given high praise in the matter. The company was

at the time denominated "The Pride of the West" and the house as the "Fireman's Palace." To Robert C. Elliott, still an active "volunteer," is largely due the titles thus bestowed.

The Neptune.—The third in the list of volunteer fire companies in time of organization in Pittsburgh was the Neptune, in 1815, so far as published records show. In 1815, however, as our veracious chronicler says, the borough consisted of the First and Fourth wards as now constituted, and the Neptune was located in the suburbs. A rivulet coursed down between Penn avenue and Liberty street, and at about Eighth street turned into the Allegheny; Hogg's pond extended from now Seventh avenue to Fourth avenue, and Suke's run continued the boundary to the Monongahela. The Neptune was emphatically a bucket-brigade, and east of Smithfield street it had ample supplies of water from numerous wells. Sixth and Wood streets was the first location of the company with its cumbrous engine, built, it is said, in Pittsburgh, no doubt in the thirties.

In 1841 the engine was rebuilt and was thought to be perfection. In 1842 no less than sixty-seven members were added to the roll. Because of non-attendance the names of quite a number were also stricken from the roll, among them Walter H. Lowry, who afterward became chief justice of the state. In this year many disgraceful scenes occurred, among others the washing out of the "Crow's Nest," a disreputable place on Second avenue, although during the same period a library was started and a resolution was offered by Mr. Gormley that all take the pledge.

In the great fire of 1845 the Neptune, as well as the Eagle and Vigilant, did noble service. At that time their former president, Mr. William M. Edgar, was the chief engineer.

In 1846 the engine was rebuilt by Sheriff & Co., at a cost of $690, and at the parade it was resolved, upon motion of John D. Bailey, that it be decorated only with the stars and stripes. In 1847 the Neptune furnished a large list of volunteers for the Mexican war (as did also the other two companies), and the minute-books contain voluminous reports concerning them.

The close proximity of the Neptune to the Smithfield Methodist church was a cause of trouble, and resulted about 1848 in the company being placed farther up Seventh street (now avenue), about the same place where No. 3 of the present fire department is located. A boat-club composed of Neptune boys owned an eight-oared barge, called Fashion, which furnished much amusement on the Allegheny.

Resolutions against profanity and the habit of carrying liquor to members at work upon the engine are interspersed at frequent intervals in the minutes. In 1852 the company was badly in need of a new house, and threats of abandoning the organization were made if councils did not act. In 1853 the erection of the house on Seventh street was begun, and in January, 1854, the company was able to house its apparatus there, although the building was not completed. The new hall was dedicated on the evening of August 19 of the same year, when an oration was delivered by R. Biddle Roberts, then president of the Firemen's association.

During the year 1856 Joseph L. Lowry, formerly mechanical engineer of the waterworks, then a member of the Neptune, built the first steam fire-engine, which was called the "Citizen," and it was placed in charge of that company, much to their delight. This was, from its size and being the first of the kind, the wonder of the day, and much interest was manifested in its workings. The engine, however, failed to realize the expectations of its friends, being too unwieldy, but it demonstrated the practicability of using steam to run fire-engines. Joseph Dusha, who has continuously been a member of the paid department, and now the engineer of the Relief, was a member of the Neptune.

After the withdrawal of the steamer from service a new hand engine was ordered and obtained from Baltimore, at a cost of twenty-seven hundred dollars. It was a handsome piece of machinery, but in playing qualities did not equal that built in Pittsburgh in 1832–33.

David E. Hall who for a long time afterward was a very active member of the Neptune, and for a time its captain, was admitted to membership in 1856. In 1860 Col. John H. Stewart, afterward sheriff, and still later postmaster, was chosen president. In 1870 the Neptune, like the older companies, was absorbed in the paid fire department.

The Niagara.—For a short time before the organization of the Niagara Fire company, 1838, there existed a company called the Phœnix, which was located on Liberty street, in "Bayardstown." John Stewart, father of Col. John H. Stewart, was captain of the Phœnix. But little can be learned of the Phœnix except that from it was instituted the Niagara. The first president of the company (Niagara) was John Ralston, a tanner, while Samuel McKelvey was its first captain. Soon after the organization of the Niagara the company located on Penn avenue near Fifteenth street, and thereafter remained there. Indeed, we believe the present Niagara, now known as Engine Company No. 15, occupies the same site. Capt. Crawford, present wharfmaster, was a member. Their hand engine was built by E. & F. Faber, of this city, and was rebuilt in later years by Joe Kaye. The company was always noted for efficiency.

Hose Companies.—Worthy of somewhat extended notices are the First Pittsburgh Hose company and the Union Hose company, which must have been in existence, one of them at least, about 1830. We find in the constitution of the Firemen's association, adopted April 25, 1833, the names of these two companies, which, with the Eagle and Allegheny, formed the association. The two hose companies named, as is shown by the early records of the two engine companies, were depended upon by the latter to furnish hose at a fire. Unfortunately, except as to mention thus made, we have no information about or records of these companies, save this further: One of the companies was composed of employés of the glassworks, the Jenny Lind, of Bakewell, Pears & Co., then located where the Baltimore & Ohio depot now is, and it is mentioned that Mr. James P. Bakewell furnished the outfit to the company.

The paid fire department was organized June 13, 1870, and now numbers sixteen engine companies, four hook-and-ladder companies, with a total force of 172 officers and men.

The department is governed by nine commissioners elected by councils, three each year. The first board of commissioners was composed of Henry Hays, R. W. Mackey, Robert Finney, John J. Torley, W. H. McKelvey, M. K. Moorhead, John H. Stewart, John H. McElroy and William B. Neeper.

The officers were: Henry Hays, president, and William B. Neeper, secretary of the board; chief engineer, John H. McElroy; assistant chief, W. J. White; alarm-telegraph superintendent, S. T. Paisley.

ALLEGHENY'S FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The volunteer fire department in Allegheny City, prior to 1840, did not amount to much. But from 1840 to 1850 it thrived and grew in size. At the commencement of the latter year there were three excellent companies in existence. They were known as the "Phœnix," the "William Penn" and the "President." Each one had one of the old-style hand fire-engines. Neither is now preserved, but they have long since been reduced to kindling-wood and scrap-iron. At a period a little later than 1850 the "Uncle Sam" company was also formed. The old-time rivalries among these companies are among the most pleasant traditions of Allegheny. In 1860 the "Hope" company had been formed, and had quarters in the immediate vicinity of where the present Hope engine-house now stands. The Friendship, Grant and Columbia companies were also organized in the early sixties.

On each of these companies a foreman was given a residence in the engine-house, a salary of $12.50 per quarter, with "free coal and rent." Besides him there were four men, who lived in the vicinity, who were given ten dollars a quarter each, with one dollar

for every fire they attended. Hose was carried on a hand-reel, and not on a carriage as at present.

The "Old Hope" was the first steam engine ever purchased. It was put into service in 1861, and is still held as a reserve. At that date the wages of the five chief volunteers were increased to twenty dollars a quarter. The men often pooled their earnings and then made an equal division among all the members of the company, which sometimes were scores in number. In 1870 the whole department was reorganized on its present basis at regular salaries, with James E. Crow as chief engineer. He has held that office ever since. At present the department consists of nine engines, nine hose-carriages, two trucks for ladders, fifty-seven men and nine companies.

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

The history of the police force of Pittsburgh, so far as effectiveness and strength are concerned, belongs exclusively to the latter half of this century. The city has had a nominal police force from the beginning, but an effective one only since its size rendered one necessary as well as possible.

The first police of the town consisted, up to 1794, of the constable of Pitt township—a township long since swallowed up by the city. When this county was a part of Bedford county, up to 1773, and a part of Westmoreland county, from 1773 to 1788, Pitt township extended on the Monongahela from the Point to Turtle creek, and thence up Turtle creek to Brush creek, and thence by the line of Plum township to the Allegheny river, and thence to the place of beginning at the Point. The constable of this township was, with the exception of the sheriff, the only officer available for the arrest of criminals. Happily, as the population was small, there were but few arrests necessary. When the borough of Pittsburgh was organized in 1794 the town became detached from Pitt township, and was thenceforward able to take care of itself. There was, in the borough organization, a high constable, and probably, also, a borough constable, who took the place of the township constable. This officer, however, confined his attention mainly to the service of civil process, to the collection of small debts and kindred duties, so that, although he could serve as well in criminal as in civil cases, the police jurisdiction of the town passed into the hands of the borough high constable. The borough was never rich, and the high constable never had any assistants. Probably he did not need any. The borough limits extended only to Grant street on the east, and to what is now Eleventh street on the north. The high constable could make a circuit of it two or three times a day, if he chose, and not tire himself out, either, in doing so, and the population was not numerous enough at any time to be very vicious or disorderly. There were probably drunkards galore, but drunkards were not so much objects of attention then as now; and as the methods of getting away were not numerous, nor readily available, crimes against property, within so small a space, were not of frequent occurrence. At any rate, for many years the high constable found himself equal to all the demands for police service.

In 1816 the city was first organized, and although empowered with full

authority to establish a police force, but little use seems to have been made of that power. The limit of city taxation was five mills on the dollar, and this allowed but little room for expenditures on police; and although at first, proud of its powers as a city, it branched out into the establishment of a night-watch, it soon found itself stranded, for want of means, probably, and was obliged to repeal its night-watch ordinance, and allow the city to get along at night without police supervision. The act of assembly of March 4, 1816, incorporating the city, does not mention policemen, or contain any special authority empowering the councils to establish a city police; but it conferred a general power upon councils to "make, ordain, constitute and establish such and so many laws, ordinances, regulations and constitutions . . . as shall be necessary or convenient for the government and welfare of said city, and the same to enforce, put in use and execution by constables and other proper officers (whom they shall have power to appoint)." That this act did not contemplate the appointment of a city police force, immediately, is plain from Section 14 of the same act, which provided that, "to the further end and intent that there may not be a failure of justice, within the said city, by reason of any person or persons who may be charged with having committed any offense or offenses therein lurking or being in secret or other places in the neighborhood thereof, it shall be lawful for any constable or constables of the said city, to whom any warrant under the hand and seal of the said mayor, recorder or aldermen, or any of them, shall be delivered, commanding him or them to take any person or persons who shall have been charged with having committed any offense within the said city, and to bring him, her or them before the said mayor, recorder or aldermen, or any of them; and he and they are hereby enjoined and required to execute the same by making of the arrest, if the same can be done, at any place within the county of Allegheny."

The "constable or constables" herein referred to were undoubtedly the ward constables, elected by the people in each ward yearly, and not a special city police; and this provision of law was needed, not to empower them to execute processes issued by the city authorities, as they already possessed that power amply, but to "enjoin and require" them to serve all such processes in cases where they might feel like refusing to execute warrants issued by the mayor. These ward constables would naturally be not overburdened with work, in their line, in the early history of the city, and hence there was no apparent necessity, at that time, for increasing the expenses of the young city by requiring it to maintain a separate police force. There was, as we find by the old appropriation ordinances, a high or chief constable for the city, whose salary was the munificent sum of two hundred dollars, and he, with the four ward constables, was expected to maintain the peace and dignity of the city from all assaults by mobs, disorderly persons and criminals of all kinds.

The power of appointment of police officers, it will be seen, was vested in the councils, not in the mayor, and this phraseology was continued as late as 1857, when an act was passed empowering the councils of the city "to pro-

vide for an efficient day and night police in said city," and the supreme court held, as will be seen in 2 Harris, 177, that "the appointment of police for the city of Pittsburgh exists in the city councils and not in the mayor." In 1842 Mayor Hay undertook to assert his power to act independently of councils in the choice of night-watchmen; but the city solicitor, Andrew Wylie, Jr. (since one of the judges of the District of Columbia), cited him into court upon a writ of mandamus, and the court decided against the mayor. The solicitor, however, acquired thereby the nickname of "Mandamus Wylie," which stuck to him until he removed to Washington city.

In the appropriation ordinance for 1831 there is an appropriation of two hundred dollars a year to the high constable, and six hundred dollars to city constables, from which it is inferable that there were three city constables at two hundred dollars a year each. In a previous ordinance mention is made of but two city constables, and subsequently, in 1837, of four. In 1840, and for years afterward, there were five, besides the chief, and this continued until 1851, or thereabouts, when the force was increased.

The first ordinance discoverable in the city records concerning a night force was passed August 24, 1816, the first year of the city's existence, and it was an attempt to imitate the example of Philadelphia, her form of city government being the model for ours. It authorizes the mayor to appoint one captain of the night-watch, and as many night-watchmen as he may deem expedient, or the interests of the city may require. This was a large power to confer upon the mayor, but a subsequent part of the ordinance limits the expenditures to three hundred dollars, so that there was not much danger, within that limit, of an abuse of the power. These night watchmen, besides being directed to apprehend all drunkards, vagrants, disorderly persons and criminals of all kinds, are also enjoined to call the hours, and the weather, every hour from 10 o'clock at night to 4 in the morning, in summer, and from 10 at night to 6 in the morning, in winter, that the inhabitants may thereby know the time of night and the state of the weather at all hours. This practice of crying the hour was continued in this city up to within the memory of many of the present generation; and any old citizen could tell when a new watchman was put on duty by the awkwardness with which he tried to announce that it was "past 12 o'clock and a rainy (or cloudy) morning." But the principal duty of the night-watch was to arouse the town when a fire broke out. The terror of all new towns is a constant dread of fire. The night-watch were enjoined, when a fire broke out, to arouse every person upon their "beats" or "rounds," to give immediate notice to the firemen in charge of the fire-engine, and to do whatever was necessary to spread the alarm as far and as rapidly as possible. Those who have lived in country places know the terror which a cry of "fire" at night creates, and the particularity with which this ordinance details the duties of the night-watch, in cases of fire, shows that the early inhabitants of Pittsburgh had passed through all phases of that terror.

But this experiment did not last long. Either it cost too much, or did not

work well, for, on March 5, 1817, after an experience of less than six months, the ordinance was repealed and the night force entirely broken up. The watchmen were directed to hand over their maces, uniforms, etc., to the city authorities, and provision was made for taking future care of the watch-houses that had been erected. These latter were small concerns, about large enough for two people to stand up in. Their purpose was to house any person who had been arrested until he or she could be taken before a magistrate. In later times, after a central watchhouse had been provided, these small concerns were used to house the watchmen, who were frequently charged with snoozing away the time therein. What led to this sudden repeal of the ordinance must ever remain a mystery. A wag suggests that the ears of the people were too much vexed by the inharmoniousness that prevailed in this early attempt to call out, hourly, the time of night and the weather; but it is not likely that their musical taste was sufficiently cultivated, then, for that. An ordinance of January 3, 1831, empowers the mayor to employ "night patrolmen," but imposes no limit as to number; an ordinance of March 24, 1836, which followed shortly after the first election of mayor by the people, confines the force to one captain, two lieutenants and sixteen watchmen. Another ordinance, of March 9, 1842, reduces the number of watchmen to eleven, and these were paid the princely sum of twenty-six dollars per month each; in 1843 the number was increased to twelve; and in 1850 the lieutenants had increased to four, and the watchmen to twenty-four. In 1868 the day and night police were combined into one force, under the chief of police, and the number was largely increased. This has continued ever since; but the whole police force, night and day, is now included under the superintendence of the department of public safety.

The police force of the city has thus grown up, slowly but steadily, from a very small beginning. Its development, in numbers, has kept pace with the growth of the city, and it has, also, grown very rapidly in efficiency. A young community gets along very well with a small police force, and a small force is not apt to develop much skill in the apprehension of criminals. Crimes come with a larger population; and skill in the detection of crime grows, generally, with the demand for it. There have been times, in the history of this city, when the police seemed unequal to the occasion; but that experience has fallen to the lot of every city. As a general rule, the police force of this city has had a steady growth in efficiency, and it is now the equal of any force in any other city of equal population. It has produced no very great men, but great men are not expected to be bred in such an atmosphere. But it has produced some very excellent officers and skilled detectives, and crime has as little chance of success here as it has anywhere else.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

The Medical Profession—First and Other Early Physicians of Pittsburgh—Allegheny County Medical Society—Medical Colleges—Homeopathic Physicians and Hospital.

"THE medical history of Western Pennsylvania," says Dr. E. A. Wood, "is much the same as medical history everywhere, made up and filled in with ambition, endeavor, but steady progress. The early struggle of pioneers in medicine hereabouts was the struggle common to professional men in all parts of America. Our western medical Athens, Philadelphia, and our metropolis, New York, had no medical school when Fort Duquesne was built, none when Braddock left the bones of a thousand slain to whiten the plain which bears his name. The profession in America did the best it could in those days; the medical profession of young Pittsburgh did the best it could do with the knowledge and armament, crude and imperfect, at its command. The science of medicine was, in those days, very incomplete—it is not perfect yet, but is immeasurably superior to what it then was—and the drugs, implements and conveniences were almost barbaric compared with the efficient and elegant outfit of the physicians and surgeons of to-day. Calomel, the lancet and the blister constituted the armament of the old heroes, and these, with the saddle-bags to carry them in, were the first things requisite to give a young doctor a start in the world. The human system with its ills is the same to-day as it was a century ago, but if one were curious to know how medical practice has changed, let a young graduate be started on his way with the old-fashioned saddle-bags, with their contents."

The doctor usually precedes the lawyer and the clergyman in all new communities. The early settlers in any neighborhood can get along very well for a good while without a lawyer, and for a longer period without a clergyman; but human ills prevail in new as well as in old settlements, and hence the doctor is the first professional necessity of any new place. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that as early as 1765, as soon, in fact, as Campbell's new town began to assume shape, a doctor's "shop" was opened in Pittsburgh. (It was the doctor's "shop," not his "office," in those days. The doctor's students were his "apprentices," and the doctor furnished his own medicines instead of writing prescriptions. The drugstore came in a good way further along.) The first doctor here was Dr. Nathaniel Bedford. That it was in 1765 we learn from the *Gazette* of August 26, 1786, which says "there were

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here in Pittsburgh, in 1765, two physicians. Dr. Bedford was one of them." The name of the second is omitted, but Dr. Wood says it was Dr. Stevenson.

Dr. Bedford came to Pittsburgh as a surgeon in the British army, but, attracted by the promise of the place as a good one for a physician, resigned his position in the army, and forthwith opened his "shop." He is represented as having been well educated and of polished manners, but very dressy, wearing ruffled shirt-fronts and wristbands. He must have succeeded well in his profession, for he acquired a large tract of land on the South Side, comprising what is now the Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth wards of the city, or what was comprised within the old boroughs of Birmingham and St. Clair. Almost directly under the track of the South Twelfth street inclined railway, an antique wine-urn may be seen, storm-beaten and weather-stained, which marks the last resting-place of Dr. Nathaniel Bedford. It was erected to his memory by the Freemasons, of which body he was a prominent member.

Peter Mowry, born in 1760, entered Dr. Bedford's office in 1786, as an "apprentice," whose business it was to sweep the shop, make pills, and, as he progressed in acquiring medical knowledge, to accompany the doctor in his visits, carrying the saddle-bags, and pick up such crumbs of medical experience as fell in his way. Mowry attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, when the celebrated Dr. Rush was a professor there. On his return from the lectures he married a daughter of Judge Addison, and entered into partnership with Dr. Bedford. He attained a very prominent rank as a physician, and was the leading medical authority here in the early part of the century. A son of his, or a grandson, is still practicing medicine here. Dr. Mowry's house stood on the east side of the Diamond square.

Dr. William Addison, a son of Judge Addison, studied medicine with Dr. Peter Mowry, graduated at the Maryland University, spent two years in Paris, and returning entered into partnership with his preceptor. He was a well-educated physician, but was occasionally rather plain-spoken and independent.

Drs. Carmichael, Mawhinney and Holmes are spoken of as contemporary with Bedford, Stevenson, Mowry and Addison. Dr. Stevenson was a revolutionary soldier. In 1826 the city directory gives the following as a list of the physicians in Pittsburgh: Drs. Brunot, Mowry, Holmes, Church, Agnew, Gazzam, Simpson, W. F. Irwin, I. S. Irwin, Burrell, Armstrong, McConnell, Speer, W. H. Denny, Hannen and McFarland.

Dr. Holmes, here mentioned, studied with Dr. Mowry, and while well known as an excellent physician, was equally well known as a dashing rider of fast horses. He was a splendid figure on horseback, and was as fine a rider as was ever seen on the streets of the city. He had a keen eye for a good piece of horseflesh, and was fond of saying that his horse knew more of medicine than some pretended doctors.

Dr. James Agnew, the father of Judge Agnew, stood very high in the ranks of the earlier physicians. He entered into partnership with Dr. Simpson, and in the city directory for 1819 the following advertisement appears:

Drs. Agnew and Simpson have formed a copartnership in the practice of medicine, and conjointly tender their services to their friends and all others who may apply for professional aid. Their shop is at the corner of Third and Wood streets, where one or both may at all times be consulted.

Medical etiquet has changed very much since 1819. It would be a mortal offense for a doctor to advertise at all in 1888, and the advertisers would be unmercifully tabooed who should issue such a notice now. Yet Agnew and Simpson were no mean slouches in their profession. Why should what was right then be wrong now?

In the early part of this century it was the practice of the doctor to attend the funerals of his patients, and his place was at the head of the procession to the graveyard. The graveyards were then all in the lower part of the city, and quite easy of access. There were no hearses or carriages. The pall-bearers carried the corpse, either on their shoulders or on a bier; the doctor and clergyman marched in front, and the family and friends followed behind. The doctor was rather honored than otherwise in being thus placed in the van. On one occasion, the story goes, a celebrated physician was marching at the head of a funeral procession, when he was met by Billy Price, an eccentric Englishman, who built a roundhouse out Fifth avenue, and had a foundry there for small castings, which he delivered in person to his customers. On meeting the procession, Price called out, "Well, doctor, I see that, like myself, *you are delivering your work.*"

Of the other men mentioned as being in practice here in 1826, nearly all are familiar to men who lived here from 1830 to 1850. Dr. Joseph P. Gazzam was a long time in practice, and earned a grand reputation as a safe, cautious, methodical and courteous physician. His father was an Englishman, and came to Pittsburgh with his family in 1800. There were two doctors in the family, Joseph P. and Edward D., but the latter was more of a politician than a doctor. He ran as a candidate for state senator in 1841, against George Darsie. The district was composed of Butler and Allegheny counties. Allegheny gave Gazzam forty-six majority and Butler gave Darsie forty-seven, thus beating the doctor by one vote. In 1856 the doctor's political ambition was gratified, he being elected to the senate in that year on the republican ticket. Dr. E. D. Gazzam, however, was not much known in the profession. He never practiced much, having married a rich wife; but Dr. Joseph P. Gazzam was a star in the profession. He had great brain-force, energy and ability, and attained to a very extensive and lucrative practice.

Dr. Brooks came to the city from the upper Monongahela, having acquired his professional education at his country home. He soon attained to a high rank and popularity as a family physician, and became skillful, also, as a surgeon. He lived to a good old age.

Dr. McDowell graduated at an eastern university, and began the practice of medicine there; but having acquired, through his wife, an interest in an iron-works, gave up medicine and came to Pittsburgh as an iron-manufacturer.

But the business did not prove congenial, and he resumed the practice of medicine by opening an office in this city. He built up for himself a splendid practice by his quick, winning and decisive manner.

Drs. Irwin, Burrell, Armstrong and Hannen were all eminent in the profession, and achieved great success in practice. Dr. Speer was a long time in active service, but finally devoted himself to the special study of diseases of the eye, in which he attained great proficiency. He retired from the service some years since. Dr. Denny, after a few years' practice, developed as a financier, and served creditably as such in several banking institutions.

Dr. H. D. Sellers is not mentioned in the 1826 list, and probably came here afterward. He graduated at Baltimore, and shortly afterward moved to Pittsburgh. He gathered up a large practice, and earned a very high reputation as a good physician.

The Allegheny County Medical society was organized in 1850, and kept up its organization for five or six years, when it suspended. It was resuscitated in 1865, and has kept up its existence actively and efficiently ever since. Under its influence Pittsburgh has kept pace with the leaders of the medical and surgical art, and in the councils of the profession and in its literature has many physicians and surgeons who stand among the foremost in the land. The profession has erected a handsome and commodious building for a medical college, and the "Western Pennsylvania Medical College" is now fully under way, with a large and brilliant array of home talent as its professors and lecturers. In thoroughness and efficiency it is to be second to none in the land.

The homeopathic system of medicine was not introduced here until 1837. Dr. B. F. Dake says it was brought here then at the request of "a clergyman of Pittsburgh," whom he does not name. His appeal brought here Dr. Gustavus Reichhelm, just arrived from Europe, and he was thus the first to introduce the homeopathic practice here. He was a grave, scholarly, resolute and courteous man, and he soon built up a large practice, his success being great in the treatment of young children. He remained here till 1853, when, on account of domestic troubles, he went back to Philadelphia, and died there, suddenly, of apoplexy, in 1864. He was not an aggressive man, but, as the pioneer of a new medical idea, held his own with remarkable firmness. The men who followed him were Dr. C. Bayer, Dr. D. M. Dake, Dr. Marcellin Cote, Dr. Wilson, the Drs. Hoffman, Dr. J. P. Dake, Dr. J. F. Cooper, and since then a host of others, whom it would be tedious to enumerate. The most aggressive of these men was Dr. D. M. Dake. The homeopathic hospital, on Second avenue, is a monument of their energy and persistence. The system has been established here on a very firm basis.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

THE PRESS—THE PITTSBURGH GAZETTE AND MR. SCULL—SUBSEQUENT NEWSPAPERS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE PRESS OF 1786 AND THAT OF 1889.

THE newspapers of Pittsburgh, though few, are good; and all of them can say that they have come to their present estate "through much tribulation." The *Gazette* had the field to itself for many years, yet its circulation during its early period must have been very limited. On several occasions, when the packhorses failed to arrive with a supply of paper from the east, Mr. Scull, its proprietor, was obliged to borrow cartridge-paper from the commander of the United States garrison; and it is not supposable that cartridge-paper, in those days, was of very superior quality. The *Gazette* must have presented an appearance much like a confederate country sheet, during the rebellion, printed on wall-paper. Then there were no mails. For years after the *Gazette* was started there were no mails at all, and the subscribers were supplied, fitfully, by special carriers. These carriers were undoubtedly very slow coaches, taking their time after the fashion of modern messenger-boys. Even when a mail was established, it traversed but one route, from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, with a branch from Bedford to Virginia. What a solitary ride the mail-rider must have had on this southern route! From Bedford to Cumberland was an unbroken wilderness. Plainly the mail could have supplied facilities to but few of the *Gazette's* subscribers, who lived, most of them, off the mail-route; and during the whole of the closing years of last century, probably, they had to depend on the uncertain visits of the hired paper-carriers. Advertising, too, was of slim proportions. Notices of the running off of apprentices and slaves; of "vendues," or auctions of stock and household stuff; of lost horses and cattle; of candidates for sheriff, then the only elective county office; an occasional sale of a homestead; and once in awhile the owner of a store would give notice of his willingness to exchange his wares for country produce, such as potash, pearlash, wool, pelts, yarns, socks, along with butter, eggs and grain. Every country house then had a loom and spinning-wheel, and country linen and flannel were in plentiful supply. Money was scarce, and barter was the common resort of both buyer and seller. Mr. Scull, we know, made both ends meet in the long run, but he was proprietor, editor, reporter and typesetter all in one, and was, besides, postmaster; but as the revenue of the Pittsburgh postoffice did not exceed one hundred dollars a year for some years, his income from that source could not have been large.

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The first thing that strikes a reader on seeing one of the old-time papers is the entire absence of editorial matter. Beyond a notice of a fire, or a flood, or some other local calamity, there is no original matter in any of them, excepting communications. In every place able to support a paper there was always someone to write a communication to it. These articles were never signed with the name of the writer, but purported to come from "Vindex," "Publicola," "Tacitus," "Cicero," and the whole range of classical authors and heroes. They were usually written in the sophomore vein, abounded in classical allusions and quotations, and were on all subjects, religion, politics, law, medicine and morals. Essays after the manner of the *Spectator* were frequent, and the weekly paper was the only outlet for whatever literary activity existed. Beyond these literary efforts the paper was filled with news. Foreign news in great fullness, a month or two old, and domestic news a little fresher, but not much. It has been stated, with a flourish, that the *Gazette* took a firm stand against the whisky rebellion, but its "firm stand" must have consisted in saying and doing nothing. Its influence may have been felt on the right side, and doubtless it was, but its columns can not be cited in proof. Down to 1830, and perhaps afterward, this characteristic of the press was maintained, and one can not but wonder, in looking back, how the papers of that day made their impression on the public mind. The contrast between that day and this, in that respect, is marvelous and noteworthy.

Mr. Scull remained in connection with the *Gazette* until 1818, when he retired to Westmoreland county, and died there in 1828. He was succeeded in the paper by Morgan Neville, he by Neville B. Craig, and he by David N. White. Mr. White disposed of the paper in 1856 to Samuel Riddle & Co., who in 1866 transferred it to its present proprietors. It is now, in its one hundred and third year, a large, vigorous, well-conducted paper, giving promise of continued long life. It was always considered a federal paper under Scull, was whig under Craig and White, and republican from the inception of that party in 1855.

The next oldest paper, although not in continuous succession, is the *Post*. It claims to date back to 1796, but we can find no record of any paper of its class until 1803, when the *Commonwealth*, a weekly democratic paper, was started by Ephraim Pentland. It was finally merged in the *Statesman*, a whig paper, published by John B. Butler, and the *Statesman* was merged in the *Advocate*, which was eventually swallowed up by the *Gazette*. But the democratic patronage was transferred at an early date to the Pittsburgh *Mercury*, a weekly paper, started in 1811 by James C. Gilleland, who was succeeded in 1812 by John M. Snowden. In 1837 it was published by Morrow & Smith, and in 1842 was merged with the *American Manufacturer*, and from the union of those two sprang the *Post*, which has continued from that day to this, and is the only democratic paper published in the city (excepting Sunday and German papers). It has a connected history back to 1803.

The next oldest paper is the *Dispatch*. It was established in 1846, as a penny paper, by J. Heron Foster. A paper of the same name was started in 1833 by John F. Jennings, but only seven numbers were issued. Mr. Foster made the *Dispatch* popular from the start, but in 1865 it was changed from a penny to a three-cent paper, and is now one of the largest papers in the city. It has a large and substantial circulation, is edited with great ability, and is independently republican in politics.

The *Times* is the remaining morning paper. It was started in 1880 as a penny paper, and is now firmly established as such, with a daily circulation bordering on thirty thousand. It is republican in politics, clean, spirited and popular.

The evening papers are the *Chronicle-Telegraph*, the *Leader* and the *Penny Press*. The Pittsburgh *Chronicle* was begun in 1841 by R. G. Berford, and continued its life till 1884, when it was merged in the *Telegraph*. The latter paper was started in 1847, and maintained a fitful existence for several years, but was finally set fair upon its feet, and now, since its union with the *Chronicle*, it is a substantial, well-conducted, well-to-do paper. The *Leader* was established in 1870 by Pittock, Nevin & Co., is independent in character, and enjoys a large circulation. The *Penny Press*, started in 1885, is a penny paper, as its name indicates, republican in politics, and is a sprightly and industrious collector of the news.

These constitute the list of daily papers now published. But behind them, looking back for fifty years, the pathway is strewn with newspaper wrecks. The mere list of them would occupy solid pages. There was the *Tree of Liberty*, 1801, which lasted only five or six years; the *Pioneer*, 1812; the *Western Gleaner*, 1813; the *Western Journal*, 1826; the Allegheny *Democrat*, 1827, merged with the *Mercury* in 1841; the *Hesperus*, 1828; the *Independent Republican*, 1829; the *Times*, 1831, died in 1838 or 1839; the *Advocate*, 1832, merged afterward in the *Gazette*; the *Western Emporium* (Allegheny), 1833; *Saturday Evening Visitor*, 1833; *Christian Witness*, 1836; the *Pittsburgher*, 1839; the *Daily American*, evening, 1839; *Harris' Intelligencer*, 1839; *Literary Examiner*, 1839; *Sibbett's Western Review*, 1839; *Literary Messenger*, 1841; *Daily Sun*, 1841; *Herald and Weekly Advertiser*, 1841; *Spirit of Liberty*, 1842; *Spirit of the Age*, 1843; the *Mystery*, 1844; the *Ariel*, 1845; the *Alleghenian*, 1845; the *Nautilus*, 1845; the *Olden Time*, 1846; *Stars and Stripes*, 1847; the *Albatross*, 1847; *Temperance Banner*, 1847; *Evening Day Book*, 1847; the *Token*, 1848; Allegheny *Daily Enterprise*, 1850; *Dollar Ledger*, *Evening Tribune*, the *Evening News* and the *Daily Express*, all in 1850; and divers other papers, the names of which memory fails to recall. All of these lived but a short time—some less than a year, others one, two or three years—and all died out completely, or were merged in other concerns that also died.

The religious press is well represented. The *Methodist Recorder*, organ of

the Methodist Protestants, was started in Ohio in 1839, and after being moved about to sundry places was finally lodged in Pittsburgh in 1871. The Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*, organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was originally the Pittsburgh *Conference Journal*, started in 1833. The *Presbyterian Banner* was started as the *Weekly Recorder* in 1814, at Chillicothe, Ohio, and removed to Pittsburgh in 1822. It is said to be the oldest religious paper in the United States. The *United Presbyterian* began as the *Preacher* in 1842, and has absorbed about a dozen other papers. The Pittsburgh *Catholic* was first issued in 1844, and has continued regularly since. All these papers are large, well printed and well edited, and each of them has a large circulation among the people of their several denominations.

Of the German papers, the first published here was the *Beobachter*, a weekly, in 1832. The *Freiheits Freund* was originally started at Chambersburg, Pa., in 1834, but was removed to Pittsburgh in 1837, by Victor Scriba, its then owner. Its present proprietors, L. & W. Neeb, were apprentices in the office in 1836. It commenced as a weekly, but has been a daily since 1855, or before. It was neutral in politics until the Fremont campaign, when it became republican, and has so remained ever since. It has a daily circulation of over ten thousand, and a large weekly circulation. It is the principal German paper in Western Pennsylvania. The other German papers are the *Volksblaat* and the *Republikaner*, both respectable papers, but neither of them of sufficient prominence, outside their immediate circle, to draw special attention. The *Republikaner* is democratic.

In addition to the papers above mentioned there are various trade-journals published in the interest of the several branches of trade, the principal of which is the *American Manufacturer*, devoted mainly to the iron and steel interests. The labor interest is represented by the *Labor Tribune* and the *Labor Herald*.

Altogether, the city makes a most respectable showing in the list of papers now published in it. They are all neat in appearance, well patronized, well edited, enterprising, brisk and, as a general rule, clean. The contrast between the diminutive sheet of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* of 1786, with its meager supply of intelligence from weeks to months old, and any of the Pittsburgh dailies of 1889, broad and well-filled sheets, with telegraphic news from all parts of the world only a day old, is simply astounding. It illustrates, better than the most eloquent lecture could, the great progress attained in a century. One of the double issues of to-day contains as much matter as the paper of a hundred years ago contained in a year. But, *query*, are the people any better satisfied with the fresh news, day by day, than they were a century ago with news comparatively stale? It is not certain that they are. The news then was slow in coming, and reached back for weeks and months; but it was still news, and was probably received, old as it was, with as much keenness and interest as we receive our later news. The interest in intelligence depends

more upon its character than upon its age. Still, that does not weaken the contrast between the papers of 1786 and 1889.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

The Riots of 1877—Origin of the Outbreak—Destruction of Property and Loss of Life—Sympathy with the Rioters—Outrages.

ALL cities have riots, at some time in their history, and Pittsburgh had her share in 1877. It was chiefly remarkable for the amount of property destroyed, and for the utter paralysis that overcame the local authorities in attempting to put it down. The total of the property destroyed was valued at three millions of dollars, and all this destruction was wrought during the quiet of a beautiful Sunday in July.

The origin of this outbreak was an attempt on the part of the Pennsylvania Railroad company to cut down its expenses by putting two ordinary freight-trains into one. This double train was called a "double-ender." An ordinary freight-train consists of one engine and twenty freight-cars, with a conductor and two brakemen. The plan of the road was to put forty freight-cars into one train, with an engine at each end, and man it with one conductor and two brakemen, thus saving the pay of three men on each of such trains. The company was engaged in an effort to cut down expenses, and it knew of no better method than this to retrench. It was not a very brilliant conception at best, and the effort to carry it out did not result in any retrenchment, as far as heard from.

The freight employés of the road naturally "kicked" against a movement aimed to cut down half their force. They argued with the company against its reasonableness, and endeavored to demonstrate that it would really not prove economical, but in vain. The order to make the experiment was issued, and the railroad company seemed to be confident of its ability to carry it out. But the freight employés at once formed a compact organization, and resolved to resist. Thursday, the 19th of July, 1877, was chosen by the railroad company as the time for the order to go into effect, and on that day several "double-enders" were made up, but there were no brakemen or conductors to man them. The men had "struck," and strung themselves out through the yards and along the tracks to see that no one ventured to help take out a "double-ender." The freight business of the road came to an immediate standstill, and the company, on Friday, called on the governor for troops to protect the property of the railroad. The troops were called out on Saturday. On

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that day the strikers were strung out along the railroad tracks, between the Union depot and the stockyards, in the East End, the greatest gatherings being at Torrens station and East Liberty, and at the outer depot, near Twenty-eighth street. The local military organizations called out were the Fourteenth and Eighteenth regiments of the National Guards, the Jefferson cavalry and Hutchison's battery. The cavalry and artillery were stationed in the low part of the threatened district, and the infantry upon the hill-slope above Twenty-eighth street. A local paper says:

About 2 o'clock P. M. on Saturday, Philadelphia troops, consisting of two brigades, including the Weccaco Legion, Washington Greys and Keystone battery, with two Gatling guns, arrived, and were stationed at the Twenty-eighth street crossing, near the round-house and outer depot. It was then that indications pointed to an attempt to send out "double-headers." The crowd in the vicinity was immense, the tracks being covered with people, and the eastern regiments at once proceeded to clear the way for the business of the road. The crowd sullenly maintained its position. In the endeavor to push back the crowd some evil-disposed persons hurled stones among the militia. This resulted in a scattering fire from a portion of the latter, by which a number of persons were killed and wounded, including some of the home soldiers. This unfortunate affair incensed the strikers and their friends, and their fury increased as night drew on, when a powerful mob took possession of the city. All the idlers, thieves and lawless characters of the city took control, and robbery and arson followed. Soon after the firing the Philadelphia troops took possession of the lower roundhouse of the railroad company, at Twenty-seventh street, and there prepared to defend themselves against the infuriated mob. Bands of desperate men visited different parts of the city, forced armories, broke into gunshops and stores where arms were kept, and helped themselves. A cannon was obtained at the armory of Knapp's battery, in Allegheny, and it was placed on Twenty-seventh street, with a view of assault upon the roundhouse. It was of little avail, however, as upon every attempt to fire it the besieged from the windows of the house emptied a volley of balls with deadly effect. Meantime the work of arson had commenced, and train after train of freight-cars was set on fire, and with them an effort made, by means of the tracks on both sides of the buildings, to set the roundhouse on fire. This double danger was gallantly fought by the beleaguered garrison, who cast obstructions upon the tracks. Sunday morning the troops evacuated the roundhouse, and reached Penn avenue by way of Twenty-fifth street, and thence marched to the United States arsenal. Being denied admission there, they crossed the Allegheny river and marched thence to Blairsville. On the way out Penn avenue they were attacked by the mob, and, when compelled, returned fire. On the march several soldiers were killed and a number wounded, while their fire into their assailants had deadly effect.

The work of destruction by fire continued during all of Sunday, and the incendiary's torch was not stayed until all the Pennsylvania railroad property, including cars and freight, within reach had been fired. Other railroad property in the city and in Allegheny would also have been lighted had it not been that by Sunday afternoon citizens had organized and were prepared for resistance. The firemen were prevented by the mob from attempting to save railroad property, the companies being stopped by armed men, while threats were made to cut the hose and upset the apparatus.

Twenty-five persons in all were killed. In all about 1,383 freight-cars, 104 locomotives and 66 passenger-coaches were destroyed. The grain-elevator and Union depot and hotel were the principal buildings burned. The losses to the railroads amounted to $2,500,000; that to private persons was about $150,000.

In the meantime efforts were made to use the city authority to quell the

revolt, and, that failing, to use the county authority; but neither effort amounted to anything. The mayor was willing and anxious to do his best; but his police force was small and he had no power to increase it. Even if he had had the power he would have been unable to use it, for, on account of the reasons hereinafter stated, the people generally sympathized with the strikers, and men could not be found willing to serve as special policemen against their neighbors and friends among the rioters. The sheriff had power, and we believe he used it, to call out the *posse comitatus;* but the strikers constituted a large part of the *posse comitatus,* and those not among the strikers were related to them, or knew them, or sympathized with them. Hence, neither city nor county was able, on the spur of such a moment, to do anything; and, indeed, after the strikers had been infuriated by the military it would have taken the city and county, *en masse,* to have put them down. This is said, not to excuse the action, or want of action, of the local authorities, but to show that in a struggle between employers and employés, such as this was, one part of the community can not be depended on to put another part down. There is a strong disinclination, even at the best, in the average citizen, to serve in the *posse* or as a special policeman.

But there were reasons behind this for the lukewarmness of the citizens when this outbreak commenced. From the very start the Pennsylvania road had persisted in treating Pittsburgh, not as the western terminus of the line, but as a mere way-station on its route to the west. The city, until within a few years past, was unable to profit by the advantages of its position. The railroad rates discriminated against it at nearly every point, and it was cheaper to ship grain and other western produce from Chicago to Philadelphia and New York than to Pittsburgh. A manufacturer here could ship his wares to Boston at a cheaper rate by sending them first to Cincinnati and reshipping them from there to Boston via Pittsburgh. This discrimination told strongly against Pittsburgh, and as a consequence her merchants generally were at odds with the railroads. Nearly every one of them had some private grievance of this kind to complain of. As a matter of course, everyone sought redress through the papers, and so the complaint became general, and everyone in the city, whether interested or not, took sides against the railroad. It became a great public wrong, and when the rebellion of the freight employés against the railroad began everyone was disposed to stand back and let the railroad fight out its own fight. This was before the destruction of property began; after that, instinct drove public sentiment to the side of the railroad company.

But it was too late. When the railroad employés began to burn cars, and put the burning cars in motion down the tracks for the purpose of driving the soldiers out of the roundhouse, all the devil in the hearts of the outside rowdies looking on was stirred up, and every thief, every loafer, every idler, every ill-disposed creature, seeing the opportunity offered for plunder, jumped at the unwonted chance, and at once began the work of looting. There were

hundreds of loaded cars on the tracks, some from the west for the east, loaded with flour, grain and provisions of all sorts, and some from the east for the west, loaded with shoes, hats, dry goods, and nearly every kind of goods for household use. To set fire to the depot and begin the work of plundering the cars was the task of but a moment; and all that Sunday, while the heavens were black with the smoke of the burning cars and depot, the streets were alive with plunderers loaded down with hams, sacks of flour, boots and shoes, dry goods and everything that was portable.

Was no attempt made to stop this plundering? Was ever an attempt made to stem a torrent in its course? No; it could not be stopped. The people engaged were mad with an unusual excitement, and a hat in front of the rush of Niagara would have done as much service as an attempt to stop this onrush and its results. The orderly part of the community were not engaged in it, and there was neither time nor occasion to organize them for effective resistance.

During Sunday the mayor called a public meeting of the citizens, which took measures to prevent the spread of the riot, and this step saved Allegheny and other portions of the city from the spread of the riot. It was consequently confined to the railroad tracks between the passenger depot and the outer depot. But enough mischief was done within this limited space to compel the county to pay over damages to the amount of nearly three million dollars.

In the time of the Native-American riots in Philadelphia the legislature passed an act making Philadelphia county responsible for all property destroyed by riots, and this act was afterward extended to Allegheny county, although no riots had ever at that time disgraced this county. The act was not general, and applied to those two counties only. Had the riot occurred in any county in the state outside of Philadelphia and Allegheny there would have been no legal recourse for damages.

The high pitch of excitement prevailing here in this riot among the railroaders and their sympathizers was not confined to Pittsburgh. It existed at the same moment and with equal intensity at Washington city, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati and other cities. The electric fluid developed itself at all these places threateningly, but it struck here. That was all the difference. As in a thunder-storm, one spot received all the strokes of lightning, while dozens of other spots saw the flashes of the lightning and heard the mutterings of the thunder. After exhausting itself here, the storm soon ceased at all the other points. But there was a widespread feeling of discontent with the railroads at that time all over the Union. The interstate commerce law has done a great deal to remove all public sympathy with such a movement now, and the riot of 1877 is not likely to be repeated.

The riot, however, demonstrated how utterly useless home troops are in putting down a popular outbreak. The National Guards from this city were

the first on the ground, and did much toward working up the minds of the freight employés to the fighting-point. These home soldiers were nearly all personally known to the rioters, and it is the most difficult thing imaginable to induce men to shoot into the ranks of their neighbors, relatives and friends. In war, when the blood is up, this is easier; but to summon A, B and C from their peaceful homes to shoot down, in cold blood, D, E and F, whom they know and to whom they are possibly related, is a far more difficult thing. The home troops, in this instance, did fire, but it was with great reluctance, and amid execrations it was hard to bear. The reluctance, too, was marked enough to be seen by the rioters, and appreciated by them accordingly. It only made them the more determined and resolute.

This, and all the other reasons we have cited, was no excuse for the riot itself. That was inexcusable on any plea. The facts we have cited explain, but do not justify, the riot. The occasions of a wrong done may be understood without turning them into an excuse. The county, it may be added, manfully shouldered its burden caused by the loss, and settled, on a fair basis, satisfactorily with all claimants. There was no litigation beyond what was necessary to establish its legal and corporate responsibility.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

Principal Officers of Pittsburgh from Its Incorporation—Principal Officers of Allegheny as Borough and City.

THE mayors of Pittsburgh, from 1817 to 1835, inclusive, were chosen by councils annually from the list of aldermen appointed by the governor. From 1836 to 1857, inclusive, the mayor was chosen annually by the people; from 1858 to 1868, inclusive, the mayor was chosen every two years by the people; and from 1869 to the present, every three years. The following is a list:

Ebenezer Denny, 1816 to 1817; John Darragh, 1817 to 1825; John M. Snowden, 1825 to 1827; Magnus Murray, 1828 to 1829; Mathew B. Lowrie, 1830; Magnus Murray, 1831; Samuel Pettigrew, 1832 to 1835. In 1834 the mayor was first elected by the people. Prior thereto he was appointed annually by the city councils, and their choice was restricted to the twelve aldermen of the city. Jonas R. McClintock, 1836 to 1838; William Little, 1839; William W. Irwin, 1840; James Thompson, 1841; Alex. Hay, 1842 to 1845; William J. Howard, 1845; William Kerr, 1846; Gabriel Adams, 1847 and 1848; John Herron, 1849; Joseph Barker, 1850; John B. Guthrie, 1851 and 1852; Robert M. Riddle, 1853; Ferdinand E. Volz, 1854 and 1855; William Bingham, 1856; Henry A. Weaver, 1857 to 1859. In January, 1858, the mayor was first elected for the term of two years. George Wilson, 1860 and 1861; B. C. Sawyer, 1862 and 1863; James Lowrey, 1864 and 1865; William C. McCarthy,

1866 and 1867; James Blackmore, 1868 and 1869; Jared M. Brush, 1869, 1870 and 1871. Mr. Brush was elected under the act of 1868 for three years. James Blackmore, 1872, 1873 and 1874; William C. McCarthy, 1875, 1876 and 1877; Robert Liddell, 1878, 1879 and 1880; Robert W. Lyon, 1881, 1882 and 1883; Andrew Fulton, 1884, 1885 and 1886; William McCallin, the present mayor.

Presidents of Select Council.—James Ross, 1816–33; Benjamin Bakewell, during the illness of Mr. Ross; Trevanion B. Dallas, 1834–35 (Mr. Dallas resigned upon being appointed president judge of the Fifth Judicial district); Abishai Way, 1835; Samuel B. Darlington, 1836–37; Joseph P. Gazzam, 1837–39; John P. Bakewell, 1840–41; John Shipton, 1842–43; Thomas Bakewell, 1844–45, resigned; George W. Jackson, remainder of 1845; Thomas Bakewell, 1846; John Shipton, 1847–48; Harmer Denny, 1849; James B. Murray, 1850–51; Isaac C. Jones, 1852; John Shipton, 1853–54; James McAuley, 1855–70; A. H. Gross, 1871–1876; David Aiken, 1877; J. G. McCandless, 1878; H. I. Gourley, 1879–87; H. P. Ford, 1888.

Presidents of Common Council.—William Wilkins, 1816–19; Alexander Johnstone, Jr., 1820–31; John Graham, 1831–34; Jonas R. McClintock, 1835; George A. Cook, 1836; M. B. Miltenberger, 1837; William Eichbaum, 1838–41; Alexander W. Foster, Jr., 1842, resigned; William Eichbaum, 1842–43; Morgan Robertson, 1844–48; Robert McKnight, 1849–51; Thomas M. Marshall, 1852–54; Samuel A. Long, 1855; Thomas M. Marshall, 1856; Russell Errett, 1857; Samuel McKelvey, 1858; Russell Errett, 1859; A. G. McCandless, 1860–62; John M. Killen, 1863; Thomas Steel, 1864–68, resigned; W. A. Tomlinson, 1868–70; Henry W. Oliver, 1871–72; William B. Negley, 1873–78; W. W. Thompson, 1879; William R. Ford, 1880–86; George L. Holliday, 1887–88.

Controllers.—Henry Lambert, 1858–59; Russell Errett, 1860–61; Thomas Steel, part of 1861 and balance of Errett's term; John McCargo, 1862–67; Thomas Steel, 1868; Robert J. McGowan, 1869–73; Robert Snodgrass, 1874–77; William C. McCarthy, 1878–80; E. S. Morrow, 1881—the present officer.

Treasurers.—John Pentland, 1816–18; John Scull, 1819–22; William Graham, Jr., 1823–35; William Pentland, 1836–37; Robert Watson, 1838, declined to serve; Nathaniel Holmes, 1838; James Thompson, 1839, declined; Samuel Johnstone, 1839–40; James A. Rartram, 1841–45; Samuel R. Johnstone, 1846; James M. Christy, 1847; Samuel R. Johnstone, 1848–51; Andrew McMasters, 1852–54; John C. Davitt, 1855–56; William Eichbaum, 1857–66. In January, 1858, the treasurer was first elected by the people, and for the term of two years. Mr. Eichbaum died during his term, and Mr. Allinder was elected by councils to supply the vacancy. Samuel Allinder, 1867–68; A. J. Cochran, 1869–71; C. L. Magee, 1872–77; Samuel Kilgore, 1878–80; Joseph F. Denniston, 1881—the present treasurer.

Solicitors.—This office was established in 1821, but no record of any appointment can be found from 1825 to 1830. Neville B. Craig, 1821–25; Trevanion B. Dallas, 1830–31; Edward Simpson, 1832–36; James Findley, 1837–39; Cornelius Darragh, 1840; Moses Hampton, 1841; Andrew Wiley, 1842–43; Robert Woods, 1844; C. M. B. Smith, 1845–46; C. O. Loomis, 1847–48; Charles B. Scully, 1849; James I. Kuhn, 1850–51; Oliver H. Rippey, 1852–53; James I. Kuhn, 1854; Alfred B. McCalmont, 1855; David D. Bruce, 1856; Alexander M. Foster, 1857–59; John W. Riddle, 1860; Jacob F. Slagle, 1861–62; J. W. F. White, 1863–65; Jacob F. Slagle, 1866–72; Thomas S. Bigelow, 1873–81; William C. Moreland, 1882 to the present time.

The following is a list of the principal officers of the borough of Allegheny:

Burgesses.—John Irwin, 1829–34; Hugh Davis, 1835–38; John Morrison, 1839–40.

Presidents of Council.—James Brown, 1828, 1829, 1834; Isaac Lightner, 1830–31; John Tassey, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839; John Mannen, 1838; S. S. Shields, 1840.

Clerks of Council.—R. A. Campbell, 1828; John Morrison, 1829–33; George R. Riddle, 1834–38; Thomas L. McMillan, 1839–40.

Treasurers.—Hugh Davis, 1828–29; William Robinson, Jr., 1830–35; John Patterson, 1836; John Morrison, 1837–38; John Hannen, 1839–40.

The following is a list of the principal officers of the city of Allegheny from its incorporation, in 1840, to the present time:

Mayors.—Gen. William Robinson, Jr., 1840; Thomas Sample, 1841; William B. Foster, 1842–43; Hezekiah Nixon, 1844–45; R. S. Cassett, 1846; Henry Campbell, 1847–48; Jonathan Rush, 1849; Hugh S. Fleming, 1850–52; R. W. Park, 1853; William B. Adams, 1854–56; Harmon De Haven, 1857; Jacob Stuckrath, 1858; John Morrison, 1859–60; Simon Drum, 1861–62; A. C. Alexander, 1863–64; John Morrison, 1865–67; Simon Drum, 1868–69; A. P. Callow, 1870–74; David Neely, 1874; H. S. Fleming, 1874; O. Phillips, 1875–77; Thomas Magaw, 1878–80; L. Peterson, 1881–84; James G. Wyman, 1884–87; Richard T. Pearson, 1887–88.

OLD TOWN HALL, ALLEGHENY CITY, TORN DOWN IN 1863.
[From cut by Snowden & Peterson.]

Presidents of Select Council.—James Brown, 1840–41; H. Nixon, 1842; E. W. Stephens, 1843–44; John Tassey, 1845–46; R. S. Cassett, 1847–48; William Robinson, 1849–56; Jacob Painter, 1857–58; James Marshall, 1859–65; James McBrier, 1866–74; Joshua Patterson, 1875–78; A. D. Armstrong, 1879–83; James H. Lindsay, 1884–.

Presidents of Common Council.—Henry Irwin, 1840–44; G. E. Warner, 1845–49; William Boyd, 1850–52; James Park, Jr., 1853; William Chambers, 1854; James Marshall, 1855; John Atwell, 1856; John W. Barr, 1857; J. Gardner Coffin, 1858; H. S. Fleming, 1859; Joseph Kirkpatrick, 1860; A. D. Smith, 1861–62; John Brown, Jr., 1863; James McBrier, 1864; Simon Drum, 1865; George D. Riddle, 1866–67; John S. Slagle, 1868; Alfred Slack, 1869; Henry Warner, 1870; Alfred Slack, 1871–73; Henry M. Long, 1874; William T. Price, 1875; J. C. S. Golden, 1876; James Hunter, 1877; George W. Shaman, 1878–80; James Hunter, 1881–.

Controllers.—R. B. Francis, 1865–69; William R. Porter, 1870–71; James Brown, 1872–.
Treasurers.—John Hannen, 1840–42; Thomas H. Stewart, 1843–47; John H. Stewart, 1848–49; Jonathan Rush, 1850–53; Henry Campbell, 1854–57; David Macferron, 1858–.
Solicitors.—William O'Hara Robinson, 1841; Thomas McConnel, 1842; William O'Hara Robinson, 1843–44; Thomas Williams, 1845–47; Stephen H. Geyer, 1848–56; David W. Bell, 1857–59; S. Shoyer, Jr., 1860–65; M. A. Woodard, 1866; J. C. McCombs, 1867–69; William B. Rodgers, 1870–87; George Elphinstone, 1888–.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (CONTINUED).

EDUCATIONAL—PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS—PRIVATE SCHOOLS—ACADEMY—CLASSICAL SCHOOL—ALLEGHENY PUBLIC SCHOOLS—HIGH-SCHOOL.

PITTSBURGH SCHOOLS.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

FROM 1764, when Pittsburgh was laid out as a town, until 1834, a period of seventy years, no records were kept from which can be gathered information showing the educational advantages of the people during that period. During these seventy years education was mostly in the hands of the church, almost every denomination making provision for the education of those connected with its communion. In many cases the minister was teacher, filling the pulpit on Sunday and posing behind the teacher's desk during the week.

In 1834 the legislature of Pennsylvania, after one of the most bitter fights that ever occurred in that body, passed a public-school law, which, however, was not to go into operation in any borough, township or city until the people of said borough, township or city had approved the act. Indignation-meetings were held in all parts of the state. The members who voted for the bill were roundly denounced by their constituents for their act, and many of them failed of re-election, while others were returned only after pledging themselves to favor the repeal of the obnoxious measure. At the session of 1835 numerous petitions (12½ per cent of all the voters in the state) asked for the repeal of the law, and, strange to say, quite a number of the petitioners were unable to write their names, and signed by making a cross. To Thad. Stevens and Gov. Wolfe, more than to any other individuals, is due the passage of the school law of 1834.

Immediately after the passage of the free-school law each of the four wards, North, South, East and West, then constituting the city of Pittsburgh approved the measure and took steps to put its provisions into effect. The county had bought a lot on Ferry street, upon which it erected a building and opened a school for the education of the children of the very poor. The

First Ward school board (Duquesne) purchased this in 1836 or 1837, and opened a public school under the law of 1834. This is believed to be the first property owned by a school board under this act. This building is still standing, although considerably changed since it left the hands of the school board. The school was continued on Ferry street until 1850, when it was removed into what was then the new school building on the lot extending from First to Second avenue, and there it has remained until the present time.

The Second Ward (South) school board opened the first public school in that district on the 11th of September, 1835, in the old carpet factory building, near the corner of Smithfield and Water streets. In 1838 the school was moved into what had been a chair-factory, near Cherry alley and Third avenue. In 1841 the board completed the first public-school building, on the corner of Fourth avenue and Ross street (now a Jewish synagog). In 1850 the school was removed to its present quarters, corner of Ross and Diamond streets.

The Third ward (Grant) erected the first public-school building for that district in 1836. It was located on the corner of Cherry alley and Diamond street. In this building the school was conducted until 1852, when it was removed into the present structure, at the corner of Strawberry alley and Grant street. When this building was completed it was said to be the best public-school building in the United States.

In the Fourth ward (North) the first public school was opened in 1835, in a dilapidated building on the corner of Duquesne way and Seventh street. There it continued until 1838, when the school was removed into a new building erected for the purpose on the same street, near Penn avenue. This building was burned in 1847. After its destruction the school board purchased a lot on the corner of Penn avenue and Cecil alley, upon which was erected the school building now in use. School was opened in the new building in 1848.

These four wards constituted the city of Pittsburgh until 1836, when the Fifth ward (now Ninth and Tenth) was added. The first school was opened in this ward in 1837, in rented rooms, where it remained until 1842, when the board erected two school-buildings, one on Pike street and the other on Liberty street. In these buildings the schools were continued until 1861, when they were removed to the large and commodious building at the corner of Penn avenue and Fifteenth street, named the Ralston.

The Sixth ward (Forbes) became a part of the city in 1846. The first school-building was erected on Ann street, in 1848, and the small building on Second avenue was erected in 1851. This district has just completed one of the finest public-school buildings in the commonwealth. It is located at the corner of Forbes and Stevenson streets, and contains thirty schoolrooms.

The Seventh and Eighth wards (Franklin) became a part of the city in 1845, and the first school was opened in the present building on the 11th of May, 1847.

The Eleventh ward (Moorhead) became a part of the city in 1846, and a

Nelson B. Gaff

school-building was erected in 1848 on Green and Linton streets, where the school remained until 1868, when it was removed into the present building on Granville street.

The Twelfth ward (O'Hara and Springfield) became a part of the city in 1846. At the time of its admission there was a small school near the corner of Twenty-sixth and Smallman streets, but in 1848 a public-school building was completed upon the corner of Twenty-sixth and Smallman streets; this building was replaced by the present structure in 1855. The ward was made into two school districts in 1870, the eastern half being known as the Springfield sub-district; school was opened in temporary buildings on Smallman near Thirtieth street, and in 1872 one of the handsomest school-buildings in the city was dedicated to the use of public instruction.

What is known as the East End was added to the city in 1868, and the South Side in 1872. The East End schools are as follows: Minersville, Thirteenth ward; Oakland, Fourteenth ward; Lawrence, Fifteenth ward; Howard, Sixteenth ward; Washington, Seventeenth ward; Mount Albion, Eighteenth ward; Hiland, Nineteenth ward; Liberty, Twentieth ward; Lincoln, Twenty-first ward; Homewood, Twenty-first ward; Colfax, Twenty-second ward; Sterrett, Twenty-second ward; Peebles, Twenty-third ward. The South Side schools are the following: Wickersham, Twenty-fourth ward; Morse, Twenty-fifth ward; Humboldt, Twenty-sixth ward; St. Clair, Twenty-seventh ward; Birmingham, Twenty-eighth ward; Bedford, Twenty-ninth ward; Knox, Thirtieth ward; Allen, Thirty-first ward; Mount Washington, Thirty-second ward; Monongahela, Thirty-third ward; Riverside, Thirty-fourth ward; Luckey, Thirty-fifth ward; Thad. Stevens, Thirty-sixth ward. The organization of these schools is of recent date, and consequently not of interest in this article. It may be seen, however, from an old minute-book of the Peebles township school board (now in possession of the Peebles sub-district school board, Twenty-third ward), that the people of what is now the East End of the city were among the first to avail themselves of the privileges of the free-school act. Immediately after the passage of the act of 1834 the voters were called together and unanimously voted to accept its provisions. The directors elected were John Graham, Daniel Negley, John McClintock, James Fleming, B. A. Fahnestock and William B. McIlvaine. Shortly after their election the board met and placed upon the minutes the following resolution:

> In consequence of the great uncertainty in relation to the school laws, on account of the numerous petitions sent in from the various parts of the state for its repeal, the board think it advisable to suspend their operations for the present and wait the action of the present assembly on the subject. [Assembly of 1835.]

Quite a lengthy list of names might be given of those who worked to establish and build up the free-school system in this vicinity. Among them are John Kelly, J. B. D. Meads, Isaac Whittier and George F. Gilmore, who organized the first free schools in Allegheny county; later on we have the

names of S. F. Covell, Andrew Burtt, D. C. Holmes, James M. Pryor, Henry Williams, James Newell, Lucius Osgood, W. W. Dickson and Philetus Dean.

In 1835 George F. Gilmore opened the first public school in the city of Pittsburgh, in a rented building on Seventh street, with an enrollment of five pupils. Fifty-three years later (1888) the number of teachers employed is nearly six hundred, the enrollment about thirty thousand, and the school property of the city is valued at more than two million dollars.

The following table shows how the system has developed in Pittsburgh since 1855, the time at which the first reliable statistics were collected:

Year.	No. Teachers.	No. Pupils.	Amt. Paid Teachers.	Year.	No. Teachers.	No. Pupils.	Amt. Paid Teachers.
1856.....	109	6,724	$39,394.75	1876.....	428	21,488	$268,276.59
1861.....	129	7,937	39,638.58	1881.....	473	24,480	272,501.09
1866.....	131	8,216	64,441.88	1886.....	557	27,959	324,363.29
1871.....	216	13,445	144,930.98				

The general management of the Pittsburgh schools is vested in the Central Board of Education, consisting of thirty-six members, one from each sub-district, and holding office for three years, one-third of the board being changed each year. There are, besides, sub-district boards, one in each sub-district, each consisting of six members, having the same term of office as the members of the Central board, and one-third retiring annually. Each of these sub-district boards appoints its own teachers, and levies the tax necessary for the payment of janitors and other expenses; but the Central board appoints the teachers of the high-school, fixes the salaries of all the teachers employed in the city, and levies the tax necessary for their payment. It has the exclusive control of the high-school, and prescribes the text-books to be used in all the schools.

In 1868, in pursuance of an act establishing the office of city superintendent of schools, George J. Luckey, A. M., was elected to that office, to which he has several times been re-elected, his seventh term expiring in May, 1890.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

William Penn, when he arrived at Philadelphia in 1682 to place himself at the head of his colony, had ingrafted into his great law for the government of his colony a proviso:

> That all persons in this province and territories thereof having children, and all the guardians and trustees of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age; and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want.

For the violation of this proviso a penalty of five pounds was affixed. This law remained in force ten years, and was then abrogated by the order of William and Mary, king and queen of England, but was subsequently re-enacted in

1693 under Gov. Fletcher, and there does not seem to be any record that it was ever repealed. It will thus be seen that over two hundred years ago there was a proviso in the organic law of Pennsylvania making education compulsory, and also providing for industrial training. The state did not support the schools, but left them in private hands or under the control of the church. While the state did nothing in support of the primary and intermediate schools, it early and continuously provided for higher education. The general assembly set aside public lands, and frequently made appropriations of money, in aid of colleges and universities in several parts of the state.

ACADEMY IN 1787.

The Pittsburgh Academy was chartered in 1787, and in 1819 it became the Western University. Its early professors are in the list of the forgotten, but in 1810 it was in charge of Rev. Joseph Stockton and Drs. Swift and McElroy. Rev. Mr. Stockton ranked among the prominent educators of the nation. In addition to his rank as a teacher he was the author of some well-known textbooks, that were in general use west of the mountains during the first half of the present century. Later on, this institution was honored by having among its professors that trio of learning and wit, Father Maguire and Drs. Bruce and Black; although differing widely on religious matters, they were the closest personal friends. Most of those who taught in elementary schools have been forgotten, save by a few of our oldest citizens, who, when recalling the scenes and incidents of their early childhood, occasionally speak of those who wielded the birch three-quarters of a century ago. Among the names thus handed down are Messrs. Tierney, Callan, Lowry, Christy, Cole, Bushnell, McCleary, Campbell, McGahan, McCurdy, Moody, McClurkin, Brown, Carr, Forrester, Dumars, McGanahan, Raney, Richmond, Winter, Stone, McNiven, Hartley, Daft, Lacey, Cust, Caskey, Sutherland, McDowell, together with Mesdames Curry, Harvey, Parry, Oliver and Gazzam, and the Misses Taggart and Cowles. Tierney and Callan taught what was known as the Pittsburgh Classical Academy in 1799. Their school was located in a brick building, nearly opposite the Exchange bank. In 1819 a Mr. Cole taught a school on Sixth street, about where the Hotel Anderson now stands, and Daniel Bushnell and William McCleary wielded the birch in the courthouse. In 1821 Rev. John Campbell taught an ungraded school in a room over Leckey's blacksmith-shop, on Virgin alley, and later opened a high-school on Smithfield street, near Sixth; he was the father of Mrs. E. J. Roberts and Mrs. George Fortune.

CLASSICAL SCHOOL.

In the same year V. B. Magahen had charge of a classical school in a frame building that stood on a lot adjoining the present Lewis block, and about the same time Daniel McCurdy and a Mr. Moody presided over an academy near the corner of Fourth avenue and Ferry street. A Mr. McClurkin and David

L. Brown were teachers in 1821–22; the former kept his school in a small frame on Fifth avenue opposite Masonic hall, and the latter in his dwelling, a brick building, on Second avenue, between Wood and Market streets. From 1823 to 1830 the growth of the town brought quite a number of teachers to this vicinity; among them was a Mr. Carr, who, although having but one arm and one leg, managed to strike terror into the hearts of the unruly urchins who sought knowledge in his little frame school-building on Hay Scale alley, between Third and Fourth avenues.

About the same time a Mr. Forrester taught on Fourth avenue, near Ferry street, and was as much noted for ability to swim as for his ability to teach; it was while sporting in the water that he finally lost his life. Then there was Mr. J. Dumars, who taught on Third avenue between Wood and Smithfield streets. Mr. Richmond (an invalid) taught on Fifth avenue, where the Hamilton building now stands. Rev. John Winter taught in the Baptist church, which stood on the lot now occupied by the Kaufmann building.

In 1832 Mr. Daniel Stone and his sister opened a young ladies' seminary in Bishop Hopkins' residence, and the following year Mr. John M. Nevin opened a high-school on Fourth avenue, upon the site of the present English block. In 1832 a blacksmith-shop stood on the lot now occupied by the Vandegrift block, and in the upper story a Mr. Caskey wielded the proverbial birch and taught the young idea "how to shoot." As the years rolled on, what had formerly been a village grew into quite a town, and the increased and increasing population spread out over the surrounding hills, and teachers and scholars multiplied until it would take a small volume to name the teachers and locate the schools.

ALLEGHENY SCHOOLS.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Allegheny was incorporated into a borough by an act of the general assembly passed April 14, 1828, and became a city April 10, 1840, with a population estimated at ten thousand. Soon after this it was divided into four wards. The portion of the borough which comprised the First ward, previous to 1835, supported a school, located on Robinson street near Corry street, which consisted of one room, in a rented building, without paint or plaster. This school was taught by Mr. Thomas McConnell, succeeded by William Carson and others. All the schools of the borough, according to the most reliable information at hand, were removed, in 1835 or 1836, to the old Presbyterian academy on South common near Marion avenue, and a borough school was then established and continued until 1840. This school was conducted by Mr. John Kelly, Mr. Campbell and others.

In 1840 the First and Fourth wards established and maintained a joint high-school in the basement of the South Common Methodist Episcopal church, and appointed Mr. John Kelly as teacher. In 1844 the directors of the First

Michael Simon

ward purchased a lot on the corner of School and Rebecca streets, and erected on it a two-story brick building containing four rooms, and in January, 1845, removed the schools from the academy to the new quarters. Mr. John Kelly was elected principal and teacher of the highest department.

In 1849 this building was enlarged by the addition of a third story containing two rooms. In 1853 a contiguous lot in the rear of the schoolhouse was purchased for fifteen hundred dollars. At the same time (1853) two rooms were rented in the west end for three dollars per month, and two schools organized therein, with Misses Reed and May as teachers.

In 1856 six rooms were added to the rear of the first building, at a cost of forty-nine hundred dollars, and the two schools in the west end of the ward were transferred to the enlarged building on Rebecca street. This house was used for school purposes until June, 1874, when it was torn down and the present spacious edifice erected. Previous to the year 1856 there was no system of grading in these schools, each teacher being responsible to the board only for the management of his school.

The public schools of the Second ward were organized in 1840. From 1840 till 1846 the schools were held, a part of the time, in a two-story building which stood on the corner of North alley and Webster street. It contained two rooms. During the remainder of this period they were held in a building on the corner of Barnett alley and Arch street. The house on North avenue was first occupied in August, 1846. It was two stories high and contained four rooms. This building was subsequently remodeled, one story being added. The remodeled building was damaged by a storm in 1859, and was then rebuilt, very nearly as it now stands. The added story, like each of the others, was constructed to suit the plan of school management in those times, with a classroom and study-room, occupied, respectively, by a principal and an assistant.

Prior to 1874 the Second ward maintained two other schools besides the one on North avenue. One of these was located on Taggart street, and was known as the Pleasant Valley school. The other was on Observatory hill. In 1866 a two-story frame schoolhouse, afterward the Pleasant Valley church, was erected on Taggart street, in Manchester. During the following winter the borough of Manchester was annexed to the city, and this school was assigned to the Second ward. The Observatory hill school was organized as a sub-district of McClure township, and a one-story brick schoolhouse was erected there in 1867. In 1870 this territory was also annexed to the city, and became a part of the Second ward.

In 1873 a large lot on Irwin avenue, fronting on Washington street, was purchased, and during the summer of 1874 the Irwin Avenue schoolhouse was built. Since that time a large wing, comprising seven rooms, has been added to the main building. In 1887 another large building was erected on Observatory hill. The Second ward schools, as now organized, are in three buildings, North Avenue, Sherman Avenue and Observatory Hill.

The first building erected in the Third ward for public-school purposes was located at the corner of North and Cedar avenues, in 1839. It was built of brick and contained two rooms. The second house was built at the corner of East and Third streets, about 1841. It was a one-story frame building containing two rooms.

About 1846 the old Washington Temperance society, of Allegheny, erected near the Diamond a building which was known as "The Ark." This building was rented and fitted up to accommodate the advanced pupils of the male department of all the schools of the ward.

The school-building at the corner of Esplanade street and North avenue was erected in 1850. It contained at first eleven rooms, but the rapid increase in population made it necessary, at two different times, to enlarge the building, which now contains twenty-three rooms. In 1870 a site was procured on Chestnut street, in the eastern part of the ward, where, in 1871, a handsome three-story brick building, with stone trimmings, was erected, containing twelve large schoolrooms, with cloakrooms, etc., the entire cost of which, including the lot of ground, heating apparatus, furniture, etc., was $75,000. At the present time the schools of the ward are accommodated in the two buildings, North avenue and Chestnut street.

In 1840, as far back as the records extend, there were three public schools in the Fourth ward. Two of these were located in the basement of Dr. Sproul's church, corner of Lacock and Sandusky streets, and the remaining one on Avery street nearly opposite the present schoolhouse. There were also in the ward two joint public schools, one for colored children, in the basement of the Baptist church, and the other a joint high-school, already spoken of.

In 1841 another school was added to the three already in operation, and in 1844 the schools were reorganized, when the joint high-school was abandoned and the rooms occupied by it were taken for the lower schools, which had grown from three in 1840 to seven in 1844.

The schools, as organized in 1844, were located as follows: Two in the basement of the South Common Methodist church, two in the basement of Dr. Rodgers' church, two on South Canal street near the aqueduct, and the remaining one on Avery street near the present school-building. Thus organized they remained till 1848.

In 1847 a lot seventy by one hundred and ten feet, situated on Sandusky street, where Rev. Sproul's church now stands, was purchased for $3,500, and a new schoolhouse was erected thereon at a cost of $5,400. This building contained fourteen rooms, and was used for school purposes until 1871, when the present schoolhouse, on Liberty street, was occupied.

The building for the schools of the upper district of the Fourth ward was located on South Canal street, near the aqueduct, from 1848 until 1868, when the present building on Liberty street was finished, at a cost of $31,000. The total cost, including ground, furniture, grading, paving, fencing, etc., was about fifty-six thousand dollars.

The Fifth and Sixth wards are so intimately connected as to make their early history inseparable. By an act of assembly, in 1867, the borough of Manchester was consolidated with the city. By an ordinance of city councils, May 9th of the same year, those parts of the First and Second wards west of Allegheny avenue were added to this district, and the whole divided into two wards, the Fifth and Sixth. The number of children of school age in the Fifth ward, at that time, was between five and six hundred. Their only school accommodations consisted of a two-story brick building on the corner of Chartiers and Fayette streets, containing four rooms, partitioned off with unpainted boards.

Steps were immediately taken to secure better school accommodations. A lot at the corner of Fulton and Page streets was purchased, and in May, 1868, and September, 1869, an elegant school-building was ready for occupancy. On the 21st of December, of the same year, this building was partially destroyed by fire. The schools were located in different parts of the ward till the next September, when they came together again in the new building. Nothing of note has since taken place in the ward except the rapid growth of the schools, which not only filled the new building, but rendered an additional twelve-room house a necessity.

In obedience to the demand for more room one of the most elegant school-edifices in the state was erected here last year. The two buildings will furnish ample accommodations for the school population in this ward for many years to come.

That part of Allegheny embraced within the Sixth ward constituted, in 1834, part of Ross township; later it became part of the borough of Manchester, as has already been stated. Earlier than 1834 Mr. Neville had taught a school near what is now the corner of Strawberry alley and Beaver avenue. Through the influence of Mr. Robert M. Park and others a small frame schoolhouse was erected at the corner of Chartiers and Fayette streets, in which private schools were maintained for several years before the adoption of the public-school system. In this building it is claimed that the first public school of this locality was opened under the new law. The new system met with such bitter opposition that no one could be found willing to serve with Mr. Park on the board. He, however, was equal to the emergency. Under legal advice, he levied a tax, appointed collectors, and for a year constituted the board, bravely fighting the new law through to a glorious success. From that time on the sentiment of the people underwent a rapid change, and the schools grew correspondingly in public favor. In 1836 a new schoolhouse was erected on Chartiers street near Locust. It was a one-room brick building.

In 1849 blackboards were first used in the schools of this neighborhood. During the same year arrangements were made for the building of a new brick schoolhouse on the lot where the old frame stood. In 1859 the old Sixth Ward schoolhouse, which still stands near the new one, and which is still occupied

with schools, was ready for use. It contained twelve rooms, and was a great improvement on the old buildings. It accommodated the children till 1870, when a new fifteen-room building was erected alongside of the old one, at a cost of $42,700. To these two buildings a frame annex of six rooms was added two years ago, making a total of thirty-two rooms. The growth and success of this ward since its organization has been very encouraging.

In the Seventh ward, which was formerly a portion of Reserve township, public schools were organized in 1836. This district embraced Duquesne borough, New Troy, Spring Garden, Woodville and McClure township. Troy Hill, Woodville and Spring Garden were absorbed by Allegheny in 1868, and formed the Seventh ward until 1877, when Woodville became the Twelfth ward and Troy Hill was designated as the Thirteenth. The first public-school building in the Spring Garden district was erected in 1857, on a lot fronting on Angle and Humboldt streets. It was a one-story brick of two rooms. An additional story of two rooms was added in 1861.

In 1868 a one-story frame, containing one room, was erected on the same lot. In 1874 an adjoining lot was purchased, and the building on it was remodeled for school purposes. In 1880 all the schools in Spring Garden were brought together in an elegant new brick building of twelve rooms, which is still in use.

In 1849 Duquesne borough was formed from a portion of the Troy Hill district, and in 1868 it became the Eighth ward. As far back as 1847 or 1848 a two-story brick building was erected on River avenue, opposite Herr's island. The board of directors furnished some money to assist in the erection of the building, but most of it was contributed by the citizens on condition that the house should serve for both school and church purposes. In 1869 a room was added to this structure, and four teachers were employed. Again, in 1873, another teacher was added to the force, and in 1883 the Eighth ward schools, with six teachers, occupied their new building on the upper side of East Ohio street, where they are provided with all the modern conveniences of a first-class schoolhouse.

Through the efforts of Mr. James Shipman, the first school (select) was established in the Ninth ward in 1856. At and prior to this time the Ninth ward was a part of Ross township. In 1858 this territory became a part of McClure township, and the select school became a public school. In 1859 the board of directors purchased, at a cost of $800, a half-acre lot on Williams and Hanover streets, on which they erected a two-room frame building, for $1,600, and in 1861 another room was added. In 1867 a brick building was erected on the same lot, containing three rooms, at a cost of $6,000. In 1870 part of McClure township was annexed to Allegheny, as the Ninth ward, and still more room being needed for school purposes, in 1873 a three-story brick building was added to the old schoolhouse, making a total of twelve rooms and a hall. The school at this writing employs eleven teachers.

Wm Hartman Sr.

Prior to 1873 the Tenth ward was part of Ross township; soon afterward it became part of the city, and another schoolhouse was erected in addition to those already in use. The schools as at present organized employ six teachers, four in the Charles street building and two in the building near the Perrysville road.

More than forty years ago the Eleventh ward, then part of Ross township and afterward a part of McClure township, had a school, located on Black lane, subsequently transferred to the upper part of Strawberry lane, where it remained until 1869, when a new site was purchased on Woodland avenue for the sum of $1,300. On this a two-room brick building was erected. Three years later a school was added by occupying the dressing-room of the upper grade of pupils. In 1873 this territory became the Eleventh ward of the city, and in 1874 the present large and capacious building was erected on Shady lane. The school at present employs nine teachers.

The Davisville school, in the lower end of the ward, was organized about the same time as those in the upper part, already adverted to. A fourth of an acre of ground was purchased where the present building now stands, north of the Brighton road, on the hill west of Wood's run. In 1858, when a second story was added to the schoolhouse, two teachers were employed. The school now employs four teachers, two more rooms having been added to the old building at a recent date.

The Twelfth Ward school, like the others of Reserve township, was organized in 1836. During 1857 a one-story brick building of two rooms was erected and the Woodville school was reorganized. In 1874 another story was added to the building. This territory with its schools had then become the Twelfth ward. The population has grown so rapidly that the ward at present supports twelve teachers. These schools are quartered in two excellent buildings of modern style.

The Thirteenth Ward school, formerly New Troy, now Troy Hill, was organized in 1836 in a one-room house. It was continued here till 1860, when the building was sold and the location changed to Clark street, where a two-room schoolhouse was erected. In 1874 two more rooms were annexed to this building, and in 1885 four more rooms were added by tearing down the old schoolhouse and erecting a two-story eight-room building. These schools now employ seven teachers.

In 1837 a public school for the education of colored children was organized in the basement of the Baptist church on Robinson street. This school grew, and soon after its organization another was opened. In 1844 these schools were removed to a building on Sherman avenue, a few yards south of Ohio street, in the rear of Dr. Swift's church. In 1846 they were again removed, this time to Avery street, very near where the Fourth Ward schoolhouse now stands. From here they were removed to Temperance Ark, where they remained for seven years. Their next flight was to the Universalist chapel in the Second

ward, in 1859. This building was located on the corner of Middle alley and North commons. The final locality of the colored school was Sherman avenue, where the new high-school now stands. It remained here in a four-room frame building till 1880, when the pupils were distributed among the ward schools.

HIGH-SCHOOL.

Previous to 1833 a high-school department had been established and maintained in each of the first six wards. At that date all these departments were consolidated, and a central high-school was organized. The frame building on Sherman avenue, which had been used for the colored school, was refitted for the accommodation of the high-school pupils in September, 1883. This building, however, has since been torn down, and three more lots purchased adjoining the one on which it stood. On this ground an elegant high-school building has been erected, which is an ornament to the city. The entire cost of the new edifice, including the site and furniture, is about $120,000. The high-school is in a flourishing condition.

The Allegheny public schools, as at present organized, are under the management of a board of controllers consisting of seventy-eight members. The officers of the board are a president, secretary and superintendent. The board also has the following standing committees: Finance, teachers and salaries, rules and regulations, grades and textbooks, evening schools, public library, special instruction, printing, high-school and school inspection.

Total number of school-buildings is 22; total valuation of school property, $1,249,514; total bonded indebtedness, $562,993; total enrollment of pupils, 14,815; total average daily attendance, 11,200; total number of teachers employed, 264.

Total receipts for 1888, 466,979; total expenditures for 1888, 416,682.*

CURRY UNIVERSITY.

This institution was organized and established in 1869, as a normal training-school for teachers, by Robert Curry, A. M., deputy state superintendent of public instruction in Pennsylvania, and it numbers to-day among its alumni a majority of the most prominent teachers in the public schools of this part of the state, as well as in almost every state in the Union. Under its present (1888) management it has increased its enrollment of fourteen students in 1880 to an annual attendance now of over fourteen hundred. In 1884 the Polytechnic Institute of Western Pennsylvania, located in Allegheny City, with its charters and all its franchises, was merged into what was then Curry Institute, besides other schools, giving it an accession in that year of over two hundred new students.

The work of the institute having developed such large proportions, covering in its scope a wider field of study than the majority of the universities of

* The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the principals of the different schools of Allegheny for much of the information embodied in this sketch.

the United States, the board of trustees, at the July, 1888, meeting, directed the name to be changed to Curry University. The addition of two departments, industrial and military, together with others to be completed in the near future, and the securing of more spacious accommodations, will place Curry University among the first in the country.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY (Continued).

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS — LITERARY SOCIETIES — UNIVERSITIES — COMMERCIAL — SCIENTIFIC — MILITARY — BENEFICENT — HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

PITTSBURGH LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

ON the 13th of July, 1847, twenty-three persons signed a paper setting forth the advantages of a public library and reading-room, and pledging themselves to put forth efforts for the establishment in Pittsburgh of such an institution. On the 29th of the same month a meeting was held, at which the following officers were chosen: Samuel M. Wickersham, president; John Finney, Jr., vice-president; Robert Finney, secretary; William P. Townsend, treasurer; John R. Hersh, David Holmes, Jacob Weaver, Charles H. Grant and W. R. Nimick, directors.

At a meeting on the 5th of August a constitution and code of by-laws were adopted, and, with slight modifications, these are still in force. The association was incorporated by an act of the legislature in 1849.

Soon after the organization rooms were rented in the second story of a building on Market street, between Third and Fourth streets, and in the summer of the next year the library was removed to a larger room on Fourth street, between Market and Wood streets. There it remained till 1861, when it was removed to the corner of Sixth and Penn streets, and its final removal to its present quarters on Penn avenue was made in 1870.

A library-hall company was organized, with F. R. Brunot, president; a lot at the corner of Penn avenue and Barker alley was purchased, the old concert-hall and other buildings on this lot were removed, and the erection of the present library building was commenced in August, 1868. It was first occupied, as above stated, in the spring of 1870. The library occupies the second story of this building. The library hall is one hundred feet by forty, and forty-six feet high, with a gallery surrounding it at seventeen feet above the floor. At the west end of the hall is a special reading-room for ladies, thirty by eighteen feet, and over this room and accessible from the gallery is a room of corresponding size for gentlemen. In the rear of the east end is the librarian's

room, thirty-four by seventeen feet. In the rear of these apartments was the auditorium, now the Bijou theater.

Many years ago the library of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania was transferred to the Pittsburgh library, and from time to time donations have been made by individuals. A bequest of five thousand dollars was made by Ebenezer Brewer, Esq., and this has furnished and endowed the "Brewer alcove." In 1887 Andrew Carnegie furnished the "scientific alcove" with valuable scientific works to the value of five thousand dollars.

The presidents of the association have been Samuel M. Wickersham, John Finney, Jr., Robert E. Sellers, James McAuley, Felix R. Brunot, David Ritchie, James Park, Jr., William Frew, John R. McCune, Joseph Albree, Henry M. Long, William N. Howard, Malcolm Hay, J. Bowman Sweetzer and T. B. Swearingen, the present incumbent of the position.

The librarians have been C. Scaad, Alexander Hay, George E. Appleton, James Macrum, Miss Ellen Cuddy and M. F. Macrum.

WESTERN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This institution was the successor of the old Pittsburgh academy, in which Rev. Robert Bruce and Rev. John Black had been professors. It was chartered February 18, 1819, and was formally opened May 10, 1822. The charter empowered it to confer such degrees as were usually granted by similar institutions in the United States, but the state held no supervision or control. The university was made wholly undenominational in its character.

The first faculty consisted of Rev. Robert Bruce, principal; Rev. John Black, professor of ancient languages; Rev. E. P. Swift, professor of moral science; Rev. Joseph McElroy, professor of rhetoric, and Rev. C. B. Maguire, professor of modern languages.

The first university building was erected on Third street, near the corner of Cherry alley, and in architectural beauty was equaled by few in the country. This building, with the records, library, cabinet and philosophical apparatus of the university, was destroyed in the great fire of 1845. Another building was erected on Duquesne way, but that, too, was burned in 1849. The course of instruction was then suspended till the third building was completed. It stood on the corner of Ross and Diamond streets, a short distance from the courthouse. It was first occupied October 8, 1855; but the university was formally reorganized on the 19th of December, 1856, with Rev. John F. McLaren, D. D., as principal. He was succeeded in 1859 by George Woods, LL. D.

In 1861 provision for military drill was made, and in 1869 that branch was placed in charge of an officer of the regular army, detailed by the government. In 1863 a scientific course was established. The duration of this course was made three years, and it led to the degree of bachelor of philosophy.

The Allegheny observatory was transferred to the university, and the chair of astronomy was endowed in 1867. In 1869 instruction in engineering was

commenced, leading to the degree of civil or mechanical engineer. In 1871 a preparatory department was added, and in 1872 a chemical laboratory was opened, in which provision was made for practical instruction in chemical analysis. The cabinet came to contain many thousand specimens in mineralogy, geology and zoölogy, and also a large collection of casts of fossil animals.

In 1871 William Thaw, who had been a generous contributor to the university, offered to donate $100,000 provided an equal amount should be raised by the trustees within four years, or in 1873 they had succeeded in raising this amount. By the will of Robert Watson, Esq., the university received, in 1874, a library of 2,500 volumes, mostly works of reference and standard works in ancient and modern languages.

In the latter part of 1880 military instruction was abandoned, and about the same time instruction in mechanical engineering was suspended.

In 1882 the university buildings were sold to the county for temporary use by the courts, and the university was transferred to the buildings at present occupied, the Allegheny Theological Seminary building, No. 133 North avenue, Allegheny, and the R. P. Theological Seminary building, No. 204 North avenue, at which latter place its chemical laboratory and drawing and preparatory departments are located. In 1884 $4,000 were appropriated by the trustees for additions to the chemical laboratory and department of physical science.

The departments are now four—preparatory, classical, scientific and civil engineering. The erection of university buildings on Observatory hill has been determined on, and instruction in mechanical engineering is to be resumed.

The presidents of the university have been Robert Bruce, D. D., Rev. Gilbert Morgan, Heman Dyer, D. D., D. H. Riddle, D. D., John F. McLaren, D. D., George Woods, LL. D., and Milton B. Goff, LL. D.

The following constitute the present faculty: Milton B. Goff, A. M., LL. D., chancellor and professor of mental and moral science; Joseph F. Griggs, A. M., professor emeritus of Greek, librarian and curator of the museum; Alphonse M. Danse, teacher of French; Samuel P. Langley, LL. D., director of the observatory; Levi Ludden, A. M., principal of the preparatory school; Theodore M. Barber, A. M., professor of Latin and of English; Charles R. Coffin, A. M., instructor in Latin; Francis C. Phillips, A. M., professor of chemistry and mineralogy; Oscar M. Tucker, instructor in English branches; Henry Gibbons, A. B., professor of the Greek language and literature; R. C. Wrenshall, instructor in drawing and biology; Paul F. Rohrbacher, professor of German and history; Frank W. Very, B. S., assistant in the observatory; Daniel Carhart, C. E., professor of engineering and acting professor of mathematics; Reid T. Stewart, Ph. M., C. E., instructor in mathematics and engineering; William D. Rowan, instructor in commercial branches; Albert E. Frost, A. M., professor of physics.

PITTSBURGH FEMALE COLLEGE.

The Pittsburgh Female College, which is a Methodist institution, was chartered February 10, 1854. A majority of the trustees, all of whom are elected by the stockholders, must be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Simpson, then a resident of the city, was the prime mover in the organization of the college, and it had the earnest and liberal support of Allen Kramer, Dr. H. D. Sellers, Alexander Bradley, Samuel Kier, F. D. Sellers, W. M. Wright, N. Holmes and many others. The buildings, which are large and commodious, are situated on Eighth street, just in the rear of Christ Church. The school was first opened by Rev. S. L. Yourtee, in the lecture-room of Christ Church, October 1, 1855. Two years later, 1857, Mr. Yourtee was succeeded in the presidency by Rev. L. D. Barrows, D. D., who served until 1860, when Rev. I. C. Pershing, D. D., became president, and continued to serve until 1886. In the last-named year Rev. A. H. Norcross, D. D., was elected president, and still holds that office.

PENNSYLVANIA FEMALE COLLEGE.

In February, 1869, several of the leading members of the Shady Side Presbyterian Church met at the house of David Aiken, Esq., to consider the project of establishing a female college. At this meeting a committee, consisting of Rev. W. T. Beatty and John A. Renshaw, was appointed to elaborate a plan of organization and make arrangements for carrying this plan into effect. The plan contemplated the establishment of a ladies' college equal in every respect to colleges for the education of gentlemen, and the denominational character of the institution was indicated by requiring that the president and a majority of the board of managers should be members, in good standing, of some branch of the Presbyterian Church. Subscriptions were solicited from Shady Side Church, and with such readiness did the members respond that in a short time $30,000 was pledged.

In June of that year the presbyteries of Ohio, Allegheny City and Monongahela adopted a resolution approving the movement, and appointed a committee to act with the board of managers. In July, 1869, a meeting was held at the Second Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh to further consider the project. It was determined to expend about $100,000, and committees were appointed to take in hand different departments of the work. Within three weeks the committee on subscriptions had secured pledges to the amount of $75,000, of which Mr. James Laughlin contributed a large sum.

December 11, 1869, the institution was incorporated under an order of the court. A site consisting of ten acres, on Fifth avenue, three and one-half miles from a central point in Pittsburgh, on an elevation overlooking some of the finest portions of the city and its suburbs, was purchased, and the school

was opened September 28, 1870, in the mansion which stood on these grounds, where it was continued during a year. Within that time the college edifice was erected, and in the autumn of 1871 an extension was added.

In 1885 Joseph Dilworth bequeathed to the college ten thousand dollars, and that sum is now being expended in the erection of what is to be known as Dilworth Hall. This is to include a chapel, laboratory, artroom, classrooms, dormitories, etc. Like many other institutions, this has had its times of varying prosperity; but within the last few years it has steadily advanced, till now the students in attendance number one hundred and fifty.

The officers of the board of trustees are: W. J. Reid, D. D., president; Charles J. Clarke, first vice-president; Oliver McClintock, second vice-president; W. M. Frew, secretary; George A. Berry, treasurer.

BISHOP BOWMAN INSTITUTE.

This is a school for the higher education of young ladies. It was established in 1862, with the aid and encouragement of Rev. Dr. Van Deusen, the rector at that time of St. Peter's Church. It was named in honor of Rt. Rev. Samuel Bowman, then assistant bishop of Pennsylvania, whose noble and self-denying character won for him the love and respect of the people in this region.

The first rector of the school was Rev. Anthony Ten Broeck, D. D., who held the position four years. The school was opened in the old Murray residence, on Second avenue, near Smithfield street, and there it prospered under Dr. Ten Broeck till the spring of 1866, when he was called to the rectorship of Burlington College, New Jersey. About the same time Rev. Kerfoot became the first bishop of Pittsburgh, and he at once took steps to enlarge the scope and influence of the institute. A board of trustees was organized, consisting of the bishop and John H. Shoenberger, Abraham Garrison, Ormsby Phillips, William Metcalf, Thomas H. Howe, Hill Burgwin, Thomas J. Brereton and John H. Bailey. The institute was chartered by the court, and Rev. R. J. Coster, a former associate of Bishop Kerfoot in his educational work at the college of St. James, Md., was chosen rector. Soon afterward the Murray residence was purchased for a hospital, and the school was removed to the residence of Andrew Fulton, Grant street, near Fourth avenue, which was leased for the purpose. In this building the school was continued with many disadvantages during nine years, or till the spring of 1875, when the trustees purchased the commodious building at the corner of Penn avenue and Fourth street. On the 1st of April in that year the school was removed to this building, where it has since been continued with constantly increasing success.

The course of study is of a high grade, including a full course of English, together with literature, languages, mathematics and vocal and instrumental music. The institute offers a full course and effective training for young ladies who desire higher education.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA MEDICAL COLLEGE.

This institution was established through the efforts of Drs. C. B. King, J. B. Murdoch, W. J. Asdale, J. Chris Lange, James McCann, W. Snivery, J. D. Thomas, J. G. Connell, J. M. Duff and J. C. Dunn, who became the corporators. These gentlemen assumed all the expenses of establishing the institution, erecting the buildings, furnishing the laboratories, etc., etc., and the college started on its career without debt.

The college building, a tasteful, spacious and convenient brick structure, occupies an elevated site on Brereton avenue and Thirteenth street, about one hundred yards from West Pennsylvania Hospital, which affords clinical advantages to the students.

The first course of lectures was given in 1886–87, to a class of sixty-nine students, and the class of 1887–88 numbered ninety-six. The college has a dispensary, complete in all its appointments.

PITTSBURGH GRAIN AND FLOUR EXCHANGE.

This association was incorporated, by a decree of court, on the 15th of July, 1882, with twenty-seven citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City as corporators. Its objects as set forth in its charter are:

> To increase the business facilities for buying and selling grain and flour; to advance the commercial character and increase the interest of the same by bringing buyer and seller nearer together; by inculcating and enforcing just and equitable principles in trade; establishing and maintaining uniformity in the commercial usages of the trade; acquiring, preserving and disseminating valuable business information; and to avoid or adjust and settle any and all misunderstandings and controversies which may arise between individuals engaged in traffic or business aforesaid; reforming abuses therein; protecting it against unjust and unlawful exactions; to promote a more enlarged and friendly intercourse between the persons therein engaged, and generally to use such lawful means as may be necessary for the encouragement and protection of the interest aforesaid.

The place of business of the exchange is 985 Liberty street. Here members meet daily for the interchange of views, for learning prices and actual or prospective receipts in the market, and for making legitimate purchases and sales.

The general work of the exchange has been highly beneficial. It has adopted definite rules for the transaction of business among its members. It has a standing board of arbitration, consisting of fifteen members, the duties and methods of procedure of which are prescribed in the constitution of the exchange. At first this board was frequently called on to adjust differences that arose between members, but these disputes became less and less frequent, till now the good offices of this board are rarely required.

The membership in the exchange is nearly two hundred. The presidents have been R. D. Elwood, A. M. Marshall, D. G. Stewart, B. McCracken and S. S. Marvin. The present officers and managers are: S. L. McHenry, presi-

H. L. Gourley

dent; S. McNaugher, vice-president; R. S. McCague, secretary; B. McCracken, treasurer; D. G. Stewart, R. D. Elwood, B. F. Veach, P. Reil, James Herron, J. Dunlevy, J. C. Houck, C. F. Horning and John Hood.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PITTSBURGH.

This body was chartered, by a decree of court, on the 8th of July, 1876. Its purpose, as set forth in the second article of its charter, is as follows:

> This association is formed for the purpose of protecting, fostering and developing the commercial, manufacturing and business interests of Allegheny county by joint and concerted action; by providing for collecting, preserving and disseminating statistical and other information concerning the same; by assisting in adjusting, as far as possible, the controversies and misunderstandings which are liable to arise between parties engaged in trade, and generally to use such lawful means as may be necessary for the encouragement and protection of the interests aforesaid.

The first board of directors was constituted as follows: Hon. Thomas M. Howe, president; J. F. Dravo, William McCreery, T. J. Stockdale, Mark W. Watson, J. K. Moorhead, H. W. Oliver, Jr., and J. S. Slagle, vice-presidents; A. M. Marshall, Capt. R. C. Gray, Joseph D. Weeks, Edward Gregg, C. Meyran, J. G. Stiebneck, Simon Reymer, Dr. D. Hostetter, George A. Kelly, T. Brent Swearingen, G. W. Hailman, C. A. Carpenter, William Frew, Daniel Wallace, S. S. Marvin, M. F. Herron and Arthur Kirk.

A "board of trade," with functions similar to those of this chamber, had been organized in 1836, and during the forty years of its existence had been of much benefit to the business interests of the city of Pittsburgh and the surrounding region. The period during which this board existed was one of great changes. The fourth and greatest change in the methods of transportation occurred in those years, and brought with it corresponding changes of method in all branches of business, and the old board, though it had not, perhaps, lapsed into senile inefficiency, had not kept even pace with the rapid advances of the period, and a reorganization, or a more efficient organization, seemed to be necessary; hence the existence of this association.

The successive presidents of the chamber have been Hon. Thomas M. Howe, Hon. J. K. Moorhead and Hon. John F. Dravo. The present officers are William E. Schmertz, president; George A. Kelly, Reuben Miller, R. C. Gray, George H. Anderson, John H. Ricketson, Henry Holdship, James B. Scott, vice-presidents; S. L. McHenry, secretary; Charles Meyran, treasurer, and G. Follansbee, superintendent.

ALLEGHENY OBSERVATORY.

Mr. L. Bradley first aroused public interest in the project of an observatory here, and by his exertions subscriptions were procured to promote the undertaking. A building was erected, in which was placed a large equatorial telescope,

but immediate further progress was prevented by pecuniary difficulties. A generous donation from William Thaw, of Pittsburgh, with contributions from others, relieved the observatory from debt, and provided a partial endowment for future pressing needs. This was in 1860. In 1867 the original contributors conveyed the property to the trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania, on condition that it should be used for the purposes of the observatory, and on the appointment and maintenance of an observer. Accordingly the trustees appointed as director Prof. S. T. Langley, but the equipment was not such as to permit systematic observations till 1869. The means for this equipment were largely due to the generosity of Mr. Thaw.

Under the administration of Prof. Langley much work of general scientific interest has been accomplished. We quote the following:

> A turret clock in the city hall of Pittsburgh has been provided by the municipal authorities, with electric mechanism which enables it to be controlled from the observatory, so that its movement is synchronous with that of the principal mean standard time there, which is itself corrected by nightly observations.
>
> The electric mechanism of the distant turret clock causes a stroke on a heavy bell above the summit of the tower to be given with exact precision at the first second of every third hour, so that it is audible throughout the city. The mechanism of the same turret clock is arranged so that the pendulums of clocks in any distant police, fire-alarm or other municipal offices can be controlled by it, and compelled to move synchronously with its own, at the same time it automatically reports its own time upon the electric recording apparatus at the observatory.

This observatory has several times been serviceable in determining the longitude of different places, and by interchanges of signals with other observatories in this country and Europe it has aided in the prevention or correction of even the slightest errors.

ALLEGHENY ARSENAL.

As early as April, 1814, the United States government purchased from William B. Foster, of what was then Pitt township, thirty acres of ground, and commenced the erection of arsenal buildings. Additions to this were from time to time made, till the amount came to reach thirty-six acres. Massive stone walls, inclosing the grounds, were completed in 1829. Ammunition, infantry and horse equipments, caissons and gun-carriages were formerly manufactured here, and during the war of the rebellion about twelve hundred hands were employed, and immense amounts of war-material were manufactured and sent to the army at different points. Heavy ordnance was never cast here, but cannon, ammunition and small-arms cartridges have been extensively produced. No manufacturing has been done here since 1868, but the arsenal is kept as a military post, and is used for storing and distributing. The following is a list of the commandants of Allegheny arsenal from 1814 to 1889: Maj. A. R. Wooley, Capt. George Talcott, Maj. Sylvester Churchill, Maj. R. L. Baker, Maj. H. K. Craig, Capt. Edward Harding, Maj. W. H. Bell, Lieut.

T. J. Rodman, Lieut. T. J. Brereton, Maj. John Symington, Col. R. H. K. Whitely, Maj. A. R. Buffington, Maj. J. W. Reilly, Maj. George W. McKee.

CARE OF THE POOR.

PROTESTANT HOME FOR AGED WOMEN.

At a meeting of the Women's Christian Association of Pittsburgh, in 1869, Miss Jane B. Holmes, the present president of the home, suggested the establishment of an institution of this kind. The proposition was favorably considered, and measures were at once instituted for the accomplishment of this benevolent object. A bazar was held from which the sum of eight thousand dollars was realized, and Miss Jane Holmes and others procured subscriptions to a large amount. Mr. James Kelly donated a lot of five acres in Wilkinsburg, and a house was erected thereon at an expense of twenty-five thousand dollars. Miss Jane Holmes afterward erected, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, an additional building.

In 1871 a charter was procured, and the home has since been conducted under it. The first president was Mrs. Felix R. Brunot, succeeded in 1872 by Miss Jane B. Holmes, the present incumbent of the office.

HOME FOR AGED PROTESTANTS.

In 1881 an aged man applied for admission for himself and wife in the Old Ladies' Home. The regulations of that institution did not permit the admission of men, and though the woman was eligible the almshouse seemed the only place of refuge for the man. This led the benevolent Miss Jane Holmes to consider the propriety and practicability of establishing a home for aged couples who were dependent wholly or in part on charity for their maintenance. The result was the establishment of this institution. The chief contributor toward this enterprise was Miss Holmes, but she was aided by other benevolent ladies and gentlemen.

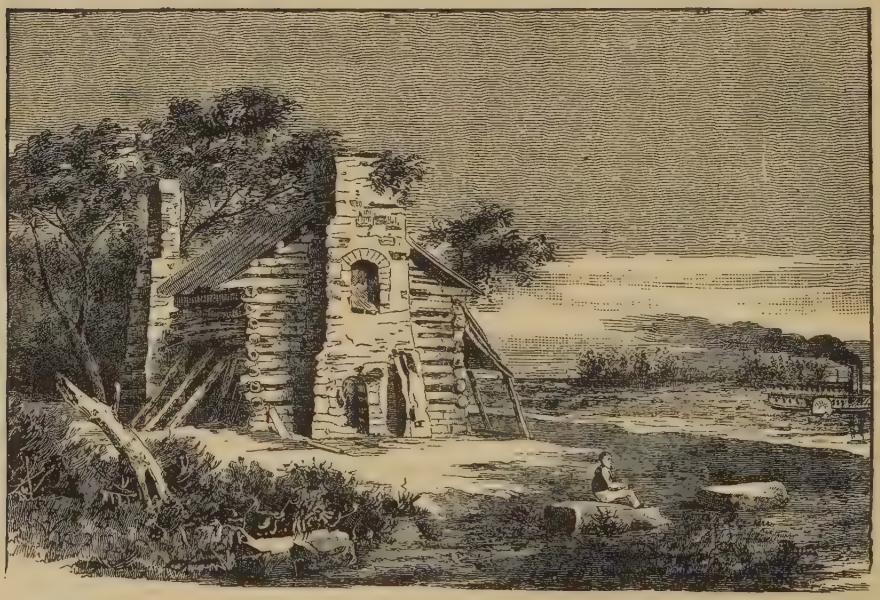
A charter was procured in the latter part of 1881, and soon afterward the home was established at the place where the "Sheltering Arms" had conducted its asylum.

This property was donated for the purpose by the late James Kelly, and is admirably adapted to the purposes of the organization. It consists of about five acres of ground in the borough of Wilkinsburg, on which stands a spacious brick house with the necessary outbuildings. The expenses of the institution are defrayed by the contributions and bequests of the benevolent, no state aid having ever been received. Miss Jane B. Holmes, a cousin of the founder, is the president, and Miss Louise Lardin is the matron.

Every community, under the laws of Pennsylvania, has to take care of its own poor. "The poor ye have always with you;" and Pittsburgh and Allegheny have been no exceptions to that universal rule. Under the general law of the state every ward, borough and township was a separate poor-district,

and this law prevailed until cities and counties were authorized to establish poorhouses for the benefit of the poor in each city or county. By this old law every ward, borough and township elected annually a board of three overseers of the poor. The old borough of Pittsburgh had its board of overseers, and this board continued, under the city organization, to have charge of the poor of the city until 1847, when the councils were authorized, by act of assembly, to elect a board of twelve guardians of the poor, four of which went out of office every year.

The old board of overseers was authorized to levy a tax for the support of



OLD ALMSHOUSE.

[Was at the foot of Coal Hill, and is said to have been the oldest house standing in Pittsburgh in 1832.]

the poor, and exercised this right vigorously until it was superseded by the guardians. The annual election was held in March, and there was a general scramble for the office, thus creating the impression that it was a "soft snap" for the incumbents. The relief extended to the poor, under the borough organization, was all "out-door" relief. There was no poorhouse nor place of any kind to which the poor could be sent. Coal was freely supplied to the poor by the wagon-load, and sometimes provisions were purchased and furnished; but the usual plan was to allow a specified sum per week to each needy family, graduated in amount by the extent of the necessity. It was not a very economical method, nor was it based upon scientific principles; but it was the one that most readily suggested itself, and it involved the least trouble.

After the city was organized there must, at some time, have been a joint

Yours Truly
John W. Stewart

arrangement with Allegheny for a poorhouse in that borough or city, each bearing its own share of the expense; for in the act of March 5, 1847, creating the board of guardians of the poor, it authorizes the board of guardians "to sell and dispose of, to the best advantage, all and any part of the poorhouse property situated in Allegheny City which may remain unsold at the time of their going into office." The councils of Pittsburgh had, prior to this, purchased a farm in Mifflin township, on the south side of the Monongahela river, six or seven miles above the city, and were directed, by the act of 1847, to turn the same over to the board of guardians as a poor-farm. The city of Allegheny has a somewhat similar organization, with a poor-farm above the city, on the Allegheny river.

Since 1847, then, all the needy poor, except the few relieved at their own homes, have been cared for at the poor-farms belonging to both cities. Large and commodious buildings have been erected, and the poor have been as well cared for as it is possible for them to be under such a system. There is very little out-door relief, and the poor are sent where they can work, as well as they are able, to raise farm products for their support. But men able to work are not likely, in such a busy community as this, to become a poor-charge. The greater part of those sent to the poorhouse is composed of old people, of both sexes, too nearly worn out to be of much service in cultivating vegetables upon a farm. Still, the farms, when first bought by the respective cities, were in the country, well situated for water and pure air, and, if that condition of things had continued, both poor-farms were well situated. But the city of Allegheny has well-nigh reached the site of her poor-farm in the extension of her boundaries, and the Pittsburgh poor-farm is being encroached upon by railroads and the growing borough of Homestead, which is the chosen site of several large manufactories. The city line, on the northern side of the Monongahela, extends above the poor-farm, and while the borough of Homestead adjoins it closely on the east, the extension of the city is gradually approaching it upon the west side. What was a well-chosen site in 1847 is no longer so, and the city will be forced, soon, to get further into the country, and further away from the possible bounds of the city.

For a long time, before insane hospitals were founded, the care of the insane poor of the two cities devolved first upon the board of overseers, and finally upon the guardians. The number was not very great at first, and the board of overseers usually got some family to take charge of each insane pauper; but when the number grew large, and after the establishment of Dixmont Hospital for the Insane, this class of paupers was sent to the hospital for care and treatment. Of late years, however, insane departments have been created at the poorhouses, and the insane poor are now cared for specially, and carefully, in the main, at the poor-farms. The treatment here is good and helpful, but not so thorough as at the hospital. The cost, however, which is a great item in such cases, is much less than at Dixmont.

Since 1887 the board of guardians of the poor of Pittsburgh has been abolished, and its powers and duties transferred to a department of the city government. The management is in excellent hands, and the system appears to be carried on economically as well as honestly; but the student of this branch of human affairs could doubtless suggest many improvements upon the systems produced by our poor-la[illegible]nerally, especially as to the treatment of the insane poor; but until some better system has been devised, the two cities seem to have no alternative except to do as they are doing.

There are, besides this municipal provision for the poor, several funds, such as the "Brewer" and other funds, left by will for the relief of the poor, which are annually distributed with care, and furnish great relief to the needy. There is, also, the "Society for the Improvement of the Poor," which inquires carefully into needy cases, and extends help of all kinds in a systematic way to needy applicants. This society has wrought a good work; keeps a regular office, has regular methods of distribution, and is the channel for the employment of whatever donations the benevolent may desire to make for the benefit of the poor. In so large a place the application of benevolence, personally, is difficult, and some associated effort of this kind is needed. There are kindred societies in Allegheny, and between them and the municipal poor-boards the poor are well looked after. Occasional cases of suffering doubtless occur, constantly, but they grow out of the determined effort of some to conceal their poverty, and to avoid receiving charitable help. So far as organized work is concerned, the poor of the two cities are exceedingly well provided for.

PITTSBURGH CITY FARM OR ALMSHOUSE.

This institution is located in the township of Mifflin, on the south side of the Monongahela river, adjoining Homestead on the east, and comprises one hundred and fifty acres. "The almshouse proper is built on elevated ground, with a lawn in front, ornamented with trees, shrubbery and walks, sloping down to the Monongahela river. It is a brick structure, erected in 1851, at a cost of $42,000, and consists of a center building, 46 feet front, with two lateral wings, each 92 feet front by 48 feet deep. A building extends in the rear of the center 67 feet deep by 30 feet wide, at the rear of which there are two lateral wings, the eastern one 67 feet in length by 17 feet wide, the western 23 feet in length by 19 feet wide. The center building is three and a half and the back building and wings three stories high, all roofed with slate. The almshouse building has capacity to accommodate 300 paupers.

"A separate building for the insane was erected in 1879. It is of brick, three stories high, 196 by 40 feet. The corridors are 12 feet wide and 12 feet high. It has a capacity for 150 patients, 75 of each sex. The sexes are effectually separated, there being three male and three female wards. The original cost of the building, including steam-heating, lighting, water, sewerage, etc., was $47,689.27. The funds were raised by taxation. The estimated

present value of buildings, including many improvements, is $65,000; value of personal property in both almshouse and asylum, $200,000. The staircases are not fireproof; there are two fire-escapes, one at each end of the building; fire-ladders are also provided, and each ward is supplied with fire-hose. It is under control of twelve 'guardians the poor,' six being appointed by select and six by common councils; term of office, three years; the terms of four expire at the end of each year. The expenses of the insane department are not kept separate from the other accounts of the institution. The average cost of maintenance is about one dollar and eighty-five cents per week."*

THE ALLEGHENY CITY HOME.

This old-established institution, located at Claremont station, in O'Hara township, occupies a commanding site 150 feet from the railroad, on the southern slope of the river hills. The main building has a frontage of 286 feet and is 46 feet wide, with a center wing 50 feet wide, extending back 150 feet. The steward's house at the center in front is 35x52 feet. Its construction was begun in June, 1871, and completed in December, 1873, at a cost of $225,000. It was first occupied July 29, 1873. There are 96 acres of land connected with the institution, purchased from James T. Beatty, March 10, 1871, for $57,600. The buildings were enlarged in 1881, at a cost of $25,000, and, with the grounds and personal property, represent an expenditure of about $325,000. There are about 300 separate apartments, 17 of which are occupied by insane or imbecile paupers. This institution was originally founded in 1844. April 9th of that year the legislature passed an act authorizing Thomas Barnett, Henry Hannen, Robert S. Cassett, Thomas Farley, E. W. Stevens, Thomas H. Stewart, John Morrison, William Tate and L. O. Reynolds to purchase a site within ten miles of the city. A farm of 164 acres (the present site of Millvale) was secured, and buildings erected. The act of assembly authorizing the removal was approved March 12, 1867. The first board of directors of the poor was elected January 14, 1845, and consisted of Thomas H. Stewart, Thomas Barnett and Peter Beard. The composition of the board has been changed at various times, and now includes twelve members, one from each ward of the city of Allegheny, and the chairman of the poor-farm committee of councils. Its organization for 1887–88 is as follows: President, William F. Trimble; secretary, John R. Watson; clerk, William P. Hunker. Officers of the home: John L. Rolshouse, steward; Mrs. M. J. Kellogg, matron; H. H. West, resident physician; Rev. John Henderson, chaplain.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POOR.

The Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor was started in 1875, by some benevolent ladies and gentlemen in Pittsburgh. In 1877 a charter was granted, and the association has ever since been actively engaged in its

* Board of Public Charities (Pennsylvania), committee on lunacy, report for 1885.

good work, which has been, chiefly, extending aid to such needy people as are not proper subjects for assistance by the public charities. This work has been accomplished by the personal efforts of visitors appointed for the purpose, and by obtaining situations for unemployed poor people, or by procuring admission in various charitable institutions for proper subjects of their benevolent aid. Under the auspices of this association the temporary home and day nursery for children has been established, at No. 96 Washington street, near Wylie avenue, Pittsburgh, and many laboring women have been assisted by the care of their children while they were pursuing their work.

The country home for children, at Oakmont, is also under the care of this association. It has also a diet dispensary, the function of which is indicated by its name. The association has a central and three branch offices in Pittsburgh. The means for carrying on the work of the association are derived wholly from voluntary contributions.

HOME OF THE LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR.

In 1872 five of the sisters of this order came to Pittsburgh, and in a short time removed to Allegheny, where they established a house on Washington street. They at once entered on their good work, caring for aged destitute people. From their small beginning they increased their work till now there are ten sisters and about seventy inmates. New buildings are in process of erection, at a probable cost of sixty thousand dollars, and when these are completed the facilities for their good work will be greatly increased. In 1885 another house was established at the corner of Penn and Rebecca streets, Pittsburgh. Thirteen sisters are engaged at this house, and it has one hundred and thirty inmates.

These charities are maintained wholly by the contributions of the benevolent, which are solicited from door to door by these sisters. This order originated in Brittany about forty years since, and it now numbers some two hundred and fifty houses in different parts of the world. The care of indigent aged people is the particular work of the order. No distinction as to creed is made in the dispensing of their charities by these sisters.

TEMPORARY HOME FOR DESTITUTE WOMEN.

This was established in 1868 by the Women's Christian Association of Pittsburgh. Its object is sufficiently indicated by its name. The first location of the home was on Chatham street. In 1881 it was removed to its present location on Penn avenue, near Ninth street. In the twenty years of its existence the home has received 7,639 women and children. The expenses of the home are defrayed by the contributions of benevolent people. The affairs of the institution are managed by a board of twenty-four ladies.

HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY.

In 1864 the members of the Ladies' Relief Association of Pittsburgh and

W. F. Ryan

Allegheny, finding themselves unable to provide for the proper care of all the children made needy by the absence of their fathers in the army, conceived the project of establishing a home for such children. They first rented a house on Federal street, where these children were collected and cared for, and afterward purchased a place on Washington street, near Cedar avenue. There, during many years, the benevolent work was carried on. The number of subjects of this charity outgrew the capacity of the house, and in 1886 a new building was commenced. It has been completed at a cost of $75,000, $60,000 of which was a bequest from the late Miss Jane Holmes. This home has a capacity for two hundred inmates. The average number cared for here has of late been one hundred. These are children that, though destitute, have parents living, and are, therefore, not subjects for admission to orphan asylums. The expenses of the home are defrayed largely from the contributions of the benevolent.

THE CHRISTIAN HOME FOR WOMEN.

This was organized under the auspices of the Women's Christian association. It grew out of the evident necessity for a place where women who had gone astray, and desired to reform, could find a refuge and be assisted in their efforts. The first house was opened at Wilkinsburg, where ground was donated by the late James Kelly. A building was erected there in 1871, and the work of the home was conducted there till 1881, when the home was removed to its present location on Locust street, Allegheny.

In addition to the work of reclaiming fallen women, this home has a department for the care of incurables, and one of the employments of the inmates is the care of such. Of those who have been cared for here a large proportion have been permanently reformed. The expenses of the home are defrayed from the contributions of benevolent people. The association is incorporated, and holds its property free from debt.

WIDOWS' HOME ASSOCIATION OF ALLEGHENY CITY.

At the close of the late civil war the ladies of the Allegheny Relief society found in their visitations many homeless widows, with children dependent on them. To provide homes for these seemed a great desideratum, and these ladies entered on the benevolent work of raising funds for the purchase and fitting up of tenements for such widows. Their success exceeded their expectations. A sum sufficient for the purchase of the old Protestant Orphan asylum, Taylor and Webster streets, Allegheny, was raised. To this other houses on the same streets were added, till now seventy-five rooms are available for this purpose. These rooms are rented at sums varying from one to two dollars per month, and an average of one hundred persons is made comfortable there. It is believed that no similar charity has been more successful. Mrs. Felix R. Brunot is president of the association; Miss Melinda Pressly, secretary, and Miss J. M. Smith, treasurer.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH HOME.

In the autumn of 1858 measures looking to the establishment of this charity were first taken. Meetings of the clergy and laity were held in the different parishes in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, plans were matured, and the Charity Home association was incorporated on the 28th of March, 1859.

The original intention was to provide a home only for aged members of the church, but a change was made in the scope and extent of its charities, which were made to include the young as well as the aged. The reasons for this change were thus stated in the report of the board of trustees to the corporators January 27, 1861:

> We started out with the intention of first opening a home only for aged members of the church, with the view of afterward, when our means should have been increased and our foundations more firmly laid, extending our charities to the infirm in health and to the helpless children of the church, by the establishment of an infirmary for the former and an orphans' home for the latter. But we are now satisfied that for the present, at least, it is better that we exclude none of any class who may be proper objects of our bounty; that we open our door alike to the aged and weary Christian retiring from the toil and strife of the world—to the young and helpless child just entering the world, with none to teach and train it for its warfare; in a word, to any of our household who, homeless and friendless, has not where to look for aid save, under God, to the sacred brotherhood of his church.

The home was opened in the spring of 1859, in a rented house, but two years later it was removed to its present location, near that portion of the city of Pittsburgh formerly known as Lawrenceville. Here what had been the "Locust Grove Seminary" was purchased at a cost of sixteen thousand dollars. Of this sum John A. Shoenberger contributed seven thousand dollars, Felix R. Brunot, Charles Knap and Thomas M. Howe one thousand each, and several others donated smaller sums, and Charles Brewer bequeathed five thousand dollars.

The grounds are extensive and well improved, the buildings are large, substantial and well adapted to the purposes of the institution, and the property is not encumbered with any debt. The home is an institution of the diocese of Pittsburgh, and the charity is actively and intelligently conducted. The trustees are: John H. Shoenberger, F. R. Brunot, Charles Knap, Hill Burgwin, William Metcalf, M. B. Hogg, H. J. Lynch, Wilson Miller, E. P. Jones and John B. Jackson.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION AND ORPHANS' HOME.

This was organized in October, 1879. The request of a dying woman to her pastor that suitable homes might be found for her fatherless children led to reflections and efforts that resulted in the establishment of this home. The first house occupied was No. 93 Webster street, Allegheny, which was soon found to be too small, and the home was removed to a more capacious one on Taggart street. In April, 1880, the present house, at Jefferson and Monterey

streets, was first occupied. The original cost of this property was seven thousand dollars. In 1884 its capacity was doubled, at an expense of fourteen thousand dollars, and the property has appreciated in value by other improvements that have been made in and about it. The expenses of the institution are defrayed by funds received from life directors, life members, annual members, missionary societies, Sabbath-schools, private contributions, etc., etc. Some of these contributions have come from friends as far away as Egypt. The average number of children cared for at this home is about fifty. Mrs. Elizabeth M. Campbell is the president, and Miss L. Rose the matron.

ST. PAUL'S ORPHAN ASYLUM.

In 1843 a few Sisters of Mercy opened a house for girls on the corner of Webster and Chatham streets. In 1851 another house, for boys, was opened in Birmingham. In 1872 the two were united, and the present house on Tannehill street, near Wylie avenue, was erected and fitted up for an asylum, under the name of St. Paul's.

The house has a capacity for three hundred and twenty-five, and during the year 1888 it had an average of three hundred inmates. No distinction as to religious creed is made in receiving children. Fifteen sisters are employed in the house.

ST. MICHAEL'S ORPHAN ASYLUM.

This was established in 1874 by the parish of St. Michael, under the administration of Rev. Father Frederick Lang. The building used for the asylum stands on Pine street, Twenty-seventh ward, Pittsburgh, nearly opposite St. Michael's church. It was erected at the same time with St. Joseph's convent of the Sisters of St. Francis, and it has been in charge of these sisters from the beginning. The house has accommodations for fifty inmates. During 1888 the average number was twenty-four.

PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY PROTESTANT ORPHAN ASYLUM.

This is one of the very oldest charitable institutions in the two cities. It was organized in 1833, by a number of benevolent ladies, of whom Mrs. Mary Smith, of Sewickley, is the only survivor. The first building owned by the association was the one now used as the widows' home, at the corner of Taylor avenue and Webster street. During many years their benevolent work was carried on there, but larger accommodations were found necessary, and a site was purchased on Grand avenue, extending from Ridge to Lincoln avenues, and on this the present asylum was erected. The expense of building this house was defrayed from a bequest by the late Charles Brewer, and by the benefaction of the late William Holmes, who superintended the erection of the building.

During the early years of the association the expenses of the asylum were defrayed wholly from voluntary contributions, and severe struggles were encoun-

tered. Bequests and donations have, from time to time, been made, till now the asylum has an endowment sufficient to nearly defray its current expenses. During some years past the institution has maintained an average of two hundred and forty inmates.

ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHAN ASYLUM.

This was established in 1853, for the relief, support and education of orphan children, chiefly of German parentage. It was located in a healthful and pleasant situation on Troy hill, Allegheny, where it has ever since been conducted. It is under the charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame, of whom there are twelve now in the institution. German, Bohemian, Polish and French orphans are received in this asylum, and are educated in both the German and English languages. The home has a capacity for two hundred inmates, and during 1888 one hundred and fifty were cared for in it. There is also a House of the Good Shepherd on Troy hill.

COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM OF ALLEGHENY.

This was started in 1880, by an association of ladies, among whom were Mrs. Swift, Mrs. L. H. Eaton and Miss Mary O'Brien. The first house was opened on Fountain street, near Sandusky; but in 1882 the asylum was removed to its present location, at the foot of Greenwood avenue. It is maintained principally by voluntary contributions; but it, as well as other benevolent institutions, was the recipient of a generous bequest from the late Miss Jane Holmes. It has an average of about sixty inmates.

PROTESTANT HOME FOR BOYS.

Prior to 1886 there existed in Allegheny a "Young Women's Boarding Home." In June of that year the name was, by order of the court, changed to the "Protestant Home for Boys," and the character and object of the corporation was thereafter to be the maintenance, support and control of a home for friendless boys.

The building occupied by the Young Women's Boarding Home, at the corner of Robinson and Anderson streets, was repaired and refitted, and it has since been in successful operation. It is a boarding home for boys between the ages of six and eighteen years, and each boy is required to pay for his board according to his income. The boarders, when not employed, are required to attend school, and a night school is provided for those who labor during the day.

The home was established and endowed by a bequest of fifty thousand dollars from the late Miss Jane Holmes for a boys' home, and it is maintained from the income of this fund, the payments from the boys and the contributions of the benevolent. During 1888 the number of boarders averaged twenty-five.

ALLEGHENY DAY NURSERY.

This was organized in the fall of 1886. Its object is the daily care of the children of such as would otherwise be compelled to relinquish the entire care of their children to asylums. An average of about twelve children are cared for here daily, thus enabling their parents to pursue their daily labors without anxiety concerning their children.

PITTSBURGH FREE DISPENSARY.

In March, 1873, this was organized. It was the outgrowth of a dispensary which had been conducted by the Pittsburgh Church Guild, which it superseded. Dr. L. H. Harris was the president of the guild, which was unable to meet the increasing demands for an institution of this kind. Mainly through his efforts, aided by other benevolent citizens, this dispensary was established and placed on a sound financial basis. The expenses of the dispensary are defrayed without city, county or state aid, and the medical profession of the city give gratuitous attendance on the patients here treated.

Arrangements have been made for the erection of a new and commodious dispensary building, the funds for the purpose having been bequeathed to the dispensary by the late Miss Jane Holmes. This will be another fitting monument to the memory of this distinguished benevolent lady.

PROTESTANT HOME FOR INCURABLES.

This was chartered in December, 1883. Its object is, in the language of its charter, "to provide a home for persons suffering from incurable diseases." It was founded by the late Miss Jane Holmes, who donated for the purpose the grounds and buildings on Butler street, near Fifty-fifth, Pittsburgh, valued at near one hundred thousand dollars. The affairs of the home are in charge of a board of sixteen lady managers, with an advisory board of six gentlemen. The expenses of the institution are defrayed mostly from the contributions of the benevolent. The home was first occupied in June, 1885. Since that time thirty-four patients have been received, of whom five have died, leaving twenty-nine inmates.

ALLEGHENY GENERAL HOSPITAL.

This institution was chartered in October, 1882, under the act of April 29, 1874, and the several supplements thereto. The corporators were: R. B. Mowry, James Park, Jr., George A. Kelly, J. A. Myler, John Dean, W. S. Husilton, John A. Caughey, L. Peterson, Jr., William McCreery, Hugh S. Fleming, Edward Gregg, Oliver P. Scaife and Thomas McCance.

The hospital was opened for patients on the 15th of February, 1886, on Stockton avenue, Allegheny, a pleasant and healthful location, in buildings well adapted to the requirements of such an institution, and 369 patients were treated during 1886.

The government of the hospital is vested in a board of eleven directors, who are chosen by the contributors to the permanent fund of the institution, each contribution of fifty dollars entitling the donor to one vote. The by-laws of the corporation provide for the appointment, by the board of directors, of a number of ladies, termed the "Ladies' Society," to assist in the maintenance of the hospital. The income of the institution is derived from the fees of such patients as are able to pay, the contributions of the benevolent, the interest of an endowment fund of ten thousand dollars, and appropriations from the state and city.

A training-school for nurses has been established in connection with the hospital. Lectures are given by the members of the medical and surgical staff of the hospital to the nurses in this school, and practical instruction is imparted by the principal, Miss F. K. Fildesley, who is also the superintendent of the hospital. This institution, though now in its infancy, gives promise of great usefulness in the future.

MERCY HOSPITAL.

In December, 1843, seven Sisters of Mercy arrived in Pittsburgh. The chief functions of this order are the instruction of the ignorant, the protection of young females of good character, and the visitation and care of the sick. These sisters established their home on Penn avenue, and entered at once on the discharge of their duties. At that time, and up to 1846, there was no hospital in Pittsburgh, although the need of one had become very apparent. The convent of these sisters at that time was a building which stood on the present site of the library, on Penn avenue. It had been a hotel and a concert-hall, and in 1846 the sisters fitted up the old ballroom for hospital purposes. In that their first patients were received and cared for.

The need of better accommodations was at once felt, and the erection of a hospital building was soon commenced. The location selected was Stevenson street, on what was then the Fourth street road, where Mercy hospital now stands. This locality was then thinly inhabited, and was considered "in the country." The hospital building erected there, which was first used in May, 1848, was not, even at first, of a capacity sufficient to meet the requirements of the rapidly growing city, and was at all times crowded, but a lack of funds prevented its immediate enlargement. It was not until 1882 that the present spacious and convenient building was erected. It stands near the original hospital, which is now used as a female ward and dormitory for the sisters in charge. The entire hospital has now a capacity for one hundred and fifty patients. The sick of all creeds, without distinction of race or color, are received and cared for in this institution, which has never faltered in its good work.

The earliest physicians to this hospital were Drs. McNeal, Gazzam and

Anderson, all of whom are dead. Of the seven sisters who came in 1843. and commenced their hospital work in 1846, only one is now alive.

HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY OF PITTSBURGH.

No hospital of the homeopathic school of practice existed in Pittsburgh prior to 1866. Late in 1865 Drs. Marcellin Cote, John C. Burgher and H. Hofman secured the grounds and buildings located on Second avenue, near Smithfield street, with sixty-seven feet of front and extending through to First avenue, on which it had a frontage of forty-seven feet. The cost of this was twenty-two thousand dollars and it was held until a hospital organization was effected.

April 4, 1886, the legislature of Pennsylvania granted the institution a charter, naming as corporators: Wilson McCandless, William Frew, James B. Murray, James Caldwell, A. M. Wallingford, Annie Murray, Mary E. Moorhead, Letitia Holmes, M. K. Moorhead, William Metcalf, J. H. Hillerman, J. M. Knapp, J. H. Nobbs, W. A. Gildenfenny, O. Metcalf, William Crawford, Jr., E. Miles, E. Dithridge, A. McFarland, T. S. Blair, R. W. Burke, W. M. Faber, G. H. Burke, William T. Shannon, H. W. Oliver, Jr., George Bingham, J. G. Backofen, Mary Cote, E. R. Burke, Mary Caldwell, Sarah L. Woods, E. C. Donaldson, Jennie Blair, James Colvin and S. Miles. The presidents of the corporation have been: Hon. Wilson McCandless, till 1869; William Frew, till his death in 1880; William H. Barnes, till 1884, and William Metcalf till the present time.

During sixteen years patients were treated in the hospital first established, but the insuffiency of the accommodations became more and more apparent, till, in 1882, it was resolved to erect a new building. Additional ground was purchased, the new structure was placed under contract, and was ready for occupancy in 1884. Its total cost, including real estate and furnishment, was two hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars, of which one hundred thousand dollars were contributed by the state, fifty thousand by William Thaw, fifteen thousand by Miss Jane Holmes, between five and six thousand each by William Metcalf and Charles J. Clarke, and the balance in donations of from five to one thousand dollars.

The hospital has a free dispensary, and there is connected with it a training-school for nurses. There exists also, as an efficient auxiliary to the management of the hospital, a ladies' association, the functions of which are to aid in the internal management of the institution, supply clothing and delicacies to the indigent sick, and by systematic effort to raise money for the maintenance of the good work. The annual number of admissions to the hospital is about one thousand.

ST. FRANCIS' HOSPITAL.

The order of the Sisters of St. Francis was established several centuries since. Their functions are the education of children, the care of the sick in

hospitals, and of orphan children in asylums. In 1867 two of these sisters came to Pittsburgh from Buffalo, N. Y., and soon engaged in their charitable work. In the same year they were joined by others. In the following year the property of Mr. Keller, consisting of six acres on Forty-fourth street, the present site of St. Francis' hospital, was purchased by a committee, and hospital work was commenced there by the Franciscan Sisters. The residence of Mr. Keller, which is now the insane department of the hospital, was first used for the care of the sick, but larger accommodations soon came to be required, and in 1871 the present structure was erected. It stands on the height in Forty-fourth street, between Penn avenue and Butler streets—an airy and healthful location, one of the best in this region. It is a large and tasteful brick structure, and has a capacity for one hundred patients. The sick of all denominations and of every class and nationality are cared for in this institution, which is self-supporting. Fourteen sisters are in attendance on this hospital, and between five and six hundred patients are annually treated.

PITTSBURGH NEWSBOYS' HOME.

This institution was opened in March, 1885, by T. P. Druit, as a newsboys' school, in the bank building on the corner of Fifth avenue and Liberty street. It commenced with seventy-five scholars, which number was soon increased to one hundred. In December, 1886, the school was removed to No. 125 Fifth avenue, and a home department was added, beginning with six boarders. In April, 1887, it was removed to its present location, No. 15 Old avenue, and its capacity was greatly increased. It was incorporated on the 16th of March, 1888, with Rev. George T. Purvis, D. D., president; Charles E. Speer, treasurer; Allan C. Kerr, secretary, and Thomas P. Druit, superintendent.

The home occupies the second and third stories of a large building, and has accommodations for seventy boarders and two hundred scholars. There are now forty boarders, and one hundred and fifty attend the day school, the Sunday-school and the gymnasium. The dormitory is fitted up with single iron bedsteads, with bathrooms, lavatories, and every convenience, in a plain way, for the inmates. An industrial department, including a printing-office, is soon to be added. The boarders are kept at $1.50 per week, and are aided in obtaining situations where they can support themselves and prepare to take their places among useful citizens. It is believed that great good has resulted from the establishment of this home.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CEMETERIES.

Homewood Cemetery—Allegheny Cemetery.

HOMEWOOD CEMETERY.

IN the early part of 1878 the idea was suggested of establishing a new cemetery in the eastern portion of the city of Pittsburgh, which was so favorably received by the community that it was decided to make application to the court for the organization of a corporation for that purpose, which was accordingly done, and on the 23d day of February, in that year, a charter was granted.

The distinct and irrevocable principle on which this corporation is founded is, that the entire funds arising from the sales of burial-lots, and the proceeds of any investment of said funds, shall be specifically dedicated to the purchase and improvement of the grounds of the cemetery, and keeping them durably and permanently inclosed and in repair through all future time, including all incidental expenses for keeping in order the approaches to the cemetery, and the proper management of the same; and that no part of said funds shall, as dividend profit, or in any manner whatever, inure to the corporators.

Immediately after the organization of the company a proposal was received from James A. Hutchinson, trustee of the estate of Hon. William Wilkins, deceased, offering to sell a tract of land containing one hundred and seventy-five acres, situated in the Twenty-second ward, between Penn avenue and Forbes street, and having a frontage on Dallas avenue of three thousand feet. This ground being considered peculiarly well suited for a cemetery, on account of its elevated and comparatively secluded situation, and the probability of its being forever free from the smoke and dirt of manufacturing establishments, and at the same time convenient and easy of access, and the terms for the payments being liberal, the board of managers decided to accept the offer, and a purchase of the property was made.

Soon afterward a large force of men was engaged in grading and macadamizing Dallas avenue and in laying out and cutting roadways in the grounds. About four miles of these roadways have been constructed, a convenient and tasteful office-building and a superintendent's house have been erected, and fifteen acres of the cemetery have been improved for burial purposes. The improvements which have been made have cost about fifty thousand dollars. Two thousand and nine hundred interments have (January, 1889) been made in this cemetery.

The proceeds of the sales of lots and interments is appropriated, after the

payment of current expenses, to the extinguishment of the debt, and to the creation of a fund for the perpetual care of the cemetery after all the lots shall have been sold. This fund now amounts to seven thousand dollars.

The original corporators were: Charles W. Batchelor, Marcellin Cote, P. M. Guthrie, William Metcalf, Anthony S. Murray, William Rea, William H. Smith, J. B. Sweitzer, James W. Brown, John H. Dalzell, Frank Le Moyne, Charles Meyran, George P. McBride, John Scott, David A. Stewart and Thomas Wightman, of Pittsburgh; and James J. Donnell, Malcolm Hay, Henry Holdship, Alexander Nimick, John H. Ricketson, Albert H. Childs, James Herdman, Reuben Miller, A. E. W. Painter, Oliver P. Scaife, of Allegheny. Of these Marcellin Cote, William H. Smith, J. B. Sweitzer, David A. Stewart, Malcolm Hay and A. E. W. Painter have died; and James B. Hill, W. W. Card, E. M. Bigelow and Dr. John Semple have been chosen.

The present officers are: William Rea, president; James A. Hutchinson, secretary and treasurer; David Woods, superintendent; Thomas Wightman, Charles Meyran, Joseph Abel, Alexander Murdoch, Alexander Nimick and J. D. Collingwood, managers.

ALLEGHENY CEMETERY.

Churchyards, village or neighborhood graveyards and private burial-places were, until a comparatively recent period, the only places of interment in this country. In most cases these were, during many years, well cared for, but as time went on less and less attention was given to them, until at last they came to be wholly neglected, and a few marble slabs inclosed by broken fences alone marked their sites.

Often the people of a small settlement dedicated a spot of ground in their immediate vicinity for purposes of sepulture. The settlement grew to be a thriving village, which surrounded this primitive burial-place. Churches sprang up and became prosperous, and many of the different sects established burial-places farther away from the growing village. The place continued to prosper and expand till it became a busy city; and these were melancholy spots in the midst of streets, dwellings and places of business. Esthetic and sanitary considerations demanded their removal, and the question of the proper disposition of the remains of the departed came to be a pertinent one. From circumstances like these was probably developed the idea of rural cemeteries, having corporate existence under laws which should insure them against desecration and provide for their proper care. Early in the third decade of the present century such cemeteries came into existence in this country, and now such a resting-place for the dead is found in the vicinity of almost every large town.

The first move toward the establishment of a rural cemetery here was made in 1834, by Dr. J. R. Speer, Stephen Colwell and John Chislett. The success of Mount Auburn cemetery at Boston led them to conceive a plan for one here that should embrace the prospective wants of the population of the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny. The plan was not at once successful. Time, effort and example were necessary to educate public sentiment up to the proper point. The example was furnished by Mount Auburn cemetery, which was

chartered in 1831; Laurel Hill, at Philadelphia, in 1836; and Greenwood, at New York, in 1838. The three gentlemen named, and others who adopted their views, labored assiduously, and the press was enlisted in behalf of the project. Ten years elapsed, and in the spring of 1844 several meetings for the furtherance of the object were held. The grounds of Trinity church, adjoining those of the First Presbyterian church, on Sixth avenue, had become crowded with graves, and prominent members of these churches had come to feel a lively interest in the proposed plan. The last of these meetings was held on the 8th of April, 1844. The following is taken from a report of the proceedings of that meeting:

An adjourned meeting of the citizens of Pittsburgh, to consult in regard to the establishment of a public cemetery, was held at the Board of Trade rooms. . . .

Richard Biddle, from a committee appointed at a former meeting, reported a memorial to the legislature, and the draft of a proposed act of incorporation. These were unanimously adopted, and directed to be forwarded to Harrisburg for the action of the legislature.

The board as finally constituted was as follows:

Thomas Bakewell, Dr. James R. Speer, William Robinson, Jr., John Freeman, E. W. Stephens, Thomas M. Howe, J. Chislett, T. J. Bigham, W. J. Totten, Dr. H. D. Sellers, F. Lorenz, Charles Avery, George Hogg, John H. Shoenberger, H. Childs, J. Painter, John Bissell, H. Sterling, Rev. A. M. Bryan, W. Lippencott, William Kerr, E. D. Gazzam, R. S Cassett, W. Eichbaum, F. G. Bailey, H. Denny, R. C. Grier, G. W. Jackson, Josiah King, Charles Brewer, Wilson McCandless, J. S. Craft, George Ogden, N. Holmes, P. McCormick, J. Laughlin, R. Biddle, J. D. McCord, R. Kerr and Thomas Irwin.

The legislature promptly passed the act of incorporation, and it was approved April 24, 1844.

The corporation was fortunate in the purchase of its lands. They were bought in separate parcels, from different owners and at reasonable rates. Real estate in their vicinity has so appreciated in value that these lands would now command many times the amount paid for them. The character of these grounds is admirably suited to purposes of sepulture. Instead of a clayey, tenacious subsoil, that would not permit the downward percolation of moisture, it is of a sandy, porous nature, in keeping with modern taste and sentiment in regard to rural cemeteries.

The surface of the ground is not level, nor is it too hilly. Those parts which are not available for use are quite ornamental. They are covered with native forest-trees, and in the season of foliage, when the wind sighs among the leaves and the birds nestle and sing in the branches, truly beautiful rural and sylvan scenes are presented. The idea of what should be the surroundings of the resting-place of the dead seems here to be realized.

Dr. Speer thus summarizes the results of this enterprise:

It has fully met an evident want and necessity in this large and growing community. It has already risen in public estimation to the rank of a highly useful institution, and it is considered by all an ornament and honor to the city.

It has done much, by the influence it has exerted on visitors from all parts of the country, to aid in introducing the modern and improved system of rural cemeteries, adapted to the wants of different communities. The condition of many of the small, neglected and dilapidated graveyards attached to churches all over the country, overgrown with briers and weeds, and often infested with vermin, is truly deplorable, but it may reasonably be expected that many of these will be restored from their present repulsive conditions to those of comparative neatness, order and beauty, by the stimulus given by the new system.

It has given gratuitous sepulture to many of the brave soldiers who lost their lives in the late rebellion, and to many indigent persons who had neither money nor friends to defray this last debt of nature for them.

Since the establishment of this cemetery sums have been expended in improvements aggregating six hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars. It is not practicable to speak of these improvements in detail, but it may be said in general terms that they are of such a character as to render this one of the most tasteful and attractive rural cemeteries in the country. There is now in process of construction, on Penn avenue, an entrance which, when completed, will be more tasteful and elegant than anything of the kind in the country. It is believed that, in proportion to the number interred here, there are more costly and elegant monuments than can be found in any other rural cemetery in the United States. At the beginning of 1889 thirty-two thousand interments had been made here.

By the provisions of the charter, and the amendments thereto, the amount of land that may be held by the corporation is limited to three hundred acres. Two hundred and seventy-two acres have been acquired, and about one-third of this area is improved for burial purposes. The assets of the corporation amount to $512,637.40.

The present corporators are:

John H. Shoenberger, Dr. James R. Speer, Robert S. Cassett, John D. McCord, William Thaw, Alexander Bradley, H. J. Lynch, Francis Sellers, Charles Hays, John Harper, E. T. Jones, Charles J. Clarke, Charles E. Speer, S. C. McCandless, George Shiras, Jr., David Hostetter, Joseph Woodwell, Hon. James P. Sterrett, Frank S. Bissell, William Metcalf, William M. Darlington, A. E. W. Painter, William N. Frew, Reuben Miller, Jr., Alexander Nimick, Felix R. Brunot, James S. McCord, William E. Schmertz, Joseph Walton, W. Dewees Wood, W. J. Moorhead, Charles H. Spang, W. Kirk Porter, Robert M. Tindle, John B. Jackson, Charles Lockhart, George M. Laughlin, Charles M. Gormly, George A. Berry, William Bakewell and George A. Kelly.

The officers are:

Charles J. Clarke, president; William Thaw, Charles J. Clarke, John Harper, Charles E. Speer, S. C. McCandless, Frank S. Bissell and Felix R. Brunot, managers; James R. Speer, secretary and treasurer, and John Perring, superintendent.

James Clark Williams

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

McKEESPORT.

THE McKEE FAMILY—EARLY HISTORY OF McKEESPORT—ORIGINAL LOT-OWNERS—THE PLACE IN 1830—EARLY TRADE, COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES—GROWTH OF THE TOWN.

IT is a singular fact, and worthy of notice in connection with the early history of this county, that while the Scotch predominated among its first settlers, very few localities have received names of Scotch origin. Their religious and social customs were faithfully reproduced and tenaciously adhered to, with such modifications as their surroundings necessitated; but they seem to have been forgetful or indifferent concerning the names of their native country, scarcely any of which have been transplanted to this soil. McKeesport can hardly be regarded as an exception to this general rule. The name is distinctively Scotch, but John McKee was probably influenced in its selection by the pardonable egotism of founders of towns at the period rather than any other motive.

The name is worthy of being perpetuated. Among the advance-guard of the army of adventurers that pushed across the frontier before the final issue of the seven years' war, there were few in whom courage, constancy and prudence were so happily blended as in David McKee. If the traditions of the family may be credited, he removed from Scotland to County Donegal, in the north of Ireland, in the early part of the eighteenth century. Persecution followed him thither, and about the middle of the century, with several brothers, he migrated to America, where they settled near Philadelphia. One of the brothers removed to Rockbridge county, Va., and from him the southern contingent of the family is descended; another settled in the valley of the Susquehanna; and David McKee removed to the distant frontier, where, by the courtesy of Queen Aliquippa, he established himself at the mouth of the Youghiogheny. The date of this second emigration is disputed. It is said to have been in 1755, the year of Braddock's defeat; but the exposed condition of the frontier at that time renders this exceedingly improbable. Western Pennsylvania was not considered a desirable place of residence until after Gen. Forbes' occupation of Fort Pitt in 1758, nor was it tolerably secure from Indian ravages until after Col. Bouquet's victory at Bushy run in 1763. It is a well-established fact that McKee appeared on the Monongahela before the cessation of hostilities; that he was well received by Queen Aliquippa, and settled at the mouth of the Youghiogheny by her permission, and that in 1769 the colonial government confirmed to him the exclusive right of ferriage over the

two rivers at their confluence. April 3, 1769, the colonial landoffice was opened for the sale of lands acquired by the Indian treaties at the close of Pontiac's war, and warrant No. 1103 was granted to David McKee for the survey of a tract of land inclosed by the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, Huey street of the borough of McKeesport, and its original southern boundary, the area of which, as returned in the survey of November 30, 1782, was three hundred and six acres three roods and twenty perches. April 5, 1769, warrants were issued to Robert and Thomas McKee, respectively, the former thus securing two hundred and eighty-five acres adjoining the Monongahela river, between Huey and Riverton streets, and the latter, two hundred and fifty-three acres on the Youghiogheny, adjoining the tract of Robert McKee on the south. The elder McKee lived to an advanced age, and died October 11, 1795.

John McKee, his son, succeeded to the ability, the influence and a portion of the fortune of his father. Born in the north of Ireland in 1746, he had crossed the Atlantic at a very early age, and began his career on the frontier before reaching manhood. Brought up amid the hardships of pioneer life, a remarkable degree of self-reliance, energy and determination was developed in his character. He became familiar with the method of procedure in taking up land, and became one of the largest individual holders within the present territorial limits of the county. He was the original patentee of "Allegheny Tract," "Hopewell," "Newport" (on Saw-Mill run), and a number of others, and his purchases from warrantees and resident owners were numerous. He owned lots in Pittsburgh, Beaver Falls and other towns in the west, the value of which, with his coal-lands, would aggregate millions of dollars at the present day. It is hardly possible that he realized the extent to which his property would appreciate in value, but, judging by the standard of that day, he was a man of wealth, and his operations evince shrewdness and sagacity. He was the victim of his generosity. In 1793 he became surety for his brother-in-law, Judge John Redick, of Beaver Falls, who had contracted to furnish supplies for the Indian expedition of Gen. Wayne. The contractor failed to meet his obligations to the government, and his bondsman was called upon to assume liabilities aggregating thousands of dollars. He had a small trunk of continental money, but the government repudiated currency of that character. At the instance of Steel Sample, John Woods, James Ross and other eminent counsel of that day, he resisted the enforcement of payment in gold, claiming that the tender of continental currency was a sufficient discharge of his obligations. The case was tried in the United States court at Philadelphia, and after several years of litigation a decision adverse to Mr. McKee's interests was rendered. His property was exposed to sale by the United States marshal; but the state had but recently opened to purchase and settlement that large portion of its area northwest of the Allegheny river, and land commanded a merely nominal price. The entire amount realized from his large estates was less than thirty thousand dollars. Returning to the county after the unfortunate

termination of his suit, the idea of retrieving his losses by laying off a town at the mouth of the Youghiogheny seems to have occurred to him for the first time. The location was not inviting; swamp and forest occupied much of the present site of the town, but there were advantages that fully compensated its unfavorable aspect in this respect. The proprietor, in announcing his plans regarding "the new town," thus enumerated its advantages:

> The ground intended for the town is delightfully situated on a fine level point at the junction of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, about sixteen miles only above Pittsburgh by water and twelve only by land. . . . The situation of this place is so well known in the western country that it needs no encomium that can be given it, but for those persons below the mountain who may wish to become purchasers it may be necessary to premise that its situation is one of the best in the western country for trade and commerce, having the advantage of two rivers flowing under its banks, being near several gristmills and sawmills, close to what is called the Forks of Yough settlement (which is indisputably the richest we have); it is at least twelve miles nearer to Philadelphia than Pittsburgh is; it has public roads laid out from it in different directions.

This was published in the Pittsburgh *Gazette* of February 5, 1795, and formed part of an advertisement in which the following information concerning the plan of the town and the method adopted for the disposition of lots was also given:

> The plan on which the town is to be improved consists of upward of two hundred lots of forty feet front by one hundred and forty feet deep, each lot having the advantage of a street, and an alley twenty feet wide for the convenience of stables, etc. The principal streets are eighty feet wide, the others sixty.
>
> Near the center of the town is a large area or square intended for a market-house. Forty-eight of the lots front the two rivers, Monongahela and Youghiogheny. Four lots will be given . . . for the use of a place of public worship and a seminary of learning. The price of each lot is to be twenty dollars and one dollar groundrent annually. To avoid dispute, the lot every purchaser is to possess is to be deeded by a lottery, which will be held on the spot on the 1st of April next. Each purchaser at the time of receiving his ticket is to pay ten dollars, and the residue when he draws his number and gets his deed. The majority of the purchasers present at the meeting are to choose the persons who shall draw the tickets, which persons shall point out the four lots to be appropriated to public uses prior to the drawing.
>
> In front of those lots that are laid out next the two rivers is a considerable portion of ground extending to the water-edge, which, as it will be of great use to the settlers for a variety of purposes, the proprietor intends as public property for the general accommodation of all the inhabitants, reserving only to himself the sole right of keeping ferries, and as much ground at each ferry as a storehouse or a ferry-house may stand upon.

Tickets were offered for sale at Pittsburgh, Washington, Greensburg, Mercersburg and Carlisle. March 26, 1795, it was announced that one hundred and eighty-seven tickets had been sold, and that the groundrent might be extinguished by the payment of ten dollars additional. The drawing took place agreeably to announcement, and April 3, 1795, McKee informed the purchasers that the deeds would be prepared with all possible dispatch. November 4, 1795, he secured a patent for the tract previously held in his father's name by

warranty title, upon which the town was laid out, presumably the same year, by Andrew McCulloch, a surveyor and school-teacher. In the *Gazette* of November 26, 1795, McKee announced that he would execute conveyances for the lots December 21–30 following. Many of the deeds are dated December 24, and for some time they monopolized the business of the recorder's office. As thirty dollars is the consideration usually mentioned, it would appear that the major portion of the purchasers preferred to extinguish the groundrent.

The following is a list of the original lot-owners of McKeesport, and of the respective numbers and locations of the lots held by each:

Market street, between First and Second—103, David Jones; 104, Andrew Watson; 105, Joseph L. Findley; 106, George Leslie; 107, Hugh Scott, Jr.; 170, John Hannah; 171, Andrew Byers.

Between Second and Third—109, Thomas Foreman; 110, Andrew Irwin; 111, Faithful Cretan; 112, Thomas B. Patterson; 165, David McKee; 167, William Huey; 169, Barbara Lauderbach.

Between Third and Fourth—113, Jacob Bausman; 114, John Hoge Redick; 164, George Cooper.

Between Fourth and Fifth—116, James McKinney; 118, James Matthews; 159, James McKinney; 160, Andrew Byers; 161, James B. Clow.

Between Fifth and Sixth—120, Ann Herron; 121, Clarinda Redick; 156, Reuben T. Sacket; 157, Daniel Venture.

Between Sixth and Seventh—124, Robert McKee; 126, James McCulloch, Robert Knox;* 127, Margaret McCulloch; 128, Edward Nicholas; 149, John Reed; 150, W. H. Beaumont; 151, Nathan Bedford; 152, Abigail Hunt; 153, John Cunningham and Robert Calhoon.*

Between Seventh and Eighth—131, Robert McKee; 132, Alexander Shaw.

Between Eighth and Ninth—134, John McNeal; 137, James McKee; 141, John Findley; 142, W. H. Beaumont.

Water street, between Second and Third—5, John Snodgrass; 6, Sterling Johnston; 7 and 8, David Redick.

Between Third and Fourth—9, James Smith; 12, Alexander Sworn; 13, Zenas Hill.

Between Fourth and Fifth—14, John Speer; 15, Ephraim Edwards; 16, John Kinkaid; 17, John Speer; 18, John Fisher.

Between Fifth and Sixth—20, W. H. Beaumont; 21, John Roseborough; 22, W. H. Beaumont; 23, Obed Davis.

Between Sixth and Seventh—24, Joseph McCormick; 25, W. H. Beaumont; 26, W. McLaughlin; 28, John Dunlap.

Between Seventh and Eighth—30, W. H. Beaumont; 31, John Speer; 33, Augustus Leipart.

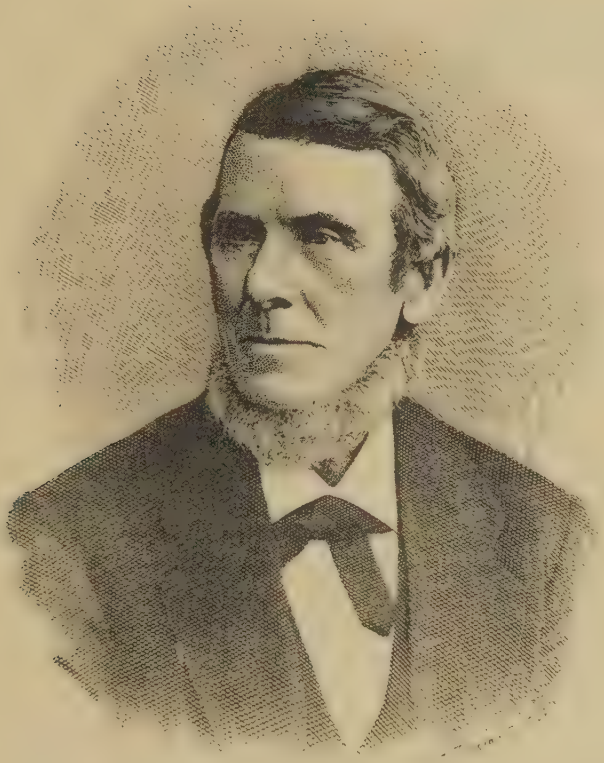
Between Eighth and Ninth—34, Sally Jones; 35, Robert McKee; 36, Obed Davis; 38, Robert Smith.

First street—100, Thomas R. Swearingen; 101, William Thompson; 102, Charles Hannah; 175 and 176, Samuel Sinclair; 177, Adam Burchfield; 178, John Speer.

Second street—91, David Pollock; 94, John Shaw; 95, John McMasters; 96, Samuel Stoops; 97, Joseph Patterson; 98, John Reed; 179, William Loughhead; 180, George Roush, Hugh Wilson;* 181 and 182, Samuel Bailey and William Clutter;* 183, Robert Wilson; 184, Thomas Snodgrass; 185, Elizabeth McKee; 186, Augustus Leipart.

Third street—83, William McClure; 84, James McKinney; 86, Daniel McNickel; 89,

* One moiety each.



Oliver Evans

Elizabeth McKee; 90, James Lauridge; 187, William Loughhead; 188, Thomas Morton; 189, James Wills; 190, Robert Smith; 192, Jesse Nash.

Fourth street—75, Hugh Wilson; 77, Matthew Long; 78, James Reed, James McKarn; 79, William Watson; 80, John G. Young; 81, John Arthurs; 82, Anthony Dravo; 195, Robert Thompson; 197, Andrew Patterson; 199, Thomas White; 200, John Cavet; 201, John Shearer; 202, James Alcorn.

Fifth street—67, Nathaniel Lyon; 68, William Loughhead, William McClure;* 69, George Roush; 70, Alexander Shaw; 72, Margery Howell; 203, James Alexander; 204, W. Pettigrew; 205, Mary Cunningham; 208, Jacob Bausman; 210, Mary Calhoun.

Sixth street—59, Alexander Brown; 60, Betsey Adams; 61, John Patterson; 211, Peter Mowry; 213, John Fisher; 214 and 215, Cornelius Thompson.

Seventh street—51, W. H. Beaumont; 54, Alexander Speer; 56 and 222, John Speer; 223, James Boner.

Eighth street—43, John Speer; 227, James Herron; 229, Joseph Clow; 231, John Speer; 233, John Easton.

Ninth street—41, David Tate; 42, Robert McKee; 236, Matthew Turner; 238, James Foster.

Of these persons, the majority resided in Allegheny county; Washington, Westmoreland, Fayette, Franklin and Cumberland, and the states of Virginia and Kentucky were also represented. John McKee seems to have inspired the public with confidence in his project, and some of those who participated in the drawing disposed of their numbers at a premium. George Leslie, for whom No. 159 was drawn by Annie McKee, transferred it to Rev. James McKinney for "fifty-three silver dollars" before the deed had been executed, and Alexander Shaw, who secured No. 70, disposed of it immediately for twenty pounds. The project was undoubtedly a financial success to McKee, and although the immediate future of the town was not such as those who had invested in it may have been led to expect, the proprietor is certainly worthy of honor for his efforts in furthering its interests. The location was well chosen; the width and regularity of the streets, the public square, and the reservations for religious and educational purposes, establish his character as a public-spirited citizen. His eventful life was closed by death, January 11, 1807.

The town did not improve to any extent for some years. Among the accessions to its population was William Cavin, who came from New York by way of Pittsburgh, where he was offered an acre of ground in the vicinity of Wood street in exchange for his cow; but he continued his journey, preferring the superior advantages of the place that was twelve miles nearer to Philadelphia. After a short residence in McKeesport, he married a daughter of Col. William Loughhead, the first merchant of the town, whose store was situated on the north side of Third street. In 1815 James Penney came from the Jersey settlement near Monongahela City, and settled on Third street. James McKinney ("an itinerary preacher"), and James Irwin ("doctor of physics"), Samuel Stoops, David Jones, Augustus Leipart, George Cooper, John Speer, (merchant), Ephraim Edwards, Andrew Irwin, James Matthews (merchant),

* One moiety to each.

Zenas Hill, James Foster (brewer), John Hodge Redick, Sterling Johnston, James Reed, Robert Smith (who moved from Franklin county in 1796), James Alcorn, James Foster, John Culbertson (tanner), William Pettigrew (tailor), Samuel Bailey, Philip Unsettler and Obed Davis (cooper), are mentioned as residents prior to 1800. The number of houses in 1821 is placed at seventeen, none of which made any pretensions to architectural beauty. Several of these primitive structures are yet intact. The first brick houses were built in 1819, by Dr. George Huey and James Evans, on the southeast corner of Walnut and Second and on the opposite side of Walnut, respectively. The following is a list of residents in 1830 :

Samuel M. Rose, tavern-keeper; his house was two stories high, and is still standing at the corner of Second street and Mulberry alley. Andrew Hendrickson, schoolmaster, lived in a two-story log house on Second street, adjoining Rose's on the east. John Baker, tavern-keeper, was the occupant of a two-story log house at the corner of Second and Walnut. Dr. George Huey lived in a brick house opposite to Baker's tavern, on the southeastern corner of Second and Walnut. Samuel Dickey's residence was on Third street between Market and Walnut. John Behan lived on Third street near Walnut, in a two-story log house, still standing. James Penney's house is likewise still in existence, and occupies a lot on Third street adjoining that of Behan. Penney was a cooper. William Loughhead, merchant; his place of business was a log house on the north side of Third, nearly opposite Behan and Penney. A Mr. McVeagh lived on the east side of Market below Second. Samuel Hunter's house, on the east side of Market between Second and Third, was one of the few that was weather-boarded at that time. Andrew Soles, merchant, was engaged in business at the corner of Third and Market, in a two-story log building that is still standing. Immanuel Hurst's house occupied an adjoining lot. Daniel Stone occupied a one-story log building on the west side of Market, between Second and Third. Hugh Rowland lived on the west side of Market between First and Second. James Loucridge, chairmaker; his house and shop were at the corner of Third and Water streets. James Alexander, saddler and hotel-keeper, lived on Water street between Second and Third. James Evans, merchant and justice of the peace; his place of business was on the south side of Third, near Walnut. Peter Soles, shoemaker, lived on Second street. Conrad Roth, farmer; his house and barn were above Ninth street. Samuel Culbertson, tanner, pursued his calling at the corner of Shaw avenue and Huey street. William Irwin was a justice of the peace, and farmed that part of the borough east of Walnut street. John McKee, farmer, lived east of Walnut near Second. John Anstie was also a farmer, and lived on Second street. John Redick, merchant; his place of business was at the corner of Third and Market.

It is probable that the oldest house now in existence is that occupied in 1830 by James Alexander, and known as the "Black Horse Hotel." It was built in 1796 by Sterling Johnston. It was afterward occupied by a Mr. Whigham, and in 1812 passed into possession of James Alexander, from Carlisle, Cumberland county, from which his father was elected a member of assembly. It became a favorite stopping-place for boatmen on the Youghiogheny, and enjoyed an extensive patronage in its day. Few of the landmarks of that period are invested with associations of equal interest.

McKeesport in 1830 is best described as a country village, with little apparent prospect of appreciating in importance. In a region not remarkable

for the advanced morality of its people, the reputation of the town was proverbial. It possessed exceptional facilities for horse-racing years before a place for religious services was provided, and, in common with every locality in Western Pennsylvania, had its local stills and breweries. The racecourse extended along the bank of the river Youghiogheny, and by way of Seventh and Walnut streets quite around the town. No records of the speed attained on this course have been preserved, but it was a favorite place among the jockeys far and wide, and during the racing-season the town not infrequently assumed a color deeper than a peachblow tint. Then there was always a floating population, made up of boatmen engaged in transporting the pig-iron of Connellsville to Pittsburgh and other points along the Ohio and Mississippi. The "trade and commerce" to which John McKee had alluded in glowing terms was not developing as had been confidently expected, and three or four local stores were equal to the requirements of the trade, while many articles of common use were obtainable only in Pittsburgh. The inhabitants, becoming accustomed to the unbroken monotony of village life, had apparently come to regard this condition of things as inevitable; but the time at last arrived for the beginning of an era of activity and development.

THE COAL TRADE.

The discovery of coal contributed to this more than any other consideration. John Harrison, a blacksmith by trade, and a man of fair business ability, became a resident of McKeesport in 1824, and in 1830 began the mining of coal, in which business he was the first to engage in this part of the country. Having purchased a tract of land from a Pittsburgh lawyer named Selden, he opened a coalpit thereon, which he operated with success for two years, when Col. John Neel instituted litigation for the property, and was eventually confirmed in its possession. This mine was situated on the bank of the Monongahela, opposite McKeesport. It was subsequently operated by a Mr. Dunshee, but it is now abandoned. Samuel Dickey made the second mining venture, and the industry soon became general. There was a corresponding demand for barges in the shipment of the product, and for labor in their manufacture and transportation; and from this McKeesport derived substantial advantages. The floating of coal became the principal business of the town. Among the first to engage in this business were Daniel Pollard, Thomas McGill, Peter Soles, John Speice, Clem. Smith, James Ferroll, H. B. Sinclair, John Patterson, George High, Messrs. John, Jacob, Peter, Perry and "Jack" Baker, of whom several were owners, while all were skillful pilots. The later following comprised such men as J. A. Mahaffey, C. M. Bailey, G. W. Gray, Samuel Trich, Peter Gallatin, William Brown, John Gallatin, James Harriott, John and Hartman Guice, James Buttonfield, Samuel Clark, Nicholas, William and Alfred O'Neill, Hon. Alexander Millar, William E. Harrison and David Clark. The dams in the Monongahela were constructed in 1841, and in 1847 tow-

boating on that river was begun by Smith & Co., with a Beaver passenger packet which had become unfit for carrying passengers. The former method of depending upon the current was not at once abandoned, but the use of steam in towing barges began at this date, and is now practically universal. The dams in the Youghiogheny were completed in 1851, and the importance of McKeesport measurably increased. The resident river pilots in 1855 were Peter Lauderbach, Henry McCloskey, D. V. Day, George Hunter, Eli Leazure, Charles and John McCoy, William Powers, James Wilson, N. Lynch, Nelson Soles and William McCloskey; engineers—James Parkinson, James R. Hendrickson and John Wampler; boat-builders—Benjamin Coursin, Isaac Hammitt, Sr., Enos Spratt and William Cook; owners—John Harrison, Samuel Rose, Samuel Hunter and M. Elliott. The mining and shipment of coal and the building of barges were the sole dependence of the town, and its prosperity fluctuated with that of the coal trade. During the summer months, when the depth of the river was not sufficient for navigation, money became scarce, the merchants found it difficult to make collections, and business of all kinds languished. With a rise in the river, the town suddenly assumed a condition of abnormal activity, as the convoys of barges were manned and equipped for their voyages and departed in rapid succession. It was often that weeks, and sometimes months, elapsed before their return, and the intermediate period was one of stagnation and quiet, in which the town seemed to have been deserted by the male portion of the community. They returned in due time, however, and prosperity returned with them. Money became plentiful. Every branch of business flourished, and merchants improved the opportunity to fortify themselves against the approaching stringency. Such were the annual vicissitudes, as unfailing in their recurrence as the seasons.

Improvement in the general appearance of the town had, meanwhile, received a powerful stimulus. Failing to realize any returns from their investments, many of the original lot-owners allowed the taxes to accumulate on their respective holdings, and in 1833 this had become general to such an extent that the assessor, Robert Sinclair, returned the plot of the entire town to the court. In the following year all the lots upon which the taxes were unpaid were offered at public sale by the sheriff, under the usual restrictions in such cases. The recent discovery of coal had attracted attention to the locality, and the purchasers were usually of such a class as formed a valuable acquisition to the community. The difficulty of obtaining titles to the lots, or of discovering who the real owners were, had previously retarded improvements to a great extent; but a valid title was now assured to the purchaser, and the beneficial effects of the change were speedily apparent in the erection of houses of a substantial character.

The *Standard*, John Y. Collins, editor, thus summarizes the advantages and general status of McKeesport in 1855:

> Situated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, the Youghiogheny and Monon-

gahela, on a rich bottom-land, and surrounded by the most exquisite scenery, few towns in the United States can boast of such a favorable location. Enjoying a perfectly pure and salubrious atmosphere, fanned almost throughout the year by a fresh northwest breeze, our neighborhood has proven impregnable to the most pestilential diseases. . . . Nearly all the buildings are stately two- and three-story brick dwelling-houses, [and] besides these the streets are graced by six churches, one three-story schoolhouse, a capacious market-house (with a town hall), and a fine-looking Odd-Fellows' hall. A seminary with a male and female department will be opened within a fortnight, since the building is already arranged. Among the branches of public interest we may count a furnace, rolling-mill and Russia sheet-iron factory, two foundries, five steam sawmills, one boatyard, twelve coalbanks in the immediate neighborhood, two tanneries in town, eight principal stores and a number of groceries, two bakeries and confectioneries, several butcher-stalls, with a great variety of mechanics, and last, but not least, a printing-office, from which darts, meteor-like, the *Weekly Standard*.

RAILROAD INTERESTS.

In the same connection the writer makes this remarkable prediction: "A more prosperous period awaits our town and neighborhood, and with the prospect of an early connection with the Connellsville railroad, with new markets for our coal and other productions, McKeesport will not fail ere long to be a flourishing city." In ascribing the growth of the town to its railroad facilities, the editor's prediction has been verified to the full extent. The rivers have been utilized for traffic and travel from the time that David McKee established his ferry, and local enterprise has always been interested in the improvement of the facilities thus presented. A steam ferry was established in 1845, by H. B. Sinclair, and was regarded as a great improvement over the former method of trans-navigation. In 1851, upon the completion of the slackwater navigation in the Youghiogheny, Messrs. Bailey, Whigham, Hendrickson and Sinclair purchased two boats, the Genesee and Tom Shriver, and established a packet-line from Pittsburgh to West Newton, which was continued until the destruction of the dams several years later. Its suspension seemed to emphasize the importance and necessity of the railroad, the construction of which was then agitated. The project received strong financial support from Pittsburgh, Lawrenceville and other municipalities, and, following their example, the borough council of McKeesport passed an ordinance August 30, 1855, authorizing the burgess to subscribe to the capital stock of the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad company in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, payable in borough bonds. The road was nearly completed at that time, and was placed in operation September 11, 1855. It was subsequently merged in the Baltimore & Ohio system, of which it is known as the Pittsburgh division, and has proved a powerful factor in furthering the development of the country it traverses, and the growth of McKeesport in particular. The Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Youghiogheny Railroad company was granted its franchise in the borough, by ordinance of council, in September, 1881, and the road was placed in operation two years later. It is operated by the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad company, and serves the interests of the community as a compet-

ing line. The Pittsburgh, Virginia & Charleston railroad, on the opposite side of the Monongahela, is also available.

Although the granting of a subsidy to the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad company was apparently supported by a strong public sentiment, a reactionary movement occurred immediately upon the close of the transaction. This was increased as the interest upon the railroad bonds became onerous, and eventually crystallized in a determination to repudiate the debt, on the ground of alleged irregularity on the part of the railroad company. March 6, 1875, Messrs. Hampton & Dalzell and John Evans, counsel for the borough corporation, filed a bill in equity, in the court of common pleas of the county, against the railroad company, alleging that the respondent company had violated the law in hypothecating certain of the bonds of the borough. It was averred that by an act of assembly approved April 26, 1854, the provisions of a previous act were extended to the boroughs of McKeesport and Birmingham, authorizing each to subscribe for two thousand shares of the stock of the company, amounting to one hundred thousand dollars, and to issue bonds to the company to the amount of stock subscribed. August 30, 1855, the borough of McKeesport subscribed for two thousand shares of stock, and issued bonds for the same, bearing date September 1, 1855, payable in thirty years, with semi-annual interest. The railroad company, in 1857, borrowed money from a Pittsburgh banking-house, giving its promissory notes for the same, and hypothecating, as collateral security for the payment of the notes, borough bonds to the amount of forty-seven thousand dollars. In default of payment of the notes at maturity, the bonds were sold, and about four thousand dollars realized therefrom. It was urged that the company was not authorized to sell the bonds at any rate below the amount which would make them par at seven per cent per annum, and that by so doing the bonds should be forfeited and revert to the borough. The payment of either principal or interest had been strenuously opposed for years; an offer from the railroad company to compromise for the sum of fifteen thousand dollars was rejected; the borough government was for a time suspended in the effort to prevent payment; but the final decision in the courts was in favor of the railroad company in almost every particular, and the full amount of the principal, with accrued interest, awarded from the borough, was added to its liabilities. The action of those most concerned in this long struggle has been variously regarded, and while it is admitted that there were strong grounds for the position taken by the "borough fathers" generally, the final issue influences many to regret that a compromise was not acceded to years ago. In this, as in other cases of long-continued litigation, it would seem that the final decision is a contingency which no foresight can determine.

The opening of the railroad did not materially affect the coal interest, and McKeesport reached the zenith of its importance as a shipping-point during the years of the civil war, declining rapidly from that time, until few indications of its character in this respect remain. During all this period the "coal

town" was gradually losing its distinctive features as such. It is to-day a manufacturing city, and the transformation is complete. This has been accomplished through the far-sighted policy of its manufacturers and the intelligence of its laboring classes.

MANUFACTURING INTERESTS.

Manufacturers at an early period in the history of the borough, though insignificant in comparison with their present importance, were equal to the demands of the times. Whisky was then a staple product, as it was only through the still that the crops of the surrounding country could be reduced to a merchantable commodity. The distillery was regarded as essential to the prosperity of every community, and McKeesport was no exception. Its earliest manufacturing establishment was a stone distillery at the foot of Market street, built prior to 1800, and dismantled within twenty or thirty years thereafter. In close proximity there was a carding- and fulling-mill, owned and operated by Hugh Rowland. That the "plant" was not extensive may be inferred from the fact that two blind horses in a treadmill furnished the motive power. Robert McMillan became proprietor about 1835; he introduced steam, and continued to operate the mill for some years. In 1824 a grist- and saw-mill was placed in operation at the corner of Second street and Blackberry alley, and a second, about 1830, on First street. Both were operated by steam. In 1829 John Behan, an Irishman, and a retired member of the body-guard of King George IV of England, built a saw- and grist-mill on the north side of Second street near Walnut. John Young, maker of spinning-wheels at his residence on Second street, is also worthy of mention among the pioneer manufacturers of the place. At the time when all clothing was of domestic manufacture, his make of the spinning-wheel found a place in many households. The local artisans have been mentioned in the list of residents.

Joseph Wampler located in the town in 1821, and attained some celebrity as a manufacturing optician. Among the telescopes of his manufacture was one with a four-inch glass, sold to Stockley, of Cleveland, Ohio, for one hundred and seventy-five dollars; a telescope six feet in length, with a three and one-half inch glass, which subsequently was taken to Liberia by Rev. John Smith, and the McKeesport telescope, six feet five inches long, with a five-inch glass, completed in 1876.

The McKeesport Iron-works were erected in 1851, by Richard B. Gilpin and W. Dewees Wood, of Wilmington, Del., for the manufacture of American Russia sheet-iron under a process patented by W. D. Wood. Mr. Gilpin disposed of his interest in 1855, and the business was continued under the firm name of Wood, Moorhead & Co., until January, 1859, the manufacture of smooth, refined and galvanized sheet-iron being added during this period. In January, 1859, W. D. Wood leased the works to M. K. Moorhead and George F. McCleane, retaining their ownership in connection with Mr. Gilpin. The lease expired in 1862, and in July of that year W. D. Wood and Alan W.

Lukens, under the firm name of Wood & Lukens, recommenced the manufacture of American Russia and black, smooth, refined sheet-iron, and from that time forward the works have been operated to their utmost capacity, having been enlarged and re-enlarged until at the present time the annual capacity is ten thousand tons patent planished and superior quality black sheet-irons, with an invested capital of more than a million dollars. Upon the retirement of Mr. Lukens, in 1871, the style of the firm became W. D. Wood & Co., limited; W. Dewees Wood, chairman; Richard G. Wood, general manager; Alan W. Wood, secretary and treasurer; Thomas D. Wood, assistant manager. The works employ eight hundred operatives. All material is manufactured from the pig-metal, charcoal refinery fires being in operation for the making of such grades of iron as are required for planished sheet-iron, and boiling-furnaces for making all lower grades. The patent planished sheet-iron has a world-wide reputation. It is the only iron made in the world that successfully competes with the Russian iron of same finish, and which it has almost entirely displaced in this country.

The National Tube-Works company was incorporated in 1869, with J. C. Converse, president; P. W. French, secretary; William S. Eaton, treasurer, and J. H. Flagler, general manager. The company assumed control of a small plant, built in 1867, at East Boston, by Mr. Flagler, and this, with extensive additions, constitutes the works of the company at that place. The rapid development of the oil-regions of Western Pennsylvania, and a consequent demand for pipe from that section, induced the management to consider the advisability of removing thither. A site was secured at McKeesport, and the work of construction completed in 1872. In September of that year the mill was placed in operation, with one furnace. A second and third were completed, and the construction of a fourth begun, when the works were destroyed by fire April 9, 1873. The work of rebuilding was at once begun, and in the following September three furnaces were in running order. The fourth was built in 1873, the fifth and sixth in 1880, the seventh and eighth in 1886 and the ninth and tenth in 1887. The butt-weld mill was built in 1874, and burned and rebuilt in 1876. The new butt-weld mill, four hundred feet long and three hundred and thirty feet wide, was built in 1886. The works throughout comprise forty acres, thirty of which are under roof. Owing to their great extent, and the many special processes employed, a detailed description is impossible.

To guard against fluctuation in the quality of the iron used in the manufacture of their tubing the company have their own puddling-furnaces, rolling-mills, forges and refineries. They have one hundred puddling-furnaces and four rolling-mills, with shops and facilities for the manufacture of everything used in the production of their goods. They have eight miles of their own railroad tracks interlacing their yards and various departments, and on these five locomotives, with the requisite number of cars, are in constant use.

James P. White

Tubular goods of every variety are manufactured, aggregating more than two hundred thousand tons of finished material annually, equal in length to the equatorial circumference of the earth. About five thousand operatives are employed in the works, and the labor of these men amounts to two million five hundred thousand dollars per annum.

In the production of the goods made here not a pound of coal is used. This company was among the first to utilize natural gas for fuel in the manufacture of iron, and for that purpose they purchased gas territory, drilled their own wells, and brought the gas to their works in their own pipe-lines. They had previously used manufactured gas in their furnaces, and their gas-producers are preserved for use in case the supply of natural gas should ever fail. The daily delivery of gas at the works is 24,300,000 cubic feet, or about 7,290,000,000 cubic feet per year, taking the place of nearly three hundred thousand tons of coal annually.

The United States Iron and Tin-Plate works, operated by the United States Iron and Tin-Plate company, limited, W. C. Cronemeyer, chairman; F. E. Schrenck, secretary and treasurer; A. J. Demmler, superintendent, were established in 1873. The company was organized in January, 1873, with J. D. Strons, president and treasurer; Mr. V. B. Cowen, secretary, and W. O. Davies, superintendent. The site for the mill was selected in March, 1873, but owing to interruptions from various causes incident to the panic of 1873, the works were not placed in operation until August, 1874. Tin- and terne-plate constituted the product at that time, and this company was the only one in the United States engaged in their manufacture. Owing to a change in the tariff regulations, etc. (occasioned, it is said, by the displacement of a single comma), the duty on tin-plate of foreign manufacture was so reduced as to render it impossible for this company to continue in the business profitably, and the works were thereupon suspended. The company was reorganized in 1882. In 1883 the works were burned and rebuilt. The plant at present consists of five puddling-furnaces and two heating-furnaces, two double sheet-mill furnaces, three annealing-furnaces, four knobbling-fires, two tinning-stacks, one hammer, one train of bar rolls, two trains of sheet-rolls, and two sets of cold-rolls. The product consists of specialties in refined and charcoal-polished black sheet and Bessemer steel sheets and plates, with an annual capacity for block- and tin-plates of three thousand net tons. Natural gas is used exclusively. One hundred and twenty operatives are employed.

The Sterling Steel-works, also at Demmler, on the Baltimore & Ohio and Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Youghiogheny railroads, were established by Jones, Ingold & Co., in May, 1874, and originally known as the Pitt Steel-works. The name was subsequently changed to Crown Steel-works. The Sterling Steel company, limited, C. Y. Wheeler, chairman, William P. De Armitt, secretary and treasurer, was incorporated in 1885, with a capital of thirty thousand dollars. The office of the company is at No. 208 Wood street, Pitts-

burgh. The plant consists of two twenty-four-foot Siemens-steel smelting furnaces, six heating-furnaces and four hammers (eight hundred to two thousand five hundred pounds). The product consists of fine crucible tool-steel. The annual capacity is three thousand net tons. Sixty men are employed.

The Russell Manufacturing company, James S. Kuhn, president and treasurer; John P. McIntyre, secretary, and George Russell, general manager, was incorporated March 2, 1886, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. The works comprise several large and substantial buildings, covering an area of more than an acre, and fronting on Olive street near Walnut. The business was established in 1879 by Russell & Co., who began the manufacture of varnish, ferrotype-plates and japanned-tin signs (used in photography). Sheet-metal fenders and coal-vases were added to the list a few years later, and in 1886 fancy brass goods. At the present time the product consists principally of brass fittings for steam-, gas- and water-pipes, including a natural-gas "cut-off" valve, invented by Mr. Russell in 1885, which is gaining in favor wherever introduced; and japanned goods, the trade in which extends all over the United States, Canada and other foreign countries. The number of employés in 1879 was ten; in 1887, thirty-five.

R. J. May & Co., founders and machinists, Walnut street and Shaw avenue, located at McKeesport in 1878, having established their business at Elizabeth three years previously. Ten men are employed in the usual lines of foundry-work.

John T. Penney & Co., founders and machinists, successors to Penney, Millholland & Co., began business in May, 1885. The plant comprises a foundry sixty-eight by seventy feet, machine-shop forty by sixty feet and pattern-shop of the same dimensions, two stories high, the whole representing a capital of twenty-five thousand dollars. Forty-three men are employed. The amount of work done in the course of a year approximates in value sixty thousand dollars.

Among the various miscellaneous manufactures are the carriage- and wagon-works of A. W. Smith, Wernke Brothers, George Hoffman, Learn & Taylor; the planing-mills of Neel & Wampler, Morgan & Patterson, Gemmill, Breitenreiter & Co.; the window-glass factory of Stewart, Estep & Co.; the brass-foundries of Pitt & Kinkaid, Henry Sheermesser; the Snowden Metallic Shingle company, Thomas Moore's distillery.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

McKEESPORT (Concluded).

Additions — Incorporation — List of Burgesses — Public Improvements — Banks, etc. — Population — Newspapers — Schools — Secret Societies — Churches.

THE growth of the town and the extension of its environments are the direct results of the manufacturing activity that has just been described. As previously stated, the town plot originally comprised the area included by Ninth and Walnut streets, the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. The first addition to this was made at some time between 1840 and 1850 by Robert Sinclair, and consisted of a number of lots on the east side of Walnut street, between Fourth and Shaw avenue. T. B. Hammer's plan extended from Fourth street to Shaw avenue, between Tube Works alley and Sinclair street; this was a later plan, and practically a re-survey of part of Sinclair's. In 1849 the square bounded by Fourth avenue, Shaw avenue, Sinclair street and Tube Works alley was laid out by Alexander Miller for Robert Sinclair. In 1855, as administrator of the estate of Dr. C. Huey, Mr. Miller laid off the area between Sheridan and Huey streets from the Monongahela river to Ringgold street. About 1852 the area south of Shaw avenue, between Jenny Lind street and Tube Works alley, was laid off by G. A. Forbes. South of the Forbes plan, between Graveyard and Wilkins alleys and Jenny Lind and Walnut streets, was the plan of Mary J. Penney, between which and Ninth street were the plans of Joseph Jenkins, Learn & Snyder, and the old graveyard. The plans of Robert Shaw and W. E. Harrison are located south of Shaw avenue, between Huey and Jenny Lind streets. About 1850 Jones & Petty laid off the area between Huey and Armstrong streets from the Monongahela river to Shaw avenue, and a tract of corresponding width south of Shaw avenue was subdivided in 1862 by William Stevenson. Between Armstrong avenue and Martin street, from the Monongahela river to Fifth avenue, the plans north and south of the railroad, respectively, were those of Joseph Armstrong and John Fritch. Adjoining that of the former and extending thence to St. Clair alley was the subdivision of Richard A. Breed. Directly opposite the latter, between the railroad and Fifth avenue, is the plan of John W. Patterson and Thomas Mellon. East of the Mellon plan are the subdivisions of Mary Ann Sinclair and Jacob Mainhart, the latter extending to Riverton street. Michael Burkholder's plan embraces the region popularly known as "Bone-Dust Hollow." The extreme eastern part of the borough, popularly known as the "Crooked

Run district," was laid out in 1875 by Jarvis & Riggs. Other subdivisions in that vicinity have since been made by the Enterprise Building and Loan association, the heirs of George Hoffman, Meyer & Edmundson, William Hartman, William Speilmeyer, William Lovall and Watson Mains. Directly north of the association plan, on the township road, is the Chester plan of lots, including Linden and Chester streets, Freeland and Shady avenues.

The territory south of the original plat, between Ninth and Eleventh streets and west of Jenny Lind street, was laid out in small tracts and at various times by Alexander McClure, John Harrison, Meyer & Walker, Eliza Vankirk and Asher Vankirk. The extensive plan of McClain & Fleming is situated south of Eleventh street and contiguous to that of the heirs of W. J. Powers, laid out in 1878. The latter extends to Fifteenth street. The plan of Michael Ryan, east of Central avenue and south of Fifth avenue, was laid off in 1872, and that of B. B. Coursin, on the opposite side of Central avenue between Fifth avenue and Fairview cemetery, in 1880. Union and Ridge avenues, east of the cemetery and north of the township road, were laid off in 1874 by the Enterprise Building and Loan association. The plan of Robert Douglass, partially inclosed by Cherry, Fairmount and Stewart streets, and those of William Packer and John W. Stewart adjoining, were laid off in 1885.

A comparison of the original town plat and the additions thereto is not favorable to the latter. John McKee's plan is distinguished by uniformity and regularity, qualities which can not be ascribed to the labyrinth of crooked and narrow streets that surround it. This condition of things is unfortunate, but not irremediable. The streets have been widened and straightened at various points, and made to conform more nearly to the general plan of the town. The configuration of the surface interferes with the success of these operations to some extent. Fifth street was first macadamized about fifteen years ago, and this process has since been extended to the most important thoroughfares of the town. Fourth and Walnut streets and Shaw avenue are paved with Belgian blocks and Huey street with brick. The work of street improvement is prosecuted with energy, and, if continued at the present rate of progress, will be extended to the important thoroughfares of the city at no distant future.

The municipal government was established during the era of the coal trade, and the borough limits have been changed from time to time with the growth of the built-up area.

McKeesport was incorporated as a borough, by the court of quarter sessions of the county, September 3, 1842, under the act of 1834, with the following described boundaries:

Beginning at the mouth of the Youghiogheny river, thence up said river to the line of Samuel M. Rose's land; thence by land of said Rose, north seventy-nine and one-fourth degrees east seventy-one and one-half perches to the line of James Evans' land; thence by land of said Evans and Robert Sinclair, north ten and three-fourths degrees west one-

Thos Feeney

hundred and seventy-eight perches to the Monongahela river; thence up said river to the place of beginning.

The borough limits were extended by act of the legislature, February 13, 1847, so as to include a greater extent of territory to the east and north. The present boundaries were established by act of assembly approved May 24, 1873, and are thus described:

Beginning at the Youghiogheny river at the southern boundary of the said borough; thence south by the course of the said river to the northern line of John Penney's land; thence easterly direct through the lands of Evans, Powers, Stewart and others to private road at Guice's lane; thence by said private road to the public road; thence by the same along lands of Guice, Arthurs, Soles and Fawcett to the state road; thence west by the same to the intersection of the public road leading up Crooked run; thence due north to the Monongahela river; thence west by the course of the same to the western boundary line of the said borough; thence by the original lines of said borough to the place of beginning.

As incorporated in 1872, the southern boundary of the borough was a line extending from the Youghiogheny river diagonally between Ninth and Eleventh streets, and the eastern boundary was identical with Huey street. The latter was so changed in 1847 as to correspond with Armstrong avenue. The present area of the borough is quite extensive.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, ETC.

The borough government has been changed from time to time, as the requirements of an increasing population demanded. As originally constituted, it consisted of a burgess and town council, elected annually, with merely nominal functions at an early period in the history of the town. The borough was incorporated in conformity with the act of 1834, but in 1851 a general law for the regulation of boroughs was enacted, the provisions of which were extended to McKeesport in 1855. This imposed new duties upon the burgess, and enlarged the powers of the council in various ways. The number of councilmen was increased to six in 1871, and their term of office fixed at three years; two were to be elected annually. The burgess and council, by this act (May 11, 1871), were vested with the power to establish and maintain a police service, for which no provision had previously been made. May 24, 1873, by act of the legislature, the number of councilmen was increased from six to nine (three from each ward). Under this arrangement one councilman from each ward is elected annually, as is also the burgess. Although eminently satisfactory for a time, the borough government has ceased to be regarded as sufficient for the needs of the large population for which it is meant to provide, and within the last decade the sentiment in favor of incorporation as a city has become practically unanimous. Definite action may be delayed until the result of the next census has established its eligibility for metropolitan honors, but the necessity of the change is universally admitted, and the final issue is no longer problematical.

At the first election for borough officers, September 6, 1842, James W. Edgar, Hiram B. Sinclair, Hugh Rowland, Charles Fausold and Samuel C. Huey were chosen councilmen and James P. Hendrickson, burgess. The following-named persons have successively filled the latter office:

1842, James Hendrickson; 1843, William Cook; 1844, Thomas Penney; 1845, Theodore Marlin; 1846, Thomas Penney; 1847, Oliver Evans; 1848, John Tritch; 1849, Robert Shaw; 1850, John Wilkinson; 1851, J. B. Mitchell; 1852, Hugh Rowland; 1853, A. Atwater; 1854, Thomas Carroll; 1855, Thomas Lynch; 1856, Hugh Rowland; 1857, William H. Hill; 1858, Robert Shaw; 1859–60, Thomas Penney; 1862, James H. Berry; 1862, J. W. Patterson; 1864, Lewis Harvey; 1865, William Atwater; 1866–67, James R. Hendrickson; 1868–70, A. W. Lukens; 1871, James F. Ryan; 1872–73, W. P. Wampler; 1874, James F. Ryan; 1875, W. P. Wampler; 1876–77, F. Houghton; 1878–79, J. W. Scott; 1880–82, Alonzo Inskeep; 1883–84, Thomas Tillbrook; 1885, B. B. Coursin; 1886, W. W. Hunter; 1887, B. B. Coursin; 1888, James A. McLure.

Among the ordinary legislation of the council, two subjects have been notably important,—the Pittsburgh & Connellsville railroad and the water system. The former was a subject of discussion for years after the decisive action was taken; the latter, for a correspondingly long period beforehand. Public meetings were held in 1874 to consider the subject, and the discussions seemed to indicate a preference for the formation of a water company rather than undertake the work under the auspices of the borough. It was urged that the taxation entailed by the latter plan would be unfavorable to the growth of manufactures and prevent the establishing of new industries. Moreover, the consolidation act of 1873 provided that the annexed district should be taxable for borough purposes at a rate equal to one-third that at which property was assessed and taxed in the old borough limits when lands so annexed contained fifteen acres or more, and at two-thirds the rate when the area of the lands was less than fifteen acres, for a period not exceeding ten years. The burden of taxation for the maintenance of water-works would thus fall upon the older portions of the borough, already burdened with debt. The opposition to a system provided and maintained was thus based upon the inadvisability of undertaking the work at that time, rather than a sentiment favorable to a private corporation. The agitation was resumed as the period for which the annexed district was exempt from the full rate of borough taxation neared its close. The improved condition of the finances presented a favorable opportunity for action. The strength of the movement was manifested in the election of a council favorable to the project. The requisite borough legislation was secured, placing the work of construction in charge of a committee composed of Joseph Ecoff, chairman, W. C. Soles, B. B. Coursin, W. P. Wampler and George W. Stone. Preliminary measures were taken in the spring of 1881, and the work of construction commenced about the 1st of September of that year. The plans and specifications were prepared by Messrs. Hatch & Taylor, civil engineers, and the contract awarded to R. D. Wood & Co., of Philadelphia. September 13, 1882, the works were accepted by the council and placed in operation.

The plant consists of a pumping-well, the pumping-station, the reservoir, and the distributing-mains. The well has an interior diameter of twenty-eight feet, and is situated at the margin of the Youghiogheny river. It is sunk to the depth of several feet below the bottom of the river, and was intended to afford, by filtration through the gravel composing the river-bed, a constant supply of clear and pure water. However, within a short time after the works were placed in operation, it became evident that the water was not derived from the river, but was, instead, the drainage from marshy grounds in the vicinity, and therefore impregnated with dangerous elements. This was remedied to a certain extent by dredging the river, but it was evident no permanent benefit could be anticipated from this source. The plan finally determined upon was that now in successful operation. A twenty-inch conduit-pipe extends from the well a distance of four or five rods out into the channel of the Youghiogheny river, resting upon a foundation of stone. In the outer sections of the pipe there are several thousand one-inch holes, and the end of the pipe is inclosed by a perforated cap. This work was begun September 20, 1883, and completed November 15, 1883. This provision for a water-supply has proven entirely satisfactory. The well is utilized as a temporary reservoir, in which the water is received from the conduit. The pumping-station and reservoir present no features worthy of special notice. The original cost of the works, including land, etc., was $98,304.45.

Other public conveniences of a varied character have also been provided. Gas for illuminating purposes has been manufactured and supplied by a local company for some years. Electric lights have also been introduced, and the discovery of natural gas in the vicinity of the town is among the latest acquisitions to its advantages. The Passenger Railway company, of which J. C. Smith is president, has recently placed its line in operation upon Fifth avenue. The market-house, a brick building on the southeast corner of Market and Fourth streets, was built in 1883, by the McKeesport Market company, and opened in January, 1884. The cost was seventeen thousand dollars. At the expiration of ten years from the time the franchise was granted the property reverts to the borough, at ten per cent less than its cost, this rebate being considered as rental for that period.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

The first moneyed institution of the city, the Monongahela Valley bank, was established in 1858, with Alexander Millar, president, George Langley, cashier, and a capital of two hundred thousand dollars. It was a bank of issue, and circulated its notes principally in Michigan. Arrangements were made for the redemption of fifty thousand dollars by a merchant in an eastern city, but he failed to carry out his obligations, and the notes were presented at the counter of the bank, which was obliged to suspend in 1860. The Commercial Banking company was organized in March, 1872, with William Wig-

ham, president; W. D. Wood, vice president; Thomas Penney, cashier; James S. Kuhn, assistant cashier; William Wigham, W. D. Wood, Benjamin Coursin, H. B. Sinclair, H. B. Cochran, James Lynn, James F. Ryan, William E. Harrison, James F. McMullen and W. H. Crump, directors. It was merged into the First National bank of McKeesport, and reorganized as such March 1, 1875, with a capital of sixty-seven thousand dollars, which has since been largely increased.

The People's Savings bank was organized in January, 1873, with J. C. Converse, president; C. R. Stuckslager, vice-president; G. L. Reiter, cashier; J. C. Converse, James O'Neil, James A. Stone, C. R. Stuckslager, J. H. Flagler, J. C. Penney, D. Bailie, J. P. Learn, H. Todd, Samuel Cable and A. Vankirk, directors. The capital was one hundred thousand dollars. This institution was chartered as the People's bank in January, 1881. Its present organization is constituted as follows: J. G. Leezer, president; H. C. Bradeen, vice-president; C. R. Stuckslager, cashier; T. D. Gardner, assistant cashier; E. W. Pitts, teller; J. G. Leezer, H. C. Bradeen, C. R. Stuckslager, C. A. Duffey, L. Gerson, W. W. Hunter, John Muse, W. L. Patterson, Thomas Reynolds, Jr., James L. DeLong, J. C. Smith, J. P. Learn and D. H. Lynch, directors. There is a capital paid in of $52,000, a surplus fund of $55,190, and undivided profits to the amount of $3,623.

The Bank of McKeesport, James Evans, president, P. J. Rankin, cashier, T. L. White, vice-president, began business May 19, 1887, under a charter originally granted to the Shoe and Leather bank, of Pittsburgh. The capital is one hundred thousand dollars.

The Mutual Building and Loan association, the first in McKeesport, began business in 1871, with a capital of twenty-five hundred shares of two hundred dollars each. William E. Harrison was president; Joseph Ecoff, vice-president; James F. McMullen, treasurer, and Dr. D. C. Hoffman, vice-president. The Enterprise Building and Loan association, Joseph Ecoff, president; A. B. Campbell, vice-president; John F. Davitt, treasurer, and James S. Kuhn, secretary, was established in 1873. The former expired in 1879, the latter in 1881. The Union Savings Fund and Loan association, incorporated in July, 1881; the Home Security and Building and Loan association, incorporated in August, 1886; and the Union Savings Fund and Loan association No. 2, incorporated in March, 1886, are virtually one organization, the officers in each case being as follows: H. W. Hitzrot, M. D., president; J. B. Murray, vice-president; E. E. Dearborn, secretary, and Isaac West, treasurer. The capitalization of each is one million dollars. The McKeesport Building and Loan association was organized June 8, 1887, with J. B. Shale, president, A. W. Smith, vice-president; James L. DeLong, treasurer; E. W. Pitts, secretary; E. P. Douglass, solicitor. The last-named four are all that were in operation in 1887. Institutions of this character, when managed with the ability apparent in the instances noted, can not fail to benefit the community.

T. L. White

The population of McKeesport in 1846 is said to have been one thousand, and in 1857, two thousand. In 1860 it was 2,166; in 1870, 2,523; in 1880, 8,212; and at this writing (1888) it is variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand, the most reliable estimate being that of eighteen thousand. The rapid growth of the last ten years has been truly remarkable.

THE PRESS.

In all this development the press has borne its share of the burden and responsibility. City papers were depended upon for the news for many years, and continue to circulate largely. The first local journalistic effort was made by John Y. Collins in 1854. The first number of his paper, the McKeesport *Standard*, appeared December 16th of that year. It was a quarto of small dimensions, and the lines were blurred and indistinct. It chronicled the principal events of Europe and remote portions of the world, congressional and legislative proceedings, and some eight or ten items of local interest. The energies of the new journal were exhausted in the effort to begin its career, and the first issue was not followed by another until the first week of January, 1855. During this time both Collins and Wilson, the original proprietors, had retired, and Dr. J. B. Mitchell and Julius Francis Zoller appeared as publisher and editor, respectively. The *Standard* was continued under various auspices and with varying fortunes until 1861, when it suspended, never again to reappear. McKeesport was without an organ until June 8, 1870, when John Wagner Pritchard & Brother began the publication of the *Paragon*, a six-column quarto, which, like its predecessor, did not give immediate promise of permanency. It suspended publication from October 17, 1870, to July 29, 1871, but was published continuously from the latter date for some years. April 30, 1881, John B. Scott & Brothers issued the first number of the McKeesport *Record*. The *Evening Record* appeared for the first time on Monday evening, April 10, 1882. Upon the retirement of Mr. Pritchard from the *Paragon*, in 1883, that paper was continued by "The Paragon Publishing Company" until September, 1884, when it was merged with the *Record* into the *Paragon Record*, and so published by the John B. Scott Publishing company until the year 1887; the daily edition was suspended for a time, but the weekly was continued until February, 1887, when the name was changed to the *Weekly Sun*. February 21, 1887, the *Daily Sun* appeared for the first time, under the proprietorship of E. E. & W. H. Hamilton. The *Sun* is thus the outgrowth of the *Paragon* and *Record*, and the only morning paper in the county outside of Pittsburgh.

The McKeesport *Times*, B. B. Coursin, proprietor, was first issued August 5, 1871, and continued by him for about one year, when it was purchased by S. E. & J. B. Carothers, by whom the daily edition was begun. The plant was purchased in 1882 by W. A. Dunshee, by whom it was transferred in 1885 to J. C. Tarkington. The present proprietor, W. S. Abbott, assumed control

July 1, 1887. The *Weekly Times* was discontinued March 10, 1886, when the office of the paper was destroyed by fire. The *Daily Times* is the oldest in the city, and the official organ of the municipal governments of McKeesport and Reynoldton.

The McKeesport *Daily News* was founded July 1, 1884, by Edward W. Clark, from whom it passed to Dravo Brothers. J. L. Devenny, the present editor and proprietor, has been connected with the paper from the beginning, and succeeded Dravo Brothers October 1, 1886. Mr. Devenny is the youngest editor in the state.

The weekly papers of the town are the *Tribune and Herald*, the *Sunday Herald* and the *Sun*. The first named was established in August, 1882, by L. F. Armbrust and T. F. Galvin, as the McKeesport *Tribune*. Mr. Galvin retired in 1883, and established the *Sunday Herald*, now published by John A. Galvin. Mr. Armbrust continues the publication of the *Tribune and Herald*, and advocates the principles of the labor organizations. The *Home Gem* was published for some time by the Home Gem Publishing company. The *Journal*, edited by Martha A. McConnell and Harriet S. Pritchard, appeared June 10, 1886. It is the organ of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It appears that ten distinct journalistic ventures have been made, the present results of which are represented in three dailies, two weeklies and a bi-monthly. There have been many obstacles in the way of establishing local journals, not the least of which is the large circulation of the city papers. But the local press has proven invaluable to the best interests of the community, and may be regarded as firmly established.

The educational facilities of the city are exceptionally good. The first school-building was erected in 1832, at the corner of Fourth and Market streets, fronting on the latter. The first teacher here was one Higbee. The school was sustained by private subscription, and so continued until the introduction of the public-school system, which occurred while the village formed part of Versailles township. The first public-school building in the borough was erected on Market street near the old graveyard, between Eighth and Ninth streets. Dr. James Huey was the first principal, and John Rowland, his assistant. The present public-school buildings are five in number, and in appearance, architectural beauty and adaptation to the purposes intended compare favorably with any others in the county. An academy and a business college are also among the educational advantages of the place. In 1853 and 1854 Misses Nancy McJunkin and R. J. Robinson conducted a select school, and a Mr. Remington established a similar institution about the same time. The rooms of the McKeesport Library association were opened Monday evening, August 9, 1875, in the third story of the Hiawatha building, corner of Market and Fifth streets. Five hundred volumes constituted the library at that time. This is among the local influences that tend to elevate the general intelligence and culture of the community.

SECRET SOCIETIES.

McKeesport has been prolific in the organization of secret and benevolent societies, of which the following have been instituted at the respective dates given:

Alliquippa Lodge, No. 375, F. & A. M., October 22, 1866; Yohogany Lodge, No. 364, I. O. O. F., June 8, 1849; Blucher Lodge, No. 506, I. O. O. F., May 14, 1854; Youghiogheny Encampment, No. 147, I. O. O. F., November 19, 1856; Versailles Council, No. 238, R. A., May 3, 1880; McKee Lodge, No. 43, A. O. U. W., January 24, 1873; Col. Samuel Black Post, No. 59, G. A. R., June 15, 1877; John A. Logan Command, U. V. U., February 2, 1887; Titus Lodge, No. 207, K. of P., November 14, 1869; Iron Castle, No. 81, K. M. C., October 30, 1875; White Castle, No. 35, K. M. C., June 14, 1887; Indian Queen Division, No. 15, K. of P., December 28, 1883; Court Equality, No. 6459, A. O. F., July 30, 1879; Court Gustaf I, Wasa of Sweden, No. 6682, A. O. F., September 18, 1880; Welcome Stranger Lodge, No. 52, O. S. St. George, March 13, 1880; Fidelity Lodge, No. 1005, K. of H.; Alliquippi Council, No. 2, O. C. F., September 1, 1882; Robert Lodge, No. 353, I. O. G. T., 1883; Lincoln Council, No. 67, R. T. T., April 24, 1885; Youghiogheny Assembly, No. 6331, K. of L., April 17, 1886; Acme Assembly, No. 6328, K. of L.; National, No. 9753; Rhine, No. 7683; Uriah S. Stevens, No. 9004; Monongahela, No. 7622; Keystone, No. 9664; Star of Hope, No. 8285; Globe and Welcome Stranger Lodges, A. A. I. & S. W.

CHURCHES.

Nineteen denominational organizations attest the religious activities of the community. Of these the Presbyterian is probably the oldest. The early population of McKeesport and the surrounding country was largely Presbyterian in its religious affiliations, and this denomination has been identified with the religious interests of the place throughout its history. It is probable that occasional services were held in this locality by the pastors of neighboring congregations before the year 1800; but no provision for stated worship was made until 1801, when the presbytery of Redstone authorized the people of McKeesport and "Pitt township" (Beulah Church), jointly, to employ Rev. Boyd Mercer to labor among them for one year. The arrangement was discontinued at the expiration of that period, and for more than a score of years the ministerial record is irregular. In 1802 McKeesport and "Pitt township" were reported together as "vacant and able" to support a pastor. In 1803 the former is reported individually as "unable" to support that relation, and in 1805 as "not yet able." Mr. Mercer became stated supply from 1803 to 1823. Two important events signalized this period, the formal organization of the church in 1819 or 1820, with James Evans, William Penney and William Sill as elders, and the erection of a church-building in 1819. Prior to that date there was no established place of public worship. The congregation assembled in a boathouse near the Monongahela river, to the right of Walnut street, a sheep-stable on the north side of the public square and west of Market street, the residence of John McKee, east of Walnut street above Second, the house of James Evans, on the southeast corner of Market and Third, or under a clump of locust trees on the grounds adjoining, as the season of the year

or the nature of the occasion rendered most convenient. The site of the first church in McKeesport was that of the present Presbyterian church, upon the ground reserved for religious purposes by the proprietor of the town. It was a brick building, about thirty-five feet square and fifteen feet high.

The second church-edifice, a building thirty-six by sixty feet, was erected in 1842. Its architectural appearance was superior to that of its predecessor, but after nine years it was deemed unsafe for occupancy. The present place of worship was built in 1852–53, and dedicated July 17, 1853. It is a brick structure, ninety-five by fifty feet, and was enlarged during the year 1887. A pipe organ has also been added.

The following-named clergymen have been pastors since the organization of the church: Alexander McCandless, 1825–38; William Eaton, 1841–44; Prosper H. Jacob, 1847–51; Nathaniel West, Sr., D. D., 1854–56; Robert F. Wilson, 1856–67; G. M. Hair, 1869–72; James W. Wightman, 1872–77; Samuel McBride, 1872–79; George N. Johnston, 1880–84; J. J. McCarrell (the present incumbent), 1884–. Two-thirds of Mr. McCandless' time was given to Long Run Church, and Mr. Eaton was also pastor at Round Hill. McKeesport has constituted a separate pastorate since 1843.

The First Baptist Church (incorporated as "The McKeesport Regular Baptist Church") was organized by Elders William Stone and Nathaniel Tibbots, June 3, 1820, with seven constituent members, viz.: James Penney (who was the leading spirit and prime mover in the enterprise), his wife, Jane Penney, Leonard Long, Margaret Long, Ann Watkins, Elizabeth Carnes and her daughter of the same name. None of these are now living. The last to die was Mrs. Jane Penney, about twelve years ago. A charter was not procured until 1864. This congregation formerly worshiped jointly with the Presbyterians in the Union church previously described. A separate church-edifice was afterward built near the Diamond. This was occupied until 1867, when the present place of worship was built. The parsonage adjoining was built in 1876.

The first pastor was Rev. William Stone, 1820–21. The church became a branch of Salem congregation, Westmoreland county, in 1822, and so continued until August, 1837. The pastors since that date have been as follows: William Sutton, 1839–43; J. P. Rockefeller, 1843–44; James Estep, 1845–46; A. G. Ebenhart, 1847–49; S. D. Morris, 1851; Frederick Douglass, 1852; Dr. William Penney, 1853–54; T. J. Penney, 1855; C. H. Remington, 1856; Moses Heath, 1857–58; W. W. Hickman, 1861; William Whitehead, 1863–66; J. K. Kramer, 1867; G. A. Ames, 1868–69; W. M. McKinney, 1871–74; William Codville, D. D., 1876–. The names of the deacons are as follows: Thomas Penney, William Coyan, A. B. Campbell, R. L. Riggs, J. K. Hammitt and J. D. Davis. When the present pastor began his labors, in 1876, the membership numbered 143. It had increased to 200 in 1882, and at the present time numbers 400. The last seven years have been a period of great prosperity. In con-

nection with the central organization there are three missions, at Christy Park, Reynoldton, and in the Third ward of McKeesport. A Swedish Baptist church has recently been organized, with about seventy members.

The First Methodist Episcopal Church was originally an appointment on Miller's church circuit. It is not known when this relation was established, but a class had been organized a short time previously. It consisted of Michael Dravo, leader, Ephraim Shannon, his wife Angelina Shannon, Thomas Means and wife, Edward Fisher, his wife Elizabeth Fisher, Mrs. —— Heath and three or four others whose names can not now be ascertained. The society assembled for prayer-meetings at the house of Thomas Means, then in the country, but near the extension of Walnut street. Preaching was held in the Baptist church on the Diamond. The first church-edifice was built in 1843 at the corner of Market and Fifth. This was a brick building, and fronted on Market, though not directly adjoining the street. It was sold to the Lutherans in 1847, and is now incorporated in a private residence built to the front along the street. A second brick church-edifice was built in 1846 upon the corner of the streets. This served as a place of worship until 1876–77, when the present church-building on Walnut street was built. It is a brick structure in the German gothic style, one hundred and twenty-five feet long by seventy-two feet wide, with a spire rising to the height of one hundred and eighty-three feet from the street. The main audience-room on the second floor is ninety by seventy feet, with a seating capacity of one thousand. The organization of the church was constituted as follows in 1851: Pastor, William F. Lauck; local preachers, J. Wilkinson, J. H. Patterson; stewards, Michael Dravo, Thomas Lynch, J. G. Goff; leaders, A. J. Brown, M. Dravo, J. Wilkinson, James Love, J. F. Dravo, J. G. Goff.

The Second Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Third ward, McKeesport, originated in a Sunday-school established in 1880 by Mrs. A. N. Lawson and others. In the delirium of fever, some time previous, Mrs. Lawson had been heard to say that she would undertake this work if she ever recovered. Upon regaining her health she was reminded of this, and at once interested her friends in the movement. A class was formed in connection with the First Church, and a separate organization effected, with a board of trustees, of which Thomas Magraw was chairman, W. H. Carson, secretary, George Peterson, James K. Spangler, Thomas Howard, Robert Taylor and A. Stephens, members of the board. The church-edifice on Fifth avenue was dedicated November 11, 1881, and a mortgage of four thousand dollars upon the property has lately been liquidated. Rev. J. B. Taylor was the first pastor, and was succeeded in 1884 by Rev. S. W. Davis.

The Third Methodist Episcopal Church, otherwise known as Ashley Church, was organized in 1882 from the constituency of the First Church. A chapel was built on Shaw's avenue in that year, and removed to its present location, corner of Locust and Sixth, in 1886. Revs. Morrow, Minnett, Dillon, Long,

Cable, McCurdy and Silbaugh have successively served as pastors. The Swedish and the German Methodist churches were organized within the year 1887. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the spring of 1885, with Rev. Alexander Christian, pastor. This element of the population has been but recently introduced. The African race was not represented at the place in its early history, and was regarded with aversion by many of the citizens. The various Protestant churches of the city contributed to the building of a church for the colored people, which was completed in 1886.

The Roman Catholic Church was first represented by the German element, but the time of its arrival is involved in uncertainty. Prior to the year 1846 they were sufficiently numerous to warrant regular visitations from the Redemptorist Fathers of Pittsburgh. Fathers Gallagher and McGovern, of Brownsville, also visited the town. In 1846 a lot of ground was purchased and the erection of a church begun, the dedication of which occurred April 5, 1847, by Rev. M. Muller, under the invocation of St. Peter the Apostle. This was a brick structure about fifty feet in length and thirty in width. The first resident pastor was Rev. Nicholas Hoeres, who was appointed in 1848, and included in his field of labor several missions on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. He built a small frame house for his residence, and there spent the closing years of his ministry, dying July 18, 1862. A native of Schleida, in Saxe-Weimar, Germany, he was ordained in 1831 and removed to America in 1846. He was identified with the religious interests of McKeesport fourteen years. Following his decease Rev. Cajetan Kloecker was pastor in 1865, and, like his predecessor, he died while the incumbent of that office, May 18, 1865. Rev. John B. Smith was among his successors, and remained for some time. Rev. James Nolan, the present pastor, was appointed to the charge in 1870. The principal event of his incumbency was the building of the church-edifice, "one of the most substantial and beautiful in the diocese." The cornerstone was laid by Bishop Domenec September 14, 1873. The dedication ceremonies occurred September 12, 1875, the bishop of the diocese officiating. Bishop Ryan, of Buffalo, preached the sermon. It is a brick structure one hundred and thirty by sixty-five feet, with tower and spire one hundred and seventy-five feet high. The style is pure gothic. The altars, three in number, are of pure Italian marble, and harmonize with the general style of the building. That in the center was erected as a memorial by the family of J. P. White. The nineteen windows, all of which are memorial, are of appropriate design and fine workmanship. The school-building was built in 1872. An apartment on the lower floor was dedicated January 19, 1873, and used as a place of worship while the church was in course of erection. It is a two-story brick building, sixty-five by thirty-two, and is filled to its utmost capacity. The school was established in September, 1870, and opened in I. O. O. F. hall with an attendance of thirty-five. It was placed in charge of the Sisters of Mercy in 1876. The pastoral residence, a frame structure in the rear of the church, was built in 1876.

St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, a recently formed German organization, of which Rev. Mr. Holtzappel is pastor, numbers about one hundred families. The cornerstone of a church-edifice has been laid, and the building is nearly completed.

St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal parish was organized as a mission in 1869. The succession of rectors is as follows: Revs. T. S. Bellum, 1869–70; B. B. Killikelly, 1869–72; J. P. Norman, D. D., 1872–75; P. Beckett, 1875–76; E. W. Smith, 1876–77; Thomas White, 1877–79; D. C. Peabody, 1879–84; H. Greenfield Schorr, 1884–. The first church-edifice, a frame building, was erected under Dr. Norman's administration. The present edifice, a stone structure, was dedicated on Easter Day, 1888.

The First German United Evangelical Protestant Church originated as a Lutheran church, and was so organized, with thirteen or fifteen members, June 1, 1846, by Rev. Mewer, the first pastor. The organization assumed its present name and church connection in 1858. The first place of worship was the building erected by the Methodists, corner of Fifth and Market, and was purchased in 1847, for six hundred dollars. The present church-edifice, a brick building on Walnut street, was dedicated October 15, 1871, Rev. Christian Heddans preaching the sermon. He was the immediate successor of Mr. Mewer, but the pastor when the church was built was Rev. David Leeman. The present incumbent, Rev. G. Schmidt, succeeded Mr. Leeman upon his death in 1884. The present constituency is 227 families. A parochial school is sustained, and a parsonage is in course of erection on Olive street.

The United Presbyterian Church was organized October 10, 1851, under the direction of Blairsville presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church, by Rev. Jonathan G. Fulton, Elders John Gregg, M. H. Eakin and Arthur Henderson. Fifty-four persons were received as members. On the following day John Pollock, Samuel Shaw, James Shaw, Samuel D. Foster, James B. Mitchell and Mosel L. Curry were elected as ruling elders. Rev. A. G. Wallace, D. D., was ordained and installed as pastor in 1854, and continued in that capacity until 1857. Rev. Matthew McKinstry was pastor 1857–61; A. H. Elder, 1863–75; James Kelso, 1877–85; A. I. Young, the present pastor, 1886–. A church was built in 1851. The present place of worship, a brick building, was erected upon its site in 1871. It has been improved in appearance and repaired.

The First Cumberland Presbyterian Church originated in the formal withdrawal of one hundred and nine members of the Presbyterian Church from that body November 17, 1879, and their organization as an independent congregation November 19, 1879. It was known as "The First Independent Presbyterian Church" until June 29, 1880, when a union with the Pennsylvania presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was effected. Services were held in public halls and in a tabernacle on Fifth street until November,

1882, when the church-edifice at the corner of Fifth avenue and Sheridan street was dedicated. Rev. Samuel McBride was the first pastor; M. B. Dewitt from October 2, 1882, to August 3, 1884, and G. D. Willingham from June, 1885, to September, 1887.

The First Reformed Church was organized in October, 1882, with eleven members, A. L. Kemmerer and W. P. Watson, elders, W. J. Miller and Aaron Baker, deacons, constituting the first consistory. The first services were held the preceding summer by Rev. H. D. Darbaker, in a public hall, which continued as the place of worship until November 9, 1884, when the church at the corner of Sinclair and Ringgold streets was dedicated, Rev. E. E. Higbee, D. D., officiating. The present membership is eighty-one. The congregation is under the care of the board of missions of the Reformed Church, with fair prospects of becoming self-sustaining in the near future.

The Covenanter or Reformed Presbyterian Church was represented at Crooked run some years ago, and a small frame church was built about 1840 on the land of Andrew Taylor, at that time an elder in Monongahela congregation. The families of James Blair, John Taylor, Andrew Taylor and Robert Allen worshiped here, and the pastors of Monongahela congregation, Revs. John Crozier, T. C. Sproull and John W. Sproull, preached occasionally. In 1867, there being three families of Covenanters in McKeesport, those of James Stewart, John Stewart and John McConnell, a building recently vacated by the Baptist society was purchased and refitted for use as a Covenanter church. Revs. T. C. Sproull and W. J. Coleman continued here the services formerly held at Crooked run. This relation with Monongahela congregation was dissolved in 1882 by Pittsburgh presbytery, and April 27, 1882, the McKeesport congregation, as at present constituted, was organized by a presbyterial commission over which Rev. A. M. Mulligan, D. D., presided. Rev. J. H. Wylie, the first pastor, resigned July 1, 1887. The church-edifice was built in 1874.

The First Christian Church, Rev. T. C. Jackson, pastor, is an organization of recent origin. The church-building is a frame structure at the corner of Penn and Jenny Lind streets.

The Swedish Lutheran Church was organized January 23, 1887, by Rev. Nelsenius. The cornerstone of a church-edifice was laid July 31, 1887, by Revs. P. A. Bergquist and E. G. Lund. It is estimated that the Swedish population is one thousand.

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